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THE IRISH

# ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD

**A Monthly Journal,**

CONDUCTED BY A SOCIETY OF CLERGYMEN,

UNDER EPISCOPAL SANCTION.

VOL. VII.

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“Ut Christiani ita et Romani sitis.”

“As you are children of Christ, so be you children of Rome.”

*Ex Dictis S. Patricii, Book of Armagh, fol. 9.*

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DUBLIN:

WILLIAM B. KELLY, 8, GRAFTON-STREET.

LONDON: BURNS & OATES, 17, PORTMAN-STREET, W.

NEW YORK, UNITED STATES: P. M. HAVERTY, 1, BARCLAY-ST.

**Imprimatur,**

**✠ PAULUS CARDINALIS CULLEN,**  
 **Archiepiscopus Dublinensis.**

*Die 1<sup>o</sup>. Octobris, 1871.*

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213

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[*NEW SERIES.*]

# THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

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OCTOBER, 1870.

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DOGMATIC CONSTITUTION ON THE CATHOLIC  
FAITH, PROMULGATED IN THE THIRD  
SESSION OF THE HOLY ŒCUMENICAL VATI-  
CAN COUNCIL.

---

PIUS, BISHOP,

SERVANT OF THE SERVANTS OF GOD, WITH THE APPROVAL OF  
THE SACRED COUNCIL, FOR PERPETUAL REMEMBRANCE.

OUR Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, and the Redeemer of mankind, before returning to his heavenly Father, promised that he would be with his Church militant on earth all days, even to the consummation of the world. Wherefore he has never ceased to assist his beloved Spouse, to be with her when teaching, to bless her when at work, to aid her when in danger. But this, His salutary providence, constantly manifested by other innumerable benefits, has been most evidently made known by the fruits which Christendom has derived in such abundance from Œcumenical Councils, and particularly from that of Trent, although held in evil times ; for the result has been that the most holy dogmas of religion have been defined more precisely, and set forth more fully ; errors have been condemned and restrained, ecclesiastical discipline has been restored and more firmly secured, the love of learning and of piety has been promoted

among the clergy, colleges have been established to educate youth for the sacred ministry, and the morals of the Christian people have been renovated both by the more careful instruction of the faithful, and by the more frequent use of the sacraments. Hence also a closer communion of the members with the visible Head, and an increase of vigor in the whole mystical body of Christ: hence the multiplication of religious congregations, and of other institutions of Christian piety: hence, too, that zeal, untiring and persevering even to the shedding of blood, in widely extending the kingdom of Christ throughout the world.

But while recalling with grateful heart these and other signal benefits which the divine clemency has bestowed on the Church, especially through the last Œcumenical Council, we cannot restrain our bitter sorrow, caused by the serious evils which have mainly had their origin either in contempt on the part of many for the authority of that sacred synod, or in neglect of its wise decrees.

For, as to the heresies proscribed by the Council of Trent, everybody knows that having rejected the divine authority of the Church, and abandoned religious matters to the judgment of each individual, they gradually split into many sects, disagreeing and striving with one another, until at length not a few lost all faith in Christ. Wherefore the Holy Bible itself, hitherto held up as the sole source and judge of Christian doctrine, was now no longer considered as divine, but was even ranked among myths or fictions.

Then, too, arose, widely overspreading the world, that doctrine of rationalism or naturalism which, opposing in every way, the Christian religion as being a supernatural institution, spares no effort to banish Christ, our sole Lord and Saviour, from the minds of men, and from the life and customs of nations, that thus the reign of what they call mere reason or nature may be established. And having forsaken and rejected the Christian religion, and denied God and his Christ, the minds of many sunk into the abyss of pantheism, materialism, and atheism, so that, denying rational nature itself, and every rule of justice and rectitude, they endeavour to destroy the very first foundations of human society.

Moreover, it has unhappily come to pass that, in this general prevalence of impiety, many even of the children of the Catholic Church have strayed from the path of true piety, and that, owing to the gradual decay of truth after truth in their minds, the Catholic spirit has become weakened in them. For, we find that, led away by various and strange doctrines, wrongly mixing up nature and grace, human science and divine faith,



they corrupt the genuine sense of the dogmas as it is held and taught by Holy Mother Church, and endanger the integrity and the purity of the faith.

At the sight of all this, how could the Church fail to be moved to her inmost soul? For, as God wills all men to be saved, and to come to the knowledge of the truth; as Christ came to save what had perished, and to gather into one the children of God who had been dispersed; so the Church, constituted by God the mother and teacher of nations, recognizes herself as debtor to all, and is always ready and solicitous to raise the fallen, to support the tottering, to embrace those who return, to confirm the good, and lead them on to better things. Wherefore she can never cease from testifying and proclaiming the all-healing truth of God, not unmindful that to her it has been said, "My Spirit that is in thee, and my words that I have put in thy mouth, shall not depart out of thy mouth, from henceforth and for ever."<sup>1</sup>

We, therefore, following the footsteps of our predecessors, in virtue of our supreme Apostolic office, have never ceased from teaching and defending Catholic truth, and reprobating perverse doctrines. And now, the bishops of the whole world being assembled in the Holy Spirit by our authority, in this Oecumenical Council, and sitting and judging with us, we, relying on the Word of God written and handed down as we have received it from the Catholic Church, religiously preserved and expounded in its true sense, have resolved to profess and declare, in sight of all, the salutary doctrine of Christ from this Chair of Peter, proscribing and condemning, by the power given to us by God, the errors contrary thereto.

## CHAPTER I.

### OF GOD, THE CREATOR OF ALL THINGS.

The Holy Catholic Apostolic Roman Church believes and confesses that there is one true and living God, Creator and Lord of Heaven and earth, almighty, eternal, immense, incomprehensible, infinite in intelligence, and in will, and in every perfection, who, being one single, absolutely simple, and unchangeable spiritual substance, must be acknowledged to be really and essentially distinct from the world, perfectly happy in Himself and of Himself, and ineffably exalted above all things which, besides Himself, exist and can be conceived.

This only true God, of His bounty and almighty power,

<sup>1</sup> Isaiah, lix. 21.

not to increase His own happiness, nor to acquire, but rather to manifest His perfection by the good gifts which He bestows on creatures, and of His perfectly free will, made out of nothing, at once, from the first beginning of time, both the spiritual and the corporal creature, to wit, the angelical and the mundane, and then the human creature, having something in common with both, being constituted of soul and body.<sup>1</sup>

Besides, God protects and rules by His Providence all things which He has made, "reaching from end to end mightily, and ordering all things sweetly."<sup>2</sup> For all things are naked and open to His eyes,<sup>3</sup> even those which are yet to come by the free action of creatures.

## CHAPTER II.

### OF REVELATION,

The same Holy Mother, the Church, holds and teaches that God, the beginning and end of all things, can with certainty be known by the natural light of human reason, from created things; for the invisible things of Him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made;<sup>4</sup> and, yet, that it was pleasing to His wisdom and goodness to reveal Himself, and the eternal decrees of His will, to mankind in another and a supernatural way, as the Apostle says: "God, who at sundry times and in divers manners, spoke in times past to the fathers by the prophets, last of all, in these days, hath spoken to us by His Son."<sup>5</sup>

It is to be attributed, indeed, to this divine revelation that those among divine things which of themselves are not impervious to human reason can, even in the present condition of mankind, be known by all easily, with firm certainty, and without any admixture of error. It is not, however, for this reason that revelation is to be held absolutely necessary; but because God of His infinite goodness ordained man to a supernatural end, viz., to be a sharer of divine good gifts which utterly exceed the intelligence of the human mind: for eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither hath it entered into the heart of man, what things God hath prepared for them that love Him.<sup>6</sup>

Further, this supernatural revelation, according to the belief of the universal Church, set forth by the Sacred Synod of Trent, is contained in the written books and unwritten traditions which have reached us, having been received by the

<sup>1</sup> Conc. Lat. iv.

<sup>4</sup> Romans, i. 20.

<sup>2</sup> Wisdom, viii. 1.

<sup>5</sup> Hebrews, i. 1, 2.

<sup>3</sup> Heb. iv. 13.

<sup>6</sup> I. Cor. ii. 9.

Apostles from the mouth of Christ himself, or delivered, as if from hand to hand, by the Apostles, under the dictation of the Holy Spirit.<sup>1</sup> Which books of the Old and New Testament are to be received as sacred and canonical, in their integrity, with all their parts, as they are enumerated in the decree of the said Council, and are contained in the old Latin Vulgate edition. And the Church holds them sacred and canonical, not because, having been composed by mere human industry alone, they were afterwards approved by her authority, nor merely because they contain revelation without error, but because, having been written under the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, they have God for their author, and have been delivered as such to the Church herself.

But as the things which the Holy Synod of Trent wholesomely—in order to curb froward spirits—decreed concerning the interpretation of Divine Scripture, are perversely explained by some, we, renewing the said decree, declare this to be its sense, that, in matters of faith and morals appertaining to the edification of Christian doctrine, that is to be received as the true sense of Holy Scripture which has been held and is held by Holy Mother Church, to whom it belongs to judge of the true sense and interpretation of the Holy Scriptures; and therefore that no one is permitted to interpret the same Sacred Scripture contrary to this sense, or contrary to the unanimous consent of the Fathers.

### CHAPTER III.

#### OF FAITH.

Since man depends altogether upon God, as upon his Creator and Lord, and since created reason is absolutely subject to uncreated truth, we are bound to yield by faith the obedience of our intelligence and will to God when he reveals. And the Catholic Church professes that this faith, which is the beginning of man's salvation, is a supernatural virtue, whereby, the grace of God inspiring and assisting, we believe the things which He has revealed to be true, not on account of their own intrinsic truth as seen by the natural light of reason, but on account of the authority of God himself who reveals, and who can neither be deceived nor deceive. For faith, as the apostle testifies, is the substance of things to be hoped for, the evidence of things that appear not.<sup>2</sup>

Nevertheless, in order that the obedience of our faith might

<sup>1</sup> Council of Trent, session iv., Decr. de Can. Script.

<sup>2</sup> Heb. xi. 1.

be in harmony with reason, God willed that the interior helps of the Holy Spirit should be accompanied by exterior proofs of his revelation, viz., by divine facts, and principally by miracles and prophecies, which, while clearly displaying the omnipotence and infinite knowledge of God, are most certain proofs of His divine revelation, and suited to the intelligence of all. Wherefore, both Moses and the Prophets, and, most of all, Christ our Lord Himself, were the authors of many and most manifest miracles and prophecies; and we read of the Apostles: "But they going forth preached everywhere, the Lord working withal, and confirming the word with signs that followed."<sup>1</sup> And again, it is written: "We have the more firm prophetic word, whereunto you do well to attend, as to a light that shineth in a dark place."<sup>2</sup>

But although the assent of faith is by no means a blind motion of the mind, still no man can assent to Gospel teaching, in the way necessary to obtain salvation, without the enlightenment and inspiration of the Holy Spirit, who gives sweetness to all in accepting and believing the truth.<sup>3</sup> Wherefore, faith, even when it does not work by charity, is in itself a gift of God, and the act of faith is a work appertaining to salvation, by which man yields a free obedience to God, by consenting to, and co-operating with, His grace, which he might resist.

Further, all those things are to be believed with divine and Catholic faith which are contained in the Word of God, written or handed down, and which the Church, either by a solemn judgment, or by her ordinary and universal magisterial teaching purposes for belief as having been divinely revealed.

And since, without faith, it is impossible to please God, and to attain fellowship with his children, therefore without it no one was ever justified, nor shall any one obtain eternal life unless he shall persevere in it unto the end. And, that we may be able to satisfy the obligation of embracing the true faith and of constantly persevering in it, God has instituted the Church through His only begotten Son, and has furnished her with manifest marks that he has instituted her, so that she may be recognized by all as the guardian and the teacher of the revealed Word; for to the Catholic Church alone belong all those things, so many and so marvellous, which have been divinely arranged to render evident the credibility of the Christian Faith. Nay more, the Church, of herself, by reason of her admirable propagation, her

<sup>1</sup> Mark, xvi. 20.

<sup>2</sup> II. Peter, i. 19.

<sup>3</sup> Council of Orange II. can. 7.

eminent holiness, and her inexhaustible fecundity in everything good, by reason of her Catholic unity and her invincible stability, is a great and perpetual motive of credibility, and an irrefragable witness of her own divine mission.

Whence it happens that, like a sign set up to the nations,<sup>1</sup> she both invites to her those who have not yet believed, and assures her children that the faith which they profess rests on the strongest foundation; which testimony is efficaciously supported by the strength from above. For our most benign Lord, by His grace, stirs up and helps the straying that they may arrive at a knowledge of the truth, and those whom He has brought out of darkness into His own admirable light He strengthens by His grace to persevere in that light, deserting none unless he be deserted. Therefore there is no parity between the condition of those who have adhered to the Catholic truth by the heavenly gift of faith, and of those who, led by human opinions, follow a false religion; for those who have received the faith under the teaching of the Church can never have any just cause for changing or doubting that faith. This being so, whilst we return thanks to God the Father who has made us worthy to share in the portion of the saints in light, let us not neglect so great a salvation, but with our eyes fixed on Jesus, the author and finisher of our faith, let us keep unalterably the confession of our hope.

## CHAPTER IV.

### OF FAITH AND REASON.

The Catholic Church perpetually and unanimously has also held and holds that there is a two-fold order of knowledge, distinct not only in principle but also in object; in principle, because in the one, knowledge comes by natural reason, and in the other by divine faith; in object, because, besides those things which natural reason can reach, there are proposed to us for our belief mysteries hidden in God, which, unless divinely revealed, cannot be known. Wherefore the Apostle, who testifies that God is known by the nations through created things, still, when treating of the grace and truth which came by Jesus Christ<sup>2</sup> says: We speak the wisdom of God in a mystery, a wisdom which is hidden, which God ordained before the world unto our glory, which none of the princes of this world knew . . . but to us God hath revealed them by his spirit. For the spirit searcheth all things, yea the deep things of God.<sup>3</sup> And the only begotten

<sup>1</sup> Isaiah xi. 12.

<sup>2</sup> John, i. 17.

<sup>3</sup> I Cor. ii. 7-9.

Son himself confesses to the Father, because he has hid these things from the wise and prudent, and has revealed them to little ones.<sup>1</sup>

And reason, indeed, enlightened by faith, when it seeks carefully, piously, and soberly, attains by God's gift some, and that a very fruitful, understanding of mysteries, as well from the analogy of those things which it naturally knows, as from the close relations which the mysteries bear to one another and to the last end of man; but reason never becomes capable of apprehending mysteries as it does those truths which constitute its proper object. For the divine mysteries by their own nature so far transcend the created intellect, that, even when manifested by revelation and received by faith, they remain covered with the veil of faith itself, and enveloped, as it were in a certain mist, so long as we are pilgrims in this mortal life apart from God; for we walk by faith and not by sight.<sup>2</sup>

But although faith is above reason, there can still never be any true opposition between faith and reason, since the same God who reveals mysteries and infuses faith has bestowed the light of reason on the human mind, and God cannot deny himself, nor can truth ever contradict truth. The empty semblance of this contradiction is mainly due to the fact, that either the dogmas of faith have not been understood and expounded according to the mind of the Church, or that rash conceits have been taken for the judgments of reason. We define, therefore, that every assertion contrary to the truth of enlightened faith is utterly false.<sup>3</sup> Further, the Church, which, together with the Apostolic office of teaching has received the charge of guarding the deposit of faith, derives from God the right and the duty of proscribing science falsely so named, lest any should be deceived by philosophy and vain deceit.<sup>4</sup> Therefore all faithful Christians are not only forbidden to defend, as legitimate conclusions of science, such opinions as are known to be contrary to the teaching of faith, especially if such have been reprobated by the Church, but rather are absolutely bound to hold them to be errors clothed in a delusive semblance of truth.

And not only can faith and reason never be at variance with one another, but they afford each other mutual assistance; for right reason demonstrates the foundations of faith, and, illumined by its light, cultivates the science of things divine; while faith frees and guards reason from errors, and furnishes it with manifold knowledge. So far, therefore, is the Church

<sup>1</sup> Matt. xi. 25.

<sup>2</sup> II. Cor. v. 7.

<sup>3</sup> V. Council of Lateran, Bull *Apostolici regiminis*.

<sup>4</sup> Coloss. ii. 8.

from opposing the cultivation of human arts and sciences, that she in many ways helps and promotes it; for she is neither ignorant of nor despises the benefits to human life which result from them, but confesses that, as they came from God, the Lord of sciences, so, if they be rightly treated, they lead to God by the help of His grace. Nor does the Church forbid that each of these sciences within its own sphere should make use of its own principles and its own method, but, while recognizing this just liberty she is sedulously on her guard, lest by opposing the divine teaching, they assume the patronage of errors, or lest going beyond their own boundary, they invade and trouble the domain of faith.

For the doctrine of faith which God has revealed has not been proposed as a philosophical invention, to be perfected by human talent, but has been delivered as a divine deposit to the Spouse of Christ, to be faithfully kept and infallibly expounded. Hence, also, that meaning of the sacred dogmas is perpetually to be retained which Holy Mother Church has once set forth, nor is that meaning ever to be departed from under the appearance and pretence of more profound intelligence. Let then the intelligence, science, and wisdom of each and all, of individuals and of the whole Church, in all ages and at all times, increase and flourish abundantly and vigorously, but only in its own proper sphere, that is to say, in the same dogma, the same sense and the same opinion.<sup>1</sup>

## C A N O N S .

### I.—OF GOD THE CREATOR OF ALL THINGS.

1. If anyone shall deny one true God, Creator and Lord of things visible and invisible; let him be anathema.

2. If anyone shall shamelessly affirm that besides matter nothing exists; let him be anathema.

3. If anyone shall say that the substance or essence of God and of all things is one and the same; let him be anathema.

4. If anyone shall say that finite things, both corporeal and spiritual, or at least spiritual, have emanated from the divine substance;

or that the divine essence by the manifestation or development of itself, becomes all things;

or, in fine, that God is a universal or indefinite being, which by determining itself constitutes the universality of things, distributed according to genera, species, and individuals; let him be anathema.

<sup>1</sup> Vincent of Lerins, *Common.* n. 28.



5. If anyone confess not that the world, and all things contained in it, both spiritual and material, have been in their whole substance produced by God out of nothing ;

or shall say that God created not of His will free from all necessity, but as necessarily as He necessarily loves Himself ;

or shall deny that the world was made for the glory of God ; let him be anathema.

## II.—OF REVELATION.

1. If anyone shall say that the one and true God, our Creator and Lord, cannot be known with certainty by the natural light of human reason through created things ; let him be anathema.

2. If anyone shall say that it is impossible or inexpedient that man by divine revelation should be instructed regarding God and the worship to be paid to him ; let him be anathema.

3. If anyone shall say that man cannot be raised by divine power to a knowledge and perfection higher than that which is natural, but that he of himself can and ought, by a continuous improvement, at length arrive at the possession of all that is true and good ; let him be anathema.

4. If anyone shall not receive as sacred and canonical the books of Holy Writ, entire with all their parts, as the holy Synod of Trent enumerated them, or shall deny that they have been divinely inspired ; let him be anathema.

## III.—OF FAITH.

1. If anyone shall say that human reason is so independent that faith cannot be required of it by God ; let him be anathema.

2. If anyone shall say that divine faith is not distinguished from the natural knowledge of God and of moral things, and that therefore it is not essential to divine faith that revealed truth be believed because of the authority of God, who reveals ; let him be anathema.

3. If anyone shall say that divine revelation cannot be made credible by outward signs, and therefore that men must be moved to faith by each one's sole internal experience, or by private inspiration ; let him be anathema.

4. If anyone shall say that no miracles can be performed, and therefore that all narratives of them, even those contained in Holy Writ, are to be classed among fables or myths ; or that miracles can never be known with certainty, and that the divine origin of Christianity cannot be proved by them ; let him be anathema.

5. If anyone shall say that the assent of Christian faith is not free, but that it is necessarily produced by the arguments of human reason ; or that the grace of God is necessary only for the living faith which worketh by charity ; let him be anathema.

6. If anyone shall say that the condition of the faithful and of those who have not yet arrived at the only true faith is equal, so that Catholics suspending their assent may have just cause for doubting the faith already received under the teaching of the Church, until they shall have completed a scientific demonstration of the credibility and truth of their faith ; let him be anathema.

#### IV.—OF FAITH AND REASON.

1. If anyone shall say that in divine revelation no true mysteries properly so called are contained, but that all the dogmas of faith can be understood and demonstrated from natural principles by reason properly cultivated ; let him be anathema.

2. If anyone shall say that human sciences are to be handled with such freedom that their conclusions, although they may be opposed to revealed doctrine, are to be retained as true, and cannot be proscribed by the Church ; let him be anathema.

3. If anyone shall say that sometimes it may happen that according to the progress of science, a sense different from that which the Church has understood and understands is to be given to dogmas taught by the Church ; let him be anathema.

Therefore, fulfilling the duty of our supreme pastoral office, we entreat, by the bowels of Jesus Christ, and by the authority of the same God our Saviour we command all the faithful of Christ, and chiefly those who preside or exercise the ministry of teaching, zealously and devotedly to labour in warding off and banishing from holy Church these errors, and in spreading the true light of pure faith.

And since it is not sufficient to shun heretical pravity, unless those errors also be diligently avoided, which approach it more or less closely, we admonish all of the duty of also observing the constitutions and decrees by which all such evil opinions not here distinctly enumerated have been proscribed and prohibited by the Holy See.

FIRST DOGMATIC CONSTITUTION ON THE  
CHURCH OF CHRIST PROMULGATED IN  
THE FOURTH SESSION OF THE HOLY ŒCU-  
MENICAL VATICAN COUNCIL.

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PIUS BISHOP,

SERVANT OF THE SERVANTS OF GOD, WITH THE APPROVAL OF  
THE SACRED COUNCIL, FOR PERPETUAL REMEMBRANCE.

The eternal Pastor and Bishop of our souls, in order to render perpetual the life-giving work of His redemption, determined to build the Holy Church, wherein, as in the House of the living God, all the faithful might be united in the bond of one faith and charity. Wherefore, before entering into His glory, He prayed unto the Father, not for the apostles only, but for those also who through their preaching should come to believe in Him, that all might be one, even as the Son and the Father are one. As then the apostles whom he had chosen to Himself from the world were sent by Him, not otherwise than He Himself had been sent by the Father; so did He will that there should ever be pastors and teachers in His Church to the end of the world. But in order that the Episcopate might be one and undivided, and that by means of a closely united priesthood the whole multitude of the faithful might be preserved in the unity of faith and communion, placing Blessed Peter over the rest of the Apostles, He established in him the abiding principle of this twofold unity, and its visible foundation, that upon its strength the everlasting temple should be built, and the sublime structure of the Church destined to reach the heavens, should rest on the firmness of this faith.<sup>1</sup> And since the gates of hell, with daily increasing hatred, endeavour on all sides to overthrow, if possible, the Church, by upheaving the foundation thus set by God; We, for the preservation, safe-keeping, and increase of the Catholic flock, with the approval of the sacred Council, do judge it to be necessary to propose to the belief and acceptance of all the faithful, in accordance with the ancient and constant faith of the universal Church, the doctrine regarding the institution, perpetuity, and nature of the sacred Apostolic Primacy in

<sup>1</sup> S. Leo M, serm. iv. (al. iii.) cap. 2. in diem Natalis sui.

which consists the strength and solidity of the entire Church, and to proscribe and condemn the contrary errors, so baneful to the flock of Christ.

## CHAPTER I.

### OF THE INSTITUTION OF THE APOSTOLIC PRIMACY IN BLESSED PETER.

We, therefore, teach and declare that, according to the testimony of the Gospel, the primacy of jurisdiction over the Universal Church of God, was promised to and conferred on Blessed Peter the Apostle, immediately and directly by Christ the Lord. For it was to Simon alone (to whom he had said before: thou shalt be called Cephass<sup>1</sup>), that afterwards, on occasion of the confession made by him: thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God—the Lord addressed the words: Blessed art thou Simon Bar-Jona, because flesh and blood hath not revealed it to thee, but my father who is in heaven. And I say to thee that thou art Peter; and upon this rock I will build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give to thee the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven. And whatsoever thou shalt bind upon earth, it shall be bound also in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose upon earth, it shall be loosed also in heaven.<sup>2</sup> And it was upon Simon alone that Jesus, after His resurrection, bestowed the jurisdiction of Chief Pastor and Ruler over all His fold in the words: Feed my lambs: feed my sheep.<sup>3</sup> At open variance with this clear doctrine of Holy Scripture, as it has been ever understood by the Catholic Church, are the perverse opinions of those, who, distorting the form of government established by Christ the Lord in His Church, deny that Peter in his single person, in preference to all the other Apostles, whether taken separately or together, was endowed by Christ with a true and proper primacy of jurisdiction; or of those who assert that the same primacy was not bestowed immediately and directly upon Blessed Peter himself, but upon the Church, and through the Church on Peter as her minister.

If anyone, therefore, shall say that Blessed Peter the Apostle was not appointed by Christ our Lord the Prince of all the Apostles, and the visible Head of the whole Church militant; or that the same directly or immediately received from the same Lord Jesus Christ a Primacy of honor only, and not of true and proper jurisdiction; let him be anathema.

<sup>1</sup> Joan. i. 42.

<sup>2</sup> Matt. xvi. 16-19.

<sup>3</sup> Joan. xxi. 15-17.

## CHAPTER II.

OF THE PERPETUITY OF THE PRIMACY OF PETER IN  
THE ROMAN PONTIFFS.

What the prince of shepherds and great shepherd of the sheep, Jesus Christ our Lord, established in the person of the blessed apostle Peter, to secure the perpetual welfare and lasting good of the Church, the same must, by the power of its founder, necessarily remain for evermore in the Church ; which, being founded upon the Rock, is to stand firm to the end of ages. For none can doubt, and indeed it is known to all ages, that the holy and blessed Peter, the prince and chief of the apostles, the pillar of the faith and foundation of the Catholic Church, received the keys of the kingdom from our Lord Jesus Christ, the Saviour and Redeemer of the human race, and that in his successors, the Bishops of the Holy See of Rome, founded by him, and consecrated by his blood, he lives and presides, and judges up to the present time and always.<sup>1</sup> Whence, whosoever succeeds Peter in this See, by the institution of Christ himself, obtains the Primacy of Peter over the whole Church. The disposition made by truth therefore remains, and Blessed Peter, abiding in the strength of the rock that he received, has not abandoned the helm of the Church,<sup>2</sup> of which he took charge. On this account it has at all times been necessary that every Church—that is to say, the faithful throughout the world—should agree with the Roman Church, on account of its more powerful principedom, that all being associated in that See whence the rights of communion spread to all, as members united under the head, might combine to form one connected body.<sup>3</sup>

If, then anyone, shall say that it is not by the institution of Christ the Lord, or by divine right, that Blessed Peter has a perpetual line of successors in the Primacy over the Universal Church ; or that the Roman Pontiff is not the successor of Blessed Peter in this Primacy ; let him be anathema.

## CHAPTER III.

OF THE POWER AND CHARACTER OF THE PRIMACY OF THE  
ROMAN PONTIFF.

Wherefore, resting on plain testimonies of the Sacred writings, and in accordance both with the clear and express

<sup>1</sup>Cf. Ephesini Concilii Act. iii. et S. Petri Chrysol. ep. ad Eutich. presbyt.

<sup>2</sup>S. Leo M. Serm. iii. (al. ii.) cap. 3.

<sup>3</sup>S. Iren. adv. hæres. l. iii. c. 3. et Epist. Conc. Aquilei. a. 381. ad Gratian. Imper.

decrees of our predecessors, the Roman Pontiffs; and of General Councils, we renew the definition of the Œcumenical Council of Florence, in virtue of which all the faithful of Christ must believe that the holy Apostolic See and the Roman Pontiff holds the primacy over the whole world, and that the Roman Pontiff is the successor of Blessed Peter, Prince of the Apostles, and true Vicar of Christ, Head of the whole Church, and father and teacher of all Christians; and that to him in Blessed Peter was given by Jesus Christ our Lord full power to feed, rule, and govern the universal Church: as is also contained in the acts of the general Councils and in the sacred canons.

Further, we teach and declare that, by the appointment of our Lord, the Roman Church possesses the supreme authority of ordinary jurisdiction over all other Churches, and that this power of jurisdiction of the Roman Pontiff, which is truly episcopal, is immediate; to which all, both pastors and faithful, of whatsoever rite and dignity, both individually and collectively, are bound to submit, by the duty of hierarchical subordination and true obedience, not only in matters belonging to faith and morals, but also in those that appertain to the discipline and government of the Church throughout the world, so that through the preservation of unity both of communion and of the profession of the same faith with the Roman Pontiff, the Church of Christ may be one flock under one supreme pastor. This is the teaching of the Catholic truth, from which no one can deviate without detriment to faith and salvation.

But so far is this power of the Supreme Pontiff from being prejudicial to that ordinary and immediate power of episcopal jurisdiction, by which the Bishops, who, having been set by the Holy Spirit, have succeeded to the place of the Apostles, feed and govern, as true Pastors, each the flock assigned to him, that this episcopal authority is really sustained, strengthened, and vindicated by the supreme and universal Pastor; in accordance with the words of St. Gregory the Great: My honour is the honour of the whole Church. My honour is the firm strength of my brethren. When due honour is not denied to each of them, then am I truly honoured.<sup>1</sup>

Moreover, from this supreme power possessed by the Roman Pontiff of governing the Universal Church, it follows that he has the right of freely communicating in the exercise of this his office with the Pastors of the whole Church, and with their flocks, that these may be taught and governed by him in the way of salvation. Wherefore we condemn and reject the opinions of those who hold that the communication between

<sup>1</sup> S. Gregor. M. ad Eulog. Alexandrin. l. viii. ep. xxx.

the supreme Head and the Pastors and their flocks can lawfully be impeded ; or who represent this communication as subject to the will of the secular power, so as to assert that whatever is done for the government of the Church by the Apostolic See, or by its authority, cannot have force or value, unless it be confirmed by the assent of the secular power.

And since by divine right of the Apostolic primacy, the Roman Pontiff presides over the Universal Church, we further teach and declare that he is the supreme judge of the faithful,<sup>1</sup> and that in all causes appertaining to ecclesiastical jurisdiction, recourse may be had to his judgment ;<sup>2</sup> and that none may re-open the judgment of the Apostolic See, than whose there is no greater authority, and that it is not lawful for any one to sit in judgment on its judgments.<sup>3</sup> Wherefore they depart from the straight path of truth who assert that it is lawful to appeal from the decisions of the Roman Pontiffs to an Œcumenical Council, as to an authority superior to the Roman Pontiff.

If, then, anyone shall say that the Roman Pontiff has the office only of inspection or direction, but not full and supreme power of jurisdiction over the Universal Church, not alone in things which belong to faith and morals, but in those which relate to the discipline and government of the Church spread throughout the world ; or who assert that he possesses merely the principal part, and not all the fulness of this supreme power ; or that this power which he enjoys is not ordinary and immediate, whether over each and all the Churches, or over each and all the Pastors and the faithful ; let him be anathema.

## CHAPTER IV.

### OF THE INFALLIBLE AUTHORITY OF THE ROMAN PONTIFF IN TEACHING.

Moreover, that the supreme power of teaching is also included in the Apostolic primacy, which the Roman Pontiff, as the successor of Peter, Prince of the Apostles, enjoys over the whole Church, this Holy See has always held, the perpetual practice of the Church attests, and Œcumenical Councils themselves have declared, especially those in which the East with the West met in the union of faith and charity. For the Fathers of the fourth Council of Constantinople, following in

<sup>1</sup> Pii PP. VI. Breve *Super soliditate*, d. 28. Nov. 1786.

<sup>2</sup> Concil. Œcum. Lugdun. ii.

<sup>3</sup> Ep. Nicolai I. ad Michaellem Imperatorem.]



the footsteps of their predecessors, issued this solemn profession: The first condition of salvation is to keep the rule of the true faith. And because the sentence of our Lord Jesus Christ cannot be passed by, who said: Thou art Peter, and upon this Rock I will build my Church, these words, which have been said, are proved true by events, because in the Apostolic See the Catholic religion has always been kept immaculate, and the holy doctrine publicly maintained. Therefore, nowise desiring to be separated from the faith and doctrine of that See, we hope to be worthy to be in the one communion proclaimed by the Apostolic See in which is the entire and true solidity of the Christian religion.<sup>1</sup>

And with the approval of the second Council of Lyons, the Greeks professed: that the Holy Roman Church enjoy supreme and full primacy and pre-eminence over the whole Catholic Church, which primacy it truthfully and humbly acknowledges to have received with the plenitude of power from our Lord Himself in the person of Blessed Peter, Prince or head of the Apostles, of whom the Roman Pontiff is successor; and as the Apostolic See is bound before all others to defend the truth of faith, so also if any questions regarding faith shall arise, they must be defined by its judgment.

Finally, the Council of Florence defined: That the Roman Pontiff is the true Vicar of Christ, and the head of the whole Church, and the father and teacher of all Christians; and that to him in Blessed Peter was delivered by our Lord Jesus Christ, the full power of feeding, ruling, and governing the whole Church.

To satisfy this pastoral duty our predecessors ever made unwearied efforts that the salutary doctrines of Christ might be propagated among all the nations of the earth, and with equal care watched that it might be preserved sincere and pure where it had been received. Wherefore the Bishops of the whole world, sometimes individually, sometimes assembled in synod, following the long-established custom of the churches, and the form of the ancient rule,<sup>2</sup> reported to this Apostolic See those dangers especially which arose in matters of faith, that there chiefly the losses of faith might be repaired where the faith cannot fail. And the Roman Pontiffs, according to the exigencies of times and circumstances, sometimes assembling Œcumenical Councils, or inquiring into the mind of the Church scattered throughout the world, sometimes by particular Synods, sometimes using the other helps supplied

<sup>1</sup> Ex formula S. Hormisdæ Papæ, prout ab Hadriano II. Patribus Concilii Œcumenici VIII., Constantinopolitani IV., proposita et ab iisdem subscripta est.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. S. Bern. Epist. 190.

by Divine Providence, defined that those doctrines were to be held, which, with the help of God, they had found to be conformable to the sacred Scriptures and apostolic Traditions. For the Holy Spirit was not promised to the successors of Peter that by His revelation they might proclaim any new doctrine, but that with His assistance they might scrupulously keep and faithfully expound the revelation delivered through the Apostles, that is, the deposit of the Faith. And indeed all the venerable Fathers have embraced and the holy orthodox Doctors have reverently followed their apostolic doctrine; knowing most fully that this see of holy Peter remains ever free from all blemish of error according to the divine promise of the Lord our Saviour made to the Prince of His disciples: I have prayed for thee that thy faith fail not, and thou, at length converted, confirm thy brethren.

This gift, then, of truth and never-failing faith was conferred by Heaven upon Peter and his successors in this Chair, that they might perform their high office for the salvation of all; that the whole flock of Christ, turned away by them from the poisonous food of error, might be nourished with the food of heavenly doctrine; that the occasion of schism being removed the whole Church might be kept one, and, resting on its foundation, might stand firm against the gates of hell.

But since in this very age, in which the salutary efficacy of the Apostolic office is more than ever required, not a few are found who carp at its authority, we judge it altogether necessary solemnly to assert the prerogative which the only-begotten Son of God has vouchsafed to join with the supreme pastoral office.

Therefore, faithfully adhering to the tradition received from the beginning of the Christian faith, for the glory of God our Saviour, the exaltation of the Catholic religion, and the salvation of Christian people, with the approbation of the Sacred Council, we teach and define it to be a dogma divinely revealed: that when the Roman Pontiff speaks *ex cathedra*, that is, when in discharge of the office of Pastor and Teacher of all Christians, by virtue of his supreme Apostolic authority, he defines that a doctrine regarding faith or morals is to be held by the Universal Church, he enjoys, by the divine assistance promised to him in Blessed Peter, that infallibility with which the divine Redeemer willed His Church to be endowed in defining a doctrine regarding faith or morals; and that therefore such definitions of the Roman Pontiff are irreformable of themselves, and not from the consent of the Church.

But if anyone—which may God avert—presume to contradict this our definition; let him be anathema.

## A VISIT TO THE ARAN-MORE OF ST. ENDA.

## PART I.

ON a summer's day, some fourteen hundred years ago, St. Enda of Aran, as his ancient life tells us, knelt by the shore of the harbour where Lough Corrib joins the sea, to ask a blessing on the fishermen who then plied their craft in Galway Bay.<sup>1</sup> On a summer's day in the present year, from the very spot where our saint had prayed, we set sail to visit, in love and reverence, the remote Aran, which his virtues had changed from a Pagan isle into Aran of the Saints. And as the faint breeze bore us slowly over the waters that lay almost motionless in the summer calm, we gazed with admiration upon a scene which, at least in its larger outlines, was but little changed since St. Enda and his pilgrim band had first looked upon it. Before us there lay stretched out the same expanse of sea, fringed on one side by the dark plains of Iar-Connaught, along which the eye travelled from the white cliffs of Barna to where the Connemara mountains, in soft blue masses, stood out in fantastic clusters against the sky. On the other side ran the Clare coastline, now retreating before the deep sea-inlets, and now breasting the Atlantic with bold promontories like that of gloomy Black-Head, or with gigantic cliffs like those of Mohir. And as the day closed, and we watched the evening breeze steal out from land, crisping the water into wavelets that presently rippled against the vessel's side; and as we saw the golden glory of the sunset flush with indescribable loveliness, earth, and sea, and sky, we thought how often in bygone days, the view of Aran rising, as we then saw it, out of the sunlit waves, had brought joy to the pilgrim who was journeying to find rest upon its rocky shore:

And as I view the line of light that plays  
 Along the smooth waves, towards the burning west,  
 I long to tread that golden path of rays,  
 And think 'twill lead to some bright isle of rest.

It was some such thoughts as these that stirred St. Enda's heart when he cried out that Aran was to be the place of his resurrection, where, in his flesh, he was to look upon the face of his God; it was through some such feeling that St. Columba, after lavishing upon the Aran of his soul every term of endearment, crowned at length his praise by calling it the "Rome of the pilgrim."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Colgan, *Acta SS.*, page 709, n. 25.

<sup>2</sup> See *infra*, St. Columba's "Farewell to Aran."

The Aran isles are three in number, named respectively, Inishmore (the large island), Inishmain (the middle island), and Inisheen (the eastern island). The eastern island is the smallest of the three, and is about two-and-a-half miles long; the middle island is three miles long; the largest is about nine miles in length, and twenty-four in circumference. The entire group contains about 11,288 acres, of which only 742 are productive. Geologically considered, the islands belong to the upper division of carboniferous limestone. Mention is made of Aran at a very early period of Irish history. The most authoritative of our ancient Irish MSS. relate that after the great battle of Moytura, on the shores of Loughs Corrib and Mask, in which the Firbolgs or Belgae, after four days' fighting, were defeated by the Tuatha de Danann, a portion of the Belgae crossed over to Aran, where as in an impregnable stronghold, they established themselves, about the beginning of the Christian era. One of their leaders was Engus MacUathmore, after whom the great fort or dun on Inishmore was named. About the year of our Lord 480, the island was inhabited by infidels from Corcomroe, the adjacent part of Clare. About that date, St. Enda received the island by the donation of Engus, King of Munster, whose wife, Darenia, was St. Enda's own sister. The Pagans were converted to Christianity, or quitted the island, which, under St. Enda, soon became one of the great Christian sanctuaries of the west of Europe. The Annals of the Four Masters tell of a great conflagration at Aran in the year 1020, and of the devastation wrought there by the Normans or Danes in the year 1081. At a later period it was held by the O'Briens, the head of whom, commonly called MacTeige O'Brien, kept his residence at Aircin or Arkin, on the great island. The O'Briens were expelled in their turn by the O'Flahertys, who, again, were dispossessed by Queen Elizabeth, under whom the castle of Arkin was erected in 1587, on the site of the residence of the O'Briens. Elizabeth gave the island to John Ransom, from whose hands it passed into the possession of Sir Robert Lynch, of Galway. In Cromwell's time this castle was pulled down, and a strong fort erected in its place, of which fort we shall have occasion to speak further on. In December, 1650, 700 of the Irish landed here in boats, flying from defeat on the mainland, and were speedily followed by 1,300 of the English foot, with a battery. The Irish surrendered, and Sir R. Lynch having been declared a traitor, Erasmus Smith became owner of Aran. This crafty undertaker disposed of his interest to the Butlers, one of whom, in 1662, was created Earl of Aran;

from the Butlers the islands passed through the Fitzpatrick's to the Digbys,<sup>1</sup> who are the present owners.

The present inhabitants, about 3,400 in number, mainly belong to the race that inhabits the south-western parts of Ireland. In their character, they exhibit the beautiful results of the action of the Catholic religion upon a stock gifted with fine intellect and great sensibility, under circumstances which allow that religion to exercise, without hindrance, its blessed influence. Their simple Catholic faith, so pure, so tender, and so fervent, is crowned in them with the crown of good works. They are a courteous, handsome, and amiable people, with a refinement of manner and a delicacy of sentiment, which surprised and delighted us. Their high intelligence, their good-natured readiness to oblige; the total absence of the greed of gain, no less than their erect and graceful carriage, marked them out as something, of which we had not before seen the like. We bear cheerful witness to the accuracy of the following account of their social state, given by Dr. Petrie :—<sup>2</sup>

"I had heard so much of the virtues of the Aran islanders, of their primitive simplicity, their ingenuous manners, and their singular hospitality, that I could not help doubting the truth of a picture so pleasing and romantic, and felt anxious to ascertain, by personal observation, how far it might be real. . . . Collectively, the inhabitants of the Aran islands may be said to exhibit the virtues of the Irish character with, perhaps, as little intermixture of its vices as the lot of humanity will permit.

"They are a brave and hardy race, industrious and enterprising; as is sufficiently evinced, not only by the daily increasing number of their fishing vessels, the barren rocks which they are covering with soil and making productive, but still more by the frequency of their emigration from their beloved country and friends to a distant wilderness, led solely by the hope that their indefatigable labour may be employed there to the greater ultimate benefit of their families.

"They are simple and innocent, but also thoughtful and intelligent, credulous, and in matters of faith, what persons of a different creed would call superstitious. . . . Lying and drinking—the vices which Arthur Young considers as appertaining to the Irish character—form, at least, no part of it in Aran, for happily their common poverty holds out less temptation to the one or opportunity for the other.

<sup>1</sup> See Ordnance Survey MSS., R.I.A. Lib., Galway, vol. 3, to which we are much indebted, especially for details of measurement.

<sup>2</sup> Stokes's *Life of Petrie*, page 49, 50.

"I do not mean to say that they are rigidly temperate, or that instances of excess, followed by the usual Irish consequences of broken heads, do not occasionally occur; such could not be expected when their convivial temperament, and dangerous and laborious occupations are remembered. They never swear, and they have a high sense of decency and propriety, honour and justice. In appearance they are healthy, comely, and prepossessing; in their dress (with few exceptions), clean and comfortable; in manner, serious, yet cheerful, and easily excited to gaiety; frank and familiar in conversation, and to strangers polite and respectful; but, at the same time, wholly free from servile adulation. They are communicative, but not too loquacious; inquisitive after information, but delicate in seeking it, and grateful for its communication.

"If the inhabitants of the Aran islands could be considered as a fair specimen of the ancient and present wild Irish—the veriest savages in the globe, as the learned Pinkerton calls them—those whom chance has led to their hospitable shores, to admire their simple virtues, would be likely to regret that the blessings of civilization had ever been extended to any portion of this very wretched country."

Though poor, the Araners are not exposed to crushing want. The perennial harvest of the sea supplies these hardy fishermen with abundance of food; their untiring industry covers the barren rock with a scanty crop; their cattle are eagerly sought after in the markets of the mainland, and we believe that still, as in O'Flaherty's time, the young men are accustomed to go down, with ropes tied about 'them, into the caves of the cliffs to kill the wild birds that love to make their home therein.<sup>1</sup> Nor is the samphire-gatherer's perilous trade unknown to them. In addition, they export great quantities of kelp, to be used in the manufacture of iodine.

We landed on Inishmore, at the little village of Kilonan, about thirty miles distant from Galway, and, after some rest, set out towards the south-west coast to visit the wonderful fort of Engus. Having gained the low hill that commands the village, we halted to contemplate the weird and dun landscape that surrounded us. It was a landscape peculiar to Aran. The island falls from the south-west, facing east and north; and from the vantage ground on which we stood, the eye traversed fields upon fields of bare, dark-grey rocks, which now rose into hills, now sank into valleys, according to the action of the force that had originally upheaved the island itself.

<sup>1</sup> O'Flaherty's *Iar Connaught*, page 69.

But here, above, around, below,  
On mountain or in glen,  
No tree, nor shrub, nor plant, nor flower,  
Nor aught of vegetative power,  
The weary eye may ken ;  
For all is rocks at random thrown,  
Bleak waves, bare crags, and banks of stone.

The ground was covered with rocks, not scattered and disjointed as they occur elsewhere, but spreading into immense sheets and tables of stone, sometimes sixty feet broad, as smooth as polished marble, and giving out beneath the tread a sonorous metallic ring. In some places these slabs rise tier upon tier, stone overlapping stone with a precise regularity of mass and form, which reminded you of masonry cunningly piled by giant hands. Winding in and out, in a thousand mazes, a thread of fresh green herbage could, on closer inspection, be traced along the hill side, up-springing where the natural cleavage of the rocks had left deep fissures, now and then widening into a patch of verdure, in which wild flowers of every hue bloomed in luxuriance against the grey crag. Frequent enclosures of loose stones crossed each other in and out in almost countless ridges, until it seemed as if both rocks and verdure were covered with an iron network of most irregular pattern.

The fertile portion of the island lies in the valley to the left of the road leading from Kilronan, and in it the principal religious establishments were erected. We passed a group of Araners engaged in gathering the harvest, by the simple process of tearing up the corn by the root. On either side of the road we remarked, at irregular intervals, monuments raised to the memory of the dead. They stood sometimes singly, sometimes in groups, almost in each case surmounted by the cross, and consisting of a square pile of masonry, about seven feet in height. A rude cornice, about half way from the top, divided them into two portions, the upper of which bore a tablet, having inscribed upon it a prayer for the soul of the departed one, to whose memory the pile had been raised. How touching is the solicitude thus displayed by those good Catholics to procure prayers for the souls of their beloved dead ! The bodies of the deceased were interred in the far-off cemeteries, where the saints repose—*ad sanctos*—as the sepulchral slabs in the Roman catacombs express it ; but as these outlying places were remote from the centres of the population and seldom visited by men, the loving Catholic instincts of the people suggested the erection of these monuments of prayer



by the wayside, that all who passed by might bestow on the faithful departed the suffrages of their charity.

Leaving the road at a point where a sudden fault in the dark rocks allows the waves to wash a narrow strip of beach covered with sand of pearly whiteness, we crossed the fields towards the hill upon which Dun Engus stands. On reaching the south-west coast, we descended through an opening in the tall cliffs, down to the water-line, where the Atlantic was surging heavily against the solid rock. What a scene lay before us! On the one hand the cliffs rose sheer from the water with surfaces seamed, and scarred, and torn by the tremendous violence of the billows driven in upon them, by centuries of winter tempests. At our feet the waves were breaking on the lowest shelf of rock, leaving uncovered (it was low tide), a hard ledge honey-combed by the water into countless cavities, some deep, where lived the richly-coloured sea-anemones and other wonders of the shore, others shallow, from which we gathered handfuls of salt, extracted from the brine by the fierce heat of the sun. On the right, a sudden turn brought us to where the rocks rose into a noble arch (which recalled forcibly to our mind one of the arches in the Temple of Peace in the Roman Forum), spanning a polished pavement, in the middle of which a pool of water azure blue, carried from the sea through subterranean conduits, rose and fell within a basin, hewn, as if by hands, in the living rock. On climbing the almost vertical escarpment at the opening of this grotto, we found a second ledge of rock some thirty feet in breadth, over which, at high water, the waves rush to dash themselves against a still higher range of precipitous cliffs. On the summit of this range the soft grass grows to the very brink. This height commands a sea prospect which is said to be one of the noblest in the world. The vast Atlantic stretching illimitably towards the south and west, the extensive coasts of Kerry and Clare, with headlands and lofty mountains, and islands far off in sight, must be seen in the calm bright sunshine as we saw them, in order to form any idea of the sublimity and beauty of the view.

Crowning the cliff, where it rises precipitously from the sea some three hundred and two feet, stands the fort of Dun Engus, the finest specimen of a barbaric fortress now existing in Europe, or perhaps in the world. We approached it, not from the land side, but by a route skirting the edge of the cliff, and we shall endeavour to describe each portion of it in the order in which it actually fell under our notice. First, we came upon a dry stone wall, an irregular ellipse in form, which, in its entire circuit from cliff to cliff, encloses a space of about

eleven acres. This wall is very much injured, and is the outermost of the three walls which protected the fort. It was built in two divisions, after a fashion which we shall describe in treating of the two inner walls. At a considerable distance from this outermost wall, we came upon an army of white sharp-pointed stones, set slopewise in the earth, reaching all round breast high, save where a narrow avenue was left. This belt runs all round the second wall from cliff to cliff, and is in some places thirty feet broad. It fully answers the purpose of an *abbatis* or the *chevaux de frise* of modern fortifications, and must have proved a most formidable defence. No assailing party could possibly approach the second rampart, except through the avenue, without having its ranks broken and disordered by its thick and intricate piles of rock. Between the *chevaux de frise* and the second rampart there is a fragment of another wall, about seven feet in height, and covering only about one-tenth part of the second interior line of defence. This second interior defence consists of a cyclopean wall surrounding the fort itself at irregular distances, being about thirty-two feet distant from it at the western side, near the cliff, and about forty-two on the north-western side. It is about six feet thick and twelve high, and like the outermost wall is built in two concentric divisions. Within this second rampart the space to the central fortification is clear. The central fortification consists of an immense oval wall, composed of three distinct walls built up against each other, like the several coats of an onion, which arrangement occurs also in the two outermost enclosures, and in the other fortresses of the same kind in Aran and elsewhere. At first it is difficult to understand why the walls were constructed thus in layers and not in solid masses. But this peculiarity is explained by the principle on which these fortresses are constructed, which is thus described by Mr. Ferguson, as exemplified in the Staigue fort in Kerry:—"Within the (enclosure), at about six feet from the surface, the thickness of the wall is diminished by one-third, so as to leave a circular ledge, or *terre-pleine*, of five or six feet in width, projecting all round. This ledge is reached by flights of stairs on the inner face of the wall. At a height of five or six feet higher another contraction of the thickness of the rampart takes place, leaving a like ridge, or shelf of masonry, approached in like manner by steps from the former, and serving as a kind of *banquette*<sup>1</sup> to the parapet formed by the remaining height of the parapet.

<sup>1</sup> *Banquette*, in modern fortification, is a little raised way or footbank, running along the inside of a parapet, on which the musketeers stand to fire upon the enemy, in the moat or covered way.—*Encyc.*

An arrangement in the building, exhibiting a good deal of military contrivance, is made subservient to the formation of these internal stages. Instead of building the rampart in bulk, and starting with a fresh face of masonry above each ledge, the Fir-Volg builders have, in every case, built their rampart from the foundation in as many concentric independent walls as they designed to have *banquettes*; so that if an enemy should succeed in breaching the external envelope, he would find immediately behind it a new face of masonry, instead of the easily-disturbed loose interior of a dry stone wall."<sup>1</sup>

The greatest height of this triple wall at present is about eighteen feet; the inner division of the wall is about three feet thick; the second or central, about five; and the external about four; giving in all a total thickness of about twelve feet. The height of the inner division at present is not more than seven feet. The entire central fort from the north side of the ring to the cliff, measures one hundred and fifty feet, and along the cliff, from wall to wall, west to east, one hundred and forty feet. On the north-west side of the ring, there is a passage leading from the inside into the thickness of the wall, about five feet in width, and four feet high from the bottom to the roof, where it is covered by large stones, placed horizontally. This was probably an apartment for the use of some of the garrison. A sloping roof, round the inner wall, would easily supply shelter for a large number of men.

The door to the keep is in the north-eastern side, and is nearly perfect, resembling in its form that of the earlier churches. It is so much blocked up by the loose stones which have fallen from the walls, that we were compelled to enter on our hands and knees. The traces of stairs are still to be distinguished amid the ruin that has been wrought upon the walls by the winter blasts, and by the hand of man. The course of the *banquette*, especially along a portion of the eastern side, may be quite plainly discerned.

The stones of which the walls are built are large and small, the large being employed in the outside, the small within. In no instance did we observe huge blocks like those employed in the so-called Cyclopean walls throughout Italy, such as we have admired in the walls of the ancient Tusculum. Indeed, in some of the Christian temples on the island, we found blocks much larger than any we could perceive in the ramparts of the Pagan Dun.

Standing on the square blocks of stone which occupy portion of the area of the central fort, we looked in vain for some proof that the fort had originally been a complete oval.

<sup>1</sup> "Dublin University Magazine," January, 1853, pp. 92, 93.

Nor have we been convinced by any reasoning that has since come in our way that it ever was oval. It is true that the Aran islands and other places in Ireland exhibit frequent instances of round or oval fortresses of the class to which Dun Engus belongs, a near example being that of Dun Connor, on the middle island, which measures from north to south no less than two hundred and twenty seven feet. But it was difficult for one standing on the brow of the cliff, and scanning the small extent of the change made on the coast line around him within the historical period, to believe that some hundred and fifty feet of the living solid rock had been eaten away by the action of the waves. Nor do we attach much weight to the argument that unless we admit the fortress to have been oval, it would have been left defenceless for a space of above a hundred feet. Surely, a sheer cliff rising from the sea to the height of three hundred and two feet, was a defence enough against any force that could be brought up against it in those days. Ledwich, who in his *Antiquities* describes Dun Engus as a monkish *mandra*, furnishes a print in which not only is the oval completed, but the modern houses of the monks are seen rising over the rampart, which in turn is shaded by tall and leafy trees, while in the foreground a group of religious are walking down a rocky pathway, ornamented with large wooden crosses! These wonders are, we need hardly say, entirely the product of his imagination. Wooden houses in Aran are as rare as leafy trees among its barren rocks; and how rare these are there is little need to tell. And yet, for years Ledwich has thus impudently imposed upon the credulity of his readers by a mendacious print, which he absolutely invented to sustain a foolish story advanced by him concerning St. Enda. It is consoling however to reflect that the ancient glories of our Catholic island no longer form the exclusive domain of writers like this charlatan, whose ignorance was equalled only by his insolent attacks upon all that is dear to the heart of a Christian Irishman.

And now quitting these proud fortresses, where the pagan monarch paraded his fierce strength, let us visit the lowly places wherein Christian humility taught St. Enda, himself a king's son, to lead a life hidden with Christ in God.

St. Enda, whose name is written in Irish, Einne and Ende, and in Latin, Endeus and Enna, was born in Louth about the middle of the fifth century, and was the only son of Conall, King of Oriel, whose territories included the modern counties of Louth, Monaghan, Armagh, and Fermanagh. Three of his sisters, Fanchea, Lochinia, and Carecha, were nuns, and

Darenia, the fourth sister, was wife of Engus, King of Cashel, whose death is placed by the Four Masters in the year 489. On the death of his father, the youthful Enda was chosen to succeed him as head of the men of Oriel. The warlike spirit of the times took strong hold of the young prince's heart, and we find him at an early period of his life captivated by the love of glory, and eager to show by his military prowess that he was worthy of the royal race from which he had sprung, and of the throne which he filled. His holy sister Fanchea, was incessant in her exertions to win for God her brother's heart, which, with all its defects, she knew to be chivalrous and pure. For a time her words of warning and entreaty remained without result; but the season of grace came soon. Enda had asked from his sister in marriage one of the royal maidens who were receiving their education in the convent which she ruled. Fanchea communicated his request to the maiden: "Make thou thy choice, whether wilt thou love Him whom I love, or this earthly bridegroom?" "Whom thou lovest," was the girl's sweet reply, "Him also will I love." She died soon after, and gave her soul to God, the spouse whom she had chosen.

"The holy virgin," says the ancient life, "covered the face of the dead girl with a veil, and going again to Enda said to him: "Young man, come and see the maiden whom thou lovest." Then Enda with the virgin entered the chamber where was the dead girl, and the holy virgin uncovering the face of the lifeless maiden, said to him: "Now look upon the face of her whom thou didst love." And Enda cried out: "Alas! she is fair no longer, but ghastly white." "So also shalt thy face be," replied the holy virgin. And then St. Fanchea discoursed to him of the pains of hell and of the joys of heaven, until the young man's tears began to flow. O! the wondrous mercy of God in the conversion of this man to the true faith! for even as He changed the haughty Saul into the humble Paul, so out of this worldly prince did he make a spiritual and a holy teacher and pastor of His people. For having heard the words of the holy virgin, despising the vanities of the world, he took the monk's habit and tonsure, and what the tonsure signified, he fulfilled by his actions."<sup>1</sup>

After having founded a monastery in his native place, St. Enda is said to have proceeded to Rosnat or Abba, in Britain, where he remained for some time under the spiritual direction of St. Mansenus or Manchan. Thence, according to the above-mentioned life, he went to Rome, where "attentively studying the examples of the saints, and preparing himself

<sup>1</sup>(*Vita S. Endæi*, auctore Augustino Magradin, apud Colgan, *Acta SS.*, p. 705.)

in everything for the order of priesthood, having at length been ordained priest, he was pleasing to the most high God." He built a monastery called *Lactinum*, or *the Place of Joy*; and rightly so called, adds the life, "because therein the command of loving God and our neighbour was most faithfully carried out."

Returning to Ireland, he landed at Drogheda, and built several churches on either side of the river Boyne. He then proceeded southwards to visit his brother-in-law, Engus, King of Munster, from whom he asked the island of Aran, that he might dwell thereon. The King was first unwilling to comply with his request: not because he was ungenerous, but because he had learned from St. Patrick "not to offer to the Lord his God, any lands save such as were good and fertile, and easy of access."<sup>1</sup> But St. Enda declared that Aran was to the place of his resurrection; and at length the King made an offering of the island "to God and to St. Enda," asking in return the blessing of the Saint.

Having thus obtained possession of what he rightly deemed a place of singular retirement, and well suited for the rigours of a penitential life, St. Enda returned to his brethren and conducted them in safety to the island, which was then inhabited by Pagans from the adjacent coast of Clare. He divided the island into ten parts, and built thereon ten monasteries, each under the rule of its proper superior. He chose a place for his own residence on the eastern coast, and there erected a monastery, the same and site of which is preserved to this day in the little village of Kil-eany (Kill-Enda), about a mile from Kilronan. One half of the island was assigned to this monastery.

Then began the blessed days, when the sweet odour of penance ascended to heaven from the angelic band of monks, who, under the severe rule of St. Enda, made Aran a burning light of sanctity for centuries in western Europe. "The virginal Saint from Aran Island," as Marianus O'Gorman styles St. Enda, was to them a model of all the virtues of the religious life, but above all he excelled in the exercise of penitential mortifications. St. Cuimin of Connor tells us that—

Enda loved glorious mortification  
In Aran—triumphant virtue!  
A narrow dungeon of flinty stone,  
To bring the people to heaven.

"Aran," says Froude,<sup>2</sup> is no better than a wild rock. It

<sup>1</sup> Acta SS., loco. cit.

<sup>2</sup> Short Studies, vol. 2, page 216.

is strewed over with the ruins which may still be seen of the old hermitages; and at their best they could have been but such places as sheep would huddle under in a storm, and shiver in the cold and wet which would pierce through the chinks of the walls. . . . Yes; there on that wet soil, with that dripping roof above them, was the chosen home of these poor men. Through winter frost, through rain and storm, through summer sunshine, generation after generation of them, there they lived and prayed, and at last lay down and died."

These miracles of penance were the first and immediate results of St. Enda's work in Aran.

It was in his life that these holy men had daily before them, the personal realization of all they were striving after: he taught them to cherish the flinty dungeon and the dripping cave for love of the hard manger, and the harder cross; he bade them dwell amid the discomforts and dreariness of their island home, because in the tabernacles of sinners the blessed majesty of God was daily outraged by the crimes of men. Through him they came to know the gift of God, and who He was who spoke with them in their solitude; Whose converse made eloquent for them the silence of the night, and Whose angels peopled their lonely island with visions of heavenly beauty. "Trust to one who has had experience," his life said to them, as St. Bernard said to the monks of Cîteaux, "you will find something far greater in the woods than you will find in books. Stones and trees will teach you that which you will never learn from masters. Think you not you can suck honey from the rock, and oil from the flinty rock? Do not the mountains drop sweetness? the hills run with milk and honey, and the valleys stand thick with corn?"<sup>1</sup> We cannot indeed, describe the details of his daily life, for they have been hidden from human view, as it is becoming that such secrets of the Heavenly King should be hidden. But there yet survives the voice of one of those who lived with him in Aran, and in the ideal of an abbot which St. Carthage sets before us, we undoubtedly find re-produced the traits which distinguished the abbot of Aranmore, from whom St. Carthage first learned to serve God in the religious life. St. Enda was his first model of the "patience, humility, prayer, fast and cheerful abstinence; of the steadiness, modesty, calmness that are due from a leader of religious men, whose office it is to teach in all truth, unity, forgiveness, purity, rectitude in all that is moral; whose chief works are the constant preaching of the

<sup>1</sup> St. Bernard, Ep. 106.

gospel for the instruction of all persons, and the sacrifice of the Body of the great Lord upon the holy altar."<sup>1</sup> It was on Aranmore, and in St. Enda, that he first beheld at the altar of God that pattern priest after whose example he thus warns all priests:—

"When you come into the Mass—  
It is a noble office—  
Let there be penitence of heart, shedding of tears,  
And throwing up of hands.  
There shall be no permanent love in thy heart,  
But the love of God alone.  
For pure is the body thou receivest.  
Purely must thou go to receive it."<sup>2</sup>

This angelical life did St. Enda live upon Aran in the midst of his children until he reached a venerable old age. We reserve for our next paper, a further account of his work, and of the traces of it yet remaining on the island.

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## IRISH HISTORICAL STUDIES IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

### I.—THE FRANCISCAN COLLEGE OF ST. ANTHONY OF PADUA, LOUVAIN.

*Introduction. Foundation of the Franciscan College of St. Anthony's, in Louvain, in 1606:—Mainly due to Dr. Florence Conry, O.S.F. Sketch of his life:—F. Donagh Mooney, O.S.F., first guardian of St. Anthony's. His labours and writings:—F. Bonav. Hussey, O.S.F.:—The Irish printing-press at St. Anthony's:—Later history of St. Anthony's.*

IRELAND owes no small debt of gratitude to those self-sacrificing men, who, during the first half of the seventeenth century, devoted their lives to illustrate her annals, and gather together the scattered fragments of her early history. Throughout Elizabeth's reign, ruin and desolation had fallen upon this kingdom; its monasteries were destroyed, its schools proscribed, its clergy persecuted, its most fertile districts reduced to a desert waste, and nothing was left undone

<sup>1</sup> "Rule of St. Carthage," *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, vol. i., p. 117.

<sup>2</sup> Loc. cit., p. 118.



to seize upon or destroy every monument of its ancient glory. Some of the agents of this reckless vandalism were impelled by irreligious fury, for thus they imagined they might turn away our devoted people from the long-cherished faith of their fathers; others were led on by the delusive hope that the national spirit of Ireland would cease to exist when the monuments of her early fame were obliterated and forgotten. "It seemed to you" (thus writes Michael O'Clery, the chief of the Four Masters, when dedicating his work to the O'Gara, of Coolavin, in 1636)—"It seemed to you a cause of pity and regret, grief and sorrow for the glory of God and the honor of Ireland, how much the race of Gaedhal have gone under a cloud and darkness, without a knowledge of the death of saint or virgin, archbishop, bishop, abbot, or other noble dignitary of the Church; of king or prince, lord or chieftain, and of the synchronism or connection of the one with the other. I explained to you that I thought I could get the assistance of the chroniclers for whom I had most esteem, for writing a Book of Annals, in which the aforesaid matters might be put on record; and that, should the writing of them be neglected at present, they would not again be found to be put on record or commemorated to the end and termination of the world."<sup>1</sup> Dr. Petrie, the great restorer of Celtic archæological studies in our own time, having cited these words in an address before the Royal Irish Academy, adds:—"How prophetic were the just apprehensions of that chief compiler, that if the work were then neglected or consigned to a future time, a risk might be run that the materials for it should never again be brought together. Such, indeed, would have been the sad result. . . . In that unhappy period, nearly all the original materials of this compilation probably perished, for one or two of them only have survived to our times. . . . Had this compilation been neglected, or had it, as was supposed, shared the fate of its predecessors, what a large portion of our history would have been lost to the world for ever."

There was also another reason why it was particularly important in the beginning of the seventeenth century to guard the few surviving monuments of our country. The traditions of the past were then rapidly fading away from the memory of our people. The newly-imported settlers from England and Scotland had no interest in cherishing such traditions. Novel names of districts and towns were everywhere springing up and gradually supplanting the old Irish designations; the system of clans and tribes, each with its respective chronicler

<sup>1</sup> "Annals of the Four Masters," translated by O'Donovan, vol. i., p. 56.

or bard, handing down from father to son the knowledge of the early dialects, was also broken up for ever, and thus there was imminent peril lest even the few monuments that had survived the storm of past vandalism might be unintelligible records, and a sealed book for posterity. Hence, I hesitate not to say, that were it not for the Irish Franciscans in the beginning of the seventeenth century, and for others, who, both at home and abroad, emulated their devotedness, and rivalled them in zeal for preserving the literature of our country, the history of Ireland at the present day would be little more than a mere blank. The name of *Island of Saints* indeed might not be forgotten, but visionaries and aliens to our country might, without fear of rebuke, usurp its glory, or set forth, as based on reality, the most foolish dreams of their imagination, and pervert alike the truths of our history and the tenets of our faith. Thanks, however, to those devoted sons of Ireland in the seventeenth century, many precious monuments of our early Church and history have been preserved to us, sheltered by the mantle of St. Francis, in the recesses of our island, or in the monasteries on the Continent; the traditions of our people were duly chronicled, the records of the past were illustrated, the knowledge of the ancient Celtic language was preserved, and those materials were handed down which have enabled the writers of our own day to place beyond cavil the just claims of our island to a glorious and hallowed page in the history of the Christian world.

In the ranks of those devoted men, the Irish Franciscans of the Convent of St. Anthony in Louvain, merit the place of honor—not indeed that they were the first to enter this field of labour—but because they were foremost in reducing to system the study of our antiquities, and more than any others laboured untiringly and perseveringly to preserve and illustrate the records of our history.

This Convent of St. Anthony of Padua, at Louvain, dates from the year 1606. “The Rev. Father Florent Conrie, an Irishman born, a Franciscan Friar, and then Provincial of the Order in Ireland (it is thus an official account of the foundation of the College runs) petitioned King Philip the Third, in 1606, ‘That his Catholick Majestie would be pleased to grant the Irish Franciscans a place for a College and means whereby to live in the towne and universitie of Loven, and diocese of Mechlin, to the service and glorie of God, to the preservation of the Catholick religion, and their holy Order in the kingdome of Ireland.’”<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Archiv. S. Isid. Rome.—There has been much controversy about the date of  
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On the 6th of January, 1602, three days after the fatal battle of Kinsale, which sealed the fate of Ireland as an independent nation, Father Florence Conry set sail with the heroic O'Donnell, to solicit aid from the Spanish Monarch. Eight months later he watched by the death-bed of that brave chieftain at Simancas, and accompanied his remains to their regal tomb in the cathedral of Valladolid.<sup>1</sup> Father Conry knew too well the fate that awaited him if he set his foot again on the Irish shore. He remained at one of the Franciscan convents of Spain, but still continued to devote all his energies to promote the welfare of religion in his suffering country. At the General Chapter of the Order, held at Toledo, in 1606, he was appointed Provincial for Ireland; for so bitter was the persecution (*ob sacvitiam persecutionis*),<sup>2</sup> that then raged throughout the kingdom, that the Provincial Chapter could nowhere be held in Ireland.<sup>3</sup> His first care was to petition the Spanish Monarch, for the erection and endowment of a Convent of the Order in the city and university of Louvain. This request was readily granted, and Philip the Third, by letters dated the 21st of September, 1606, signified his pleasure to the Arch-Duke, Albert, Governor of the Low Countries, as also to the Marquis Spinola, Commander of the forces there, that the petition of Father Conry should be granted without delay; and that 1000 Spanish Ducats per annum, should be allotted for the support of the New College. Some difficulties however arose in Louvain about the erection of this national Franciscan Convent, and early in the following year, we find Father Conry addressing a petition to the reigning Pontiff, Paul V., soliciting "Apostolicke authoritie for building the intended Colledge," and asking at the same time a confirmation of the Royal pen-  
the foundation of the Convent of St. Anthony: some placing it in the year 1606 others in 1609, others at a later period. See Renahan, "Collections on Irish Church History," page 190. The dates in our text are taken from the official document above referred to, and from copies of the original letters of Philip the Third and the Archbishop of Mechlin, preserved in the archives of St. Isidore's in Rome.

<sup>1</sup> See "History of Ireland," by T. Darcy M'Gee. Vol. 2., page 63.

<sup>2</sup> The above particulars are taken from a MS., entitled "*Brevis Synopsis Provinciae Hiberniae fratrum Minorum*," written between the years 1630 and 1633, preserved in the archives of St. Isidore's. A History of the various Franciscan Convents in Ireland was published from this MS. in the Catholic Magazine (Dublin, February, 1847). A little later we will have occasion to make some remarks as to the compiler of this MS.

<sup>3</sup> Loc. cit. ad. an. 1606.—The MS. adds that he governed the Irish Province during his three years of office *per substitutum vicarium*. The next Chapter in 1609, owing to the severity of the persecution, was held in a wood, near the Convent of Roscrea, *in sylva prope conventum Roscreensem*, when Father Maurice Ultan was chosen Provincial. In 1612 the Provincial Chapter was again held in a wood near the Convent of Kilmaleighin *in sylva prope conventum de Kilmaleighin*, and Father Francis O'Melaghlin was elected Provincial.

sion accorded by Philip the Third. A Brief of His Holiness, granting all the requests of the Franciscan Provincial was published on the 3rd of April, 1607; and the letters of the Archduke, Albert, and Isabella, commanding that this Brief should be put into immediate execution, are dated the 17th of August, 1607. The erection of the building was at once proceeded with, and precisely two years from the date of the Papal Brief (*i.e.*, the 3rd of April, 1609), an official, deputed by the Archbishop of Mechlin, visited the new College, and in canonical form, declared it duly "erected and instituted for the Franciscans of the Irish nation."

To the influence of Dr. Florence Conry at the Spanish Court, and to the favour of the Holy See, Ireland was mainly indebted for the tranquil retreat thus secured for the zealous children of St. Francis. The fruits which the College soon produced proved how just were the expectations which had been formed by its patrons. Its chronicler assures us that from the time of its foundation to the year 1630, there were chosen from its inmates no fewer than three archbishops and two bishops for Irish sees,<sup>1</sup> besides eighteen professors of theology, twenty-five professors of philosophy, and sixty-three missionaries for labouring in the vineyard of the Irish Church, "some of whom laid down their lives, and others suffered imprisonment or exile for the faith of Christ."<sup>2</sup>

Although Dr. Conry receives no place among the writers on Irish history and antiquities in the seventeenth century, there can be but little doubt that he exercised considerable influence in forming that great historical school, which, in after time, shed such lustre on St. Anthony's of Louvain. He was the son of Fithil O'Moelchonry, of Cluantuibh, in Connaught, who was an antiquary by profession, and whose family had been for centuries the depositaries of the traditions and glories of the Western districts of our island. In baptism he received the name of Flathri, though in after years he was better known by the Latin name, Florentius. When rather advanced in age he embraced the religious life of the Franciscans of strict observance, and, as Lynch informs us, discharged the duties of Provincial of his Order in Ireland even before the close of the sixteenth century. In the month of May, 1609, he was promoted to the See of Tuam, and though he was unable to con-

<sup>1</sup> These were Hugh MacCaghwel, appointed Archbishop of Armagh on 2nd April, 1626; Thomas Fleming, appointed Archbishop of Dublin, 23rd October, 1623; Florence Conry, appointed Archbishop of Tuam in 1609; Boetius MacEgan, appointed Bishop of Elphin in 1625; and Hugh (Bonaventure) Magennis, appointed Bishop of Down and Connor on 9th April, 1630. The last named Prelate entered the Convent of St. Anthony's Louvain, on 2nd June, 1614.

<sup>2</sup> *Quorum aliqui morte, alii captivitate et carcere pro fide affecti.* MS. *Brevis Synops. &c.*, p. 60.

sole his flock in person, he never ceased, by the appointment of zealous vicars and by frequent pastoral letters, to watch over their interests and provide for their spiritual wants. During his leisure hours he devoted himself with special ardour to the study of the writings of St. Augustine ; and it is recorded that he read each of that great Father's works seven times. Wadding, in his History of the writers of the Franciscan Order, gives a list of the Theological writings of Dr. Conry, some of which were not published till after the death of this prelate. They were held in great esteem by some of his contemporaries, and were frequently appealed to in the angry controversies on the subject of divine grace, which agitated the schools at this period. An important public letter of Dr. Conry, dated at Valladolid, the 1st of March, 1615, on the conduct of the Catholic members of the Irish Parliament in permitting the confiscation of the estates of the Ulster chieftains, O'Neil and O'Donnel, is preserved to us in the "*Historia Catholica*" of O'Sullivan Beare.<sup>1</sup> In it he passes a high eulogy on the individual character of those members, most of whom were of English descent, but he censures their parliamentary conduct in sacrificing the interests of their Irish brethren, and thus effecting the ruin of religion in Ulster. "They showed but little constancy," he says, "in admitting Sir John Davis as Speaker of the House, and in allowing the unconstitutionally elected members to sit with them in Parliament : " "my fears," he adds, "were increased by what you told me of the confiscation, and you appear yourself as if undecided about its illegality when you say that *otherwise the king and his party would be offended*. What ! Will they not be offended if you refuse the oath of supremacy, or if you oppose the confiscation of your own property to-morrow or next day ? . . . Do you doubt that it is sinful to rob men, not convicted of any crime, of their property ? Were not these noblemen pardoned by the king, and if they, either to avoid calumnious suspicion, or to practise their religion more freely, retired from the country, is that a crime either proved or notorious ? Moreover, most of the Catholics on all that territory must soon, at least in few generations, be perverted to error, and their example and numbers will spread heresy through the other provinces. And are these souls to be sacrificed to etiquette, or to the labour and pain of a three days' struggle and opposition ? What ! do you not daily give up your properties ; do you not sacrifice the fines and penalties of not attending the Anglican worship, rather than violate a law of the Church ? And yet here is a matter prohibited, not by a law of the Church, but by the law

<sup>1</sup> *Hist. Catholica*, edited by Rev. Dr. Kelly, page 255.

of nature and of God. God, in his mercy grant that you commit not such a crime, nor tarnish your former glory, nor provoke the wrath of the Almighty."

One of the most valuable of Dr. Conry's works was a small Catechism which was printed in Irish at Louvain, in 1626, with the title, "The Mirror of a Christian Life."

After many years of painful exile, this illustrious founder of St. Anthony's died in a convent of his Order at Madrid, on the 18th November, 1629, in the 69th year of his age, and the 21st of his episcopacy. His remains were translated to Louvain in 1654, and a becoming monument was erected at the right of the high altar in the Church of the Irish Franciscans, with the following sweet lines dictated by Nicholas Aylmer, the Rector of the Pastoral College in Louvain:—

"Hic jacet et floret Praesul Florentius aegis,  
Dum pietas, virtus, docta Minerva vigeat.  
Ordinis altus honor, fidei patriaeque patronus,  
Pontificum, merito, laude, perenne jubar.  
Funde preces animae, lector, pia vota merenti,  
Gratia nam Magnis debita magna viris.  
Vivus, opus fabricae fratres devinxit amore,  
Pignus amicitiae, mortuus ossa dedit."

Another inscription was added, as follows:—

"Illmus et Revmus Florentius Conrius  
Ord. Min. Regularis Observantiae  
Archiepus Tuamensis  
Provinciae Hiberniae Quondam Minister  
Pietate, Prudentia, Doctrina  
Maximus  
Æternæ Memoriae  
Dignissimus  
Quo Sollicitante  
Pro restauranda in Hibernia fide orthodoxa  
Hoc S. Antonii a Padua Collegium  
Munificentia Philippi III. Hispaniarum Regis  
Fundatum est  
Anno Christi 1606.  
Laboribus variis Fidei et Patriae ergo  
Fractus  
Pie obiit in Conventu S. Francisci Matrity  
1629  
XIV. Kal. Decembris. Ætatis 69. Archiep. 21.  
Hujus Collegii PP. Anno 1654  
Quo ejus ossa ex Hispania translata  
Et hic immortalitatis praeemium exspectant  
Grati Posuere.

If the new Irish foundation at Louvain was fortunate in having such a founder, it was perhaps still more fortunate in having Father Donatus Mooney for its first guardian. He was a man earnestly devoted to the study of the antiquities of Ireland, and to him we are specially indebted for that Irish historical school which soon became characteristic of St. Anthony's, and enabled it in after times to render such services, and shed such light on the early monuments of our history.

Whilst as yet a Franciscan novice, Father Mooney suffered imprisonment for the Faith. He was living with the Provincial of the Order, Father John Gray, in the Monastery of Multifernan, and the aged Bishop of Kilmore, Dr. Richard Brady,<sup>1</sup> had chosen the same sanctuary as a safe retreat. They were, however, all seized in 1601, and dragged to prison, where our young novice lingered for some months. Whilst as yet in prison, he completed his noviciate and was admitted to the holy vows of his Order by his fellow-captive, the Father Provincial.

Soon after, he was liberated, but on the condition that he should seek a home in exile on the Continent.<sup>2</sup>

The chronicler of the Order adds, that he was "a man of great ability and learning. After teaching philosophy and theology in France, he was appointed the first guardian of the convent of St. Anthony, in Louvain, and subsequently he held a similar office in Drogheda. He was a distinguished preacher, and strenuously laboured for the conversion of the heretics, and the salvation of the faithful. Being elected Provincial of the Order, in the Chapter held in Waterford in 1615, he for three years faithfully discharged the duties of that arduous post."

Father Mooney seems to have had a special talent for the reconstruction of the walls of the sanctuary in Ireland. In 1610 he was sent as superior to Drogheda, to restore the house of the Order, which, from the middle of the thirteenth century, had flourished till the year 1546, when it was reduced to ruin by Moses Hill, one of the unprincipled agents of the lawless monarch, Henry VIII. From an account of this Franciscan mission in Drogheda, which was forwarded to Rome in 1623, we learn some interesting details regarding our Church at that period of its desolation. Father Balthasar de

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Richard Brady was a religious of the Order of St. Francis, and had been Provincial from 1570 to 1573. He was appointed Bishop of Ardagh on 27th January, 1576, and was subsequently translated to Kilmore on 9th of March, 1580. He lived to an advanced age and died from the hardships of his imprisonment in 1607. Ward, in his narrative, merely states that "aliquoties ab haereticis captus et incarcerationatus est." Many details regarding this Bishop may be seen in "History of the Franciscan Monasteries," p. 49.

<sup>2</sup> *Brev. Syn.*, loc. cit.

la Hoyd, a native of the diocese,<sup>1</sup> was at this time Vicar-General of the absent Primate, Peter Lombard,<sup>2</sup> and resided in Drogheda. In 1623 his health was seriously impaired by illness, and his nephew, Christopher de la Hoyd, was his appointed delegate, with the same powers of Vicar-General, and at the same time received the charge of the parishes of St. Peter's and St. Mary's in that town. At this time there was only one public oratory in the town; in it the Vicar-General performed the ceremonies of the Church with as much pomp as the circumstances of the times would allow, and he was assisted by two Jesuits, Fathers Robert Bath and James Everard, who established there the Confraternity of the Blessed Virgin, and laboured with zeal in administering the Bread of Life to the faithful.

Some ruins of the old Franciscan convent still remained,<sup>3</sup> and as close to them as his safety would permit, the new Superior rented a private house where a small oratory was erected, and the faithful very soon flocked in crowds, to approach the Holy Sacraments. It happened that the Protestant Primate, Christopher Hampton,<sup>4</sup> had chosen Drogheda for his residence, and was now busily engaged building an episcopal palace for himself and his successors.<sup>5</sup> The new impulse given to Catholic piety was little less than treason in the eyes of the Protestant dignitary; hence, he more than once assailed the humble lodgings of the Franciscans, destroyed the altar and carried off the religious to prison.<sup>6</sup> They persevered, nevertheless, and the chronicler of the Order, writing in 1630, was able to attest that, from the re-establishment of the convent in 1610, "the friars never ceased to labour for the salvation of the faithful and the conversion of heretics, although they have been several times persecuted, and some of them arrested and put in prison."<sup>7</sup>

It was also through the exertions of Father Mooney that the Franciscan Order was re-established in Dublin in 1615. Here, too, the ancient convent had been suppressed by order of Henry VIII., and was sold for secular purposes in 1543. In Cook-street, which was now chosen for their new and

<sup>1</sup> He is styled in the MS. "Principalis substitutus quondam Vicarii Diocesani et nunc in capite institutus Vicarius Generalis Diocesanus ab aliquot annis."

<sup>2</sup> For many particulars connected with this illustrious Archbishop of Armagh, see the Introduction to his work entitled "*De Hibernia Insula Commentarius*," in the edition, Dublin, Duffy, 1868.

<sup>3</sup> "Etiamnum ruinae apparent." *MS. Relatio*.

<sup>4</sup> Appointed in 1613, died in 1624. Harris's *Ware, Bishops*; p. 97.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> "Licet variis objecti periculis et pseudo-Primatis persecutionibus, qui captis aliquoties quibusdam fratribus altare soepius destruxit in quo divina res fiebat." *MS Relat. of 1623*.

<sup>7</sup> *Brev. Synop.* MS. in Archiv. S. Isid.



more humble abode, the religious set to work with true devotedness; schools were opened especially for the instruction of their own students in philosophy and theology, and the chronicler adds that "the faith received extraordinary increase in the city and neighbouring country by the preaching of the friars."<sup>1</sup> The persecuting spirit of the so-called Reformation was soon, however, to blight all the fair promise of this good work. The destruction of the Franciscan schools and convent has been described by many anti-Catholic as well as Catholic writers. It is unnecessary to repeat what they have written, but I will add to their testimony the following unpublished narrative, written in 1633:—

"Through the enmity of Satan, our schools and convents were soon destroyed, when on the 26th of December, the feast of St. Stephen, in the year 1629, the heretical mayor of the City of Dublin, named Christopher Foster, accompanied by the Protestant pseudo-bishop and a body of troops, assailed the chapel of the Friars Minors of that city, overthrew the images and altars, and carried off its other ornaments: but when leaving the place, the mayor, with his followers, was assailed with sticks and stones by an excited tumultuous crowd of women and boys, on account of which offence, very many of the Catholics, men and women, boys and girls, were arrested and thrown into prison; some youths, moreover, were punished with the lash; and in the following year, 1630, the 24th February, by a new edict of King Charles of England, the aforesaid chapel and convent of the Friars Minors in Dublin were sacked and levelled to the ground."<sup>2</sup>

Father Mooney, as we have seen, was chosen Provincial of the Order in Ireland in 1615. The following year he proceeded to St. Anthony's, in Louvain, to watch over the growth of that institution, and during the leisure months that he enjoyed there, composed "The History of his Order in Ireland," a work of vast research and full of invaluable details, not only regarding the early foundations of the various Franciscan convents, but still more illustrative of the desolation

<sup>1</sup> *Brev. Synop.* MS. in Archiv. S. Isid.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, page 45. "Per invidiam diaboli cito dissipata fuerunt cum anno Domini 1629, die 26 Decembris in festo S. Stephani hora 10 mattutina Christophorus Foster Haereticus praetor civitatis Dublinen, comitatus pseudo Episcopo haeretico et militum cohorte sacellum fratrum minorum ejusdem urbis ingressus fractis imaginibus et altaribus et sublatis aliis ornamentis domum rediret, concitato mulierum et puerorum clamore et tumultu, dictus praetor cum sequacibus exceptus fuit lapidibus et fustibus propter quod plurimi ex Catholicis viri et matronae, pueri et puellae capti et in vincula coniecti sunt, nonnulli adolescentes flagellis caesi, annoque sequenti 1630, die 24, Feb. novo edicto Caroli Regis Angliae, praefatum sacellum et domus fratrum memoratorum Dublini destructa fuit et solo aequata."

and ruin that fell upon our Church during the sad era of the Reformation, under Henry VIII., Elizabeth, and James I.<sup>1</sup> It has been embodied and popularized in the interesting "History of the Rise and Fall of the Irish Franciscan Monasteries," by Rev. C. P. Meehan, a work full of interest to all students of Irish literature.

There is another Franciscan Father who merits to be mentioned among the first promoters of Celtic studies at St. Anthony's. This was Giolla-Brigid, or Bonaventure Hussey, a native of Ulster, who, in the Chronicles of the Order, is described as a "man held in great esteem for his singular skill in the language and history of Ireland." In a MS. list of the first religious who received the habit in the Convent of St. Anthony's,<sup>2</sup> I find the name "*Bonaventura Hosaeus, antea Brigidus, dioecesis Cloghorensis, admissus die 1 Novembris, 1607.*" O'Reilly, in his "Irish Writers," states that in 1608 Father Hussey published his prose Irish Catechism in Louvain, the first book printed on the Continent in Irish, and that it was reprinted at Antwerp in 1611. I suspect, however, that the date of its first publication in Louvain should be 1618, in which year an edition of it, under the title of "The Christian Doctrine," is mentioned by Anderson.<sup>3</sup> At all events, it was only in 1611 that the Irish typographical press was established at St. Anthony's, as we learn from the following passage of the History of the Order, written in 1630:—"The Irish Convent of Louvain, for the salvation of souls in the Kingdom of Ireland, established in the year 1611 a printing press with the proper type for the Irish letters, which, on account of the prevailing heretical rule, was heretofore impracticable to the Catholics of that Kingdom; and printed some books in the Irish language to the great advantage of the faithful."<sup>4</sup> Father Hussey also composed a metrical Catechism in two hundred and forty verses, which a century later was published by Donlevy as an appendix to his own famous Catechism in the Irish language. O'Reilly mentions several other unpublished poems composed by the same writer, some of which are preserved in the Royal Irish Academy.

<sup>1</sup> A copy of this work in quarto, transcribed from the original text, was sold in November, 1869, among the MSS. of the late Dr. Todd. The original is preserved in the Royal Library at Brussels (MSS. No. 3195), with the following heading:—"Tractatum sequentem de Provincia Hiberniae concinnavit Reverendus admodum P. Donatus Monaeus, dum esset provincialis, et huc ex Hibernia ad res hujus collegii S. Antonii ordinandas advenisset."

<sup>2</sup> Archiv. S. Isid. Rome.

<sup>3</sup> *The Native Irish*. By C. Anderson, page 59.

<sup>4</sup> *MS. Brev. Synopsis Prov. Hib.* "pro communi Regni Hiberniae animarum salute, Hibernici idiomatis proprios characteres et impressionem antea numquam ob praedominantem haeticam potestatem Catholicis ejus Regni permissum anno 1611 erexit et aliquot ejusdem idiomatis libros fidelium utilitati impressit."

The extract from the History of the Order just cited, mentions some books, *aliquot libros*, printed in the Irish language, at St. Anthony's. It is not easy now to determine what these books were; one of them, no doubt, was the Irish Catechism of Dr. Conry, already referred to; another was the "Mirror of Penance," published in 1618, by Hugh MacCaghwell, O.S.F., who was subsequently appointed to the primatial see of Armagh. In a MS. catalogue of the books of the Irish Convent of Louvain, made about the year 1675, I find mention of another work with the title *Acta Sanctarum Virginum Hibernice*, which some time before had been lent to the Convent of Donegal. Perhaps this too may have been one of the books referred to in the above extract. At all events the Irish type of St. Anthony's continued for many years to render good service to our literature. The illustrious annalist, Michael O'Clery, availed himself of it when publishing his Glossary in 1643; F. Anthony Gernon, another Irish Franciscan, made use of it in 1645, for his "Paradise of the Soul;" a Jesuit, F. Richard MacGiollacuddy (better known by his anglicized name of Archdekin) printed with it a Treatise on Miracles, in 1677; and Colgan, and his brother hagiologists made frequent use of it in the Irish extracts inserted in their invaluable Latin works. The type was still preserved at St. Anthony's in 1675, but there was then but little encouragement for Irish publications. In the MS. list of the books belonging to that Convent of which I have already spoken, the following passage is added, as precious as it is concise, and giving the only reference to this Irish type which I have been able to discover in contemporary records:—

"In a plain chest is preserved the type of the printing press. The key is over the chest. In the pulpit there is one silver chalice belonging to the Convent of Donegal, a small case of the relics of various saints, and the silver seal belonging to O'Donell. In the first of the upper rooms, in a small chest, is the Irish type, with its own forms; also several copies of Colgan's works, Ward's St Romnald, the *Fochloir* (i.e. O'Clery's Glossary), and some skins for the covers of books."<sup>1</sup>

With the arrival of F. Hugh Ward, in 1623, began the golden era of historical studies in St. Anthony's. For fifty

<sup>1</sup> "In plana cesta habentur litterae typographiae: clavis pendet supra cestam. In pulpito est unus calix argenteus spectans ad conventum Dungallensem: parva Bursa Reliquiarum aliquorum sanctorum; sigillum argenteum spectans ad O'Donellum. In cameris superioribus: in prima manent litterae typographiae Hibernicae in parva cesta cum suis formis; plura exemplaria Actt. SS. Hibernicae et Tr. Thaum; disquisito de S. Romualdo, &c., Fochloir, cum coriis aliquot pro libris cooperiendis." *loc cit.*

years the religious of that convent pursued these studies with unrivalled activity, although more than once their material resources were quite exhausted, and they merited for their convent the eulogy bestowed by no partial writer in our own days: "No Franciscan college has maintained with more zeal than this, the character of the order, as expressed in their motto: *Doctrina et sanctitate*." (Proceedings of R. I. A. vol. III., page 485). The learned Bollandist, F. De Buck having cited these words, adds: "It would be easy to show the justness of this eulogy presenting in detail the names of the professors who have taught at St. Anthony's."<sup>1</sup>

The historian of Louvain, writing in 1667, laments the poverty which the inmates of St. Anthony's had so often to endure; for frequently the promised aid of the Government was withheld, and the Irish exiles, now that all their property was confiscated in Ireland, could contribute but little to the support of their religious countrymen, either at home or abroad. A century later another writer of Louvain dwells on the same theme, but adds, "Notwithstanding their poverty, we have often seen, amongst these religious, and we still see amongst them, a number of men of distinction, and of the highest nobility, who prepared themselves there by study and piety to sustain the Catholic religion in England and Ireland; there were even many amongst them who suffered persecution, imprisonment, and cruel torments for the Faith."<sup>2</sup> In the wars and tumults of which Belgium was the theatre during the closing quarter of the last century, the Convent of St. Anthony's was more than once exposed to the fury of the contending parties, and yet this was not the worst violence to which it was subjected. An edict of the Emperor Joseph II., in 1782, appointed a visitator, and enacted some vexatious laws regarding the Religious, though it did not entirely suppress the Convent. Two years later the overflowing of the Dyle swept away all their cattle, wood, and property of every kind. At length, in 1796, when Louvain was invaded by the French, their convent was wholly dismantled, its church was desecrated, its property sold, and this hallowed abode of Irish piety and learning was thenceforth closed against the children of St. Francis.

<sup>1</sup> *L'Archeologie Irlandaise au Couvent de Saint Antoine de Padoue a Louvain*, par le R. P. De Buck, S.J., Paris, 1869, page 3.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* page 2.

## DOCUMENT.

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LETTER OF HIS EMINENCE CARDINAL ANTONELLI ON THE PUBLICATION OF THE APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTIONS OF THE VATICAN COUNCIL.

ILLMO. E RMO. SIGNORE,

Si è dato a conoscere alla S. Sede che qualcuno tra i fedeli e forse anche tra i Vescovi ritiene non essere obbligatoria la Costituzione Apostolica emanata nella Sessione del Concilio Ecumenico Vaticano il 18 del percorso mese di Luglio, finchè con ulteriore atto della S. Sede non venga solennemente pubblicata. Quanto sia strana siffatta supposizione può da ognuno facilmente ravvisarsi. La Costituzione, di cui è parola, ebbe la più solenne possibile pubblicazione nel giorno stesso in cui nella Basilica Vaticana venne solennemente confermata e promulgata dal Sommo Pontefice in presenza di oltre cinquecento Vescovi: essendo stato quindi affissa colle ordinarie formalità nei consueti luoghi di Roma, sebbene ciò con fosse necessario nel caso. In conseguenza di che, secondo la nota regola, si rese obbligatorio per l'intero mondo cattolico, senza bisogno di altra qualsiasi pubblicazione.

Ho creduto dover comunicare a V. S. Illma. questa breve osservazione affinchè possa esserle di norma nel caso di dubbi che Le si muovano da qualche parte.

Con sensi di distinta stima mi confermo.

Di V. S. Illma.

Roma, 11 Agosto, 1870.

Affezmo. per servirla,

G. CARD. ANTONELLI.

Monsignor Nunzio Apostolico,  
Bruxelles

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CORRESPONDENCE.

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THE CLAIMS OF THE IRISH COLLEGE, PARIS.

REVEREND SIR,

I have read with pleasure your well-reasoned paper on the claims of the Irish College, &c., in the IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD. Permit an observation. On page 673, last volume, you quote the Code Napoleon in refutation of Argon, as the existing law at the time of the award.

If it were argued, in reply, that the status of the property were to depend upon the condition of things at the time of its creation, it appears to me that it would only strengthen your case, as those foundations were made at the time when the English crown still maintained its title to the kingdom of France, when, therefore, a subject of Britain, or of Ireland, was justified in placing his property in France, as it was, still constitutionally so, legally under the protection of the Crown of England, Ireland, and France.

First—It was therefore placed there in accordance with the claims of the Crown of the King of Ireland.

Second—You say the nature of the property was not contrary to Irish law.

Third—Though the British or Irish king had relinquished his title to France in the mean time, I do not think there is any instance of the property of his subjects becoming forfeited in consequence of that. It seems then that you have the double claim on the original foundation; and the application of the Code Napoleon to the altered relation of the parties.

Dublin, 10th September, 1870.

LEGAL LAYMAN.

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## MONASTICON HIBERNICUM;

OR,

### A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE ANCIENT MONASTERIES OF IRELAND.

[N.B.—The text of the "Monasticon" is taken *verbatim* from Archdall: the notes marked with numbers are added by the Editors.]

#### COUNTY OF CORK.

953. Died the abbot Dunlang, son of O'Dunagan.<sup>d</sup>

960. The island was again despoiled.<sup>da</sup>

*Carigiliky*; In the parish of Miros in West Carbery. Here are the foundations of some extensive ruins, with a large cemetery; this probably was the site of the abbey of Maure or of the Clear Spring, which was founded A.D. 1172, by Dermot M'Cormac M'Carthy, King of Desmond, who sup-

<sup>d</sup> *Ann. Four Masters.* <sup>da</sup> *Tr. Th. p. 633.*

plied it with Cistercian Monks from the abbey of Baltinglass;\* some writers place this foundation three years earlier.<sup>†</sup>

A.D. 1252. Patrick was abbot.<sup>‡</sup>

1291. The abbot sued Dovenald O'Maythan for a messuage and four carucates of land in Ardocherys<sup>b</sup>

1519. The abbot John Imurily was made bishop of Ross in this year.<sup>†</sup>

5th December, 30th Queen Elizabeth, this abbey with its appurtenances in the towns of Maure, Leshinau, Curraghennin, Lehenauagh, le Graunge, le Garnans, le Curragh, Ardgehan, Lyffearrey, Cregan; Aneghepheyne, Lahernemannagh, Manister, Nestrohuir, and the rectories of Maure and Lyslie, or elsewhere, in this county and belonging to the monastery of Carigiliky, was granted for ever to Nicholas Walshe, at the annual rent of £28 6s. 6d.<sup>11</sup>

*Castle Cor;* In the barony of Duhallow and two miles north of Lohhort. It appears from a plea roll 30th King Edward I. that there was an abbey at Castle Corith;<sup>‡</sup> but we have no other account of it.

*Castle Lyons;*<sup>1 10</sup> A well-built market town, twelve miles from Cork, in the barony of Barrymore.

*Gray Friars;* John de Barry founded this monastery in the year 1307,<sup>m</sup> but good authority has given this house to the Black Dominican Friars, and says that it was dedicated to the Virgin Mary.<sup>n</sup> A considerable part of this building still remains, particularly the choir, nave, and steeple of the church. The possessions belonging to this monastery come into the hands of the first Earl of Cork, who bequeathed the rents and profits arising therefrom to his daughter, the Countess of Barrymore, to buy her gloves and pins.<sup>o</sup>

*White Friars;* ——— de Barry founded a monastery here for Carmelites or Whitefriars.<sup>p</sup>

*Cloggagh;*<sup>11</sup> An inquisition of the 17th of King James I.

\* *War. mon. Pembridge.* † *Canobia Cistert.* ‡ *King, p. 396.* <sup>b</sup> *Id.* <sup>†</sup> *Id.* <sup>11</sup> *Aud. Gen.* <sup>‡</sup> *King, p. 133.* <sup>1</sup> *Called anciently Castle Lehan.* <sup>m</sup> *War. mon.* <sup>n</sup> *Burke, p. 291, 292.* <sup>o</sup> *Smith, vol. 1, p. 164.* <sup>p</sup> *Burke ut sup.*

<sup>10</sup> Castle Lyons, or Castle Lehan, Gray Friars, is beautifully situated in a rich fruitful soil, a short way from the river Bride. In this place John De Barry founded a monastery of Conventual Franciscans, anno 1307. Upon the dissolution, it was granted to the Earl of Cork, who assigned it to his son-in-law David, the first Earl of Barrymore, or rather, to his daughter; for, in his will, he says:—"he bequeathes the rents and profits of his house to his daughter Barrymore to buy her gloves and pins." A considerable part of this abbey still remains, particularly the choir, nave, and steeple of the church, which are still standing connected with the parish church.

<sup>11</sup> Cloggach—Inquisition 12th January, XXXIII. Elizabeth, finds that this religious house, situated near Timoleague on the east, was possessed of half a carucate of land. annual value 6s. 8d., Irish money. (q)

Inquisition 5th January, XVII. James, finds that all the titles of the said half

finds the possessions of the little abbey of Cloggagh in this county.<sup>a</sup> We have no other knowledge of this abbey.

*Clonmene*; Lies on the south side of the Blackwater, in the barony of Duhallow.

A Monastery for friars following the rule of St. Augustin, was founded here by O'Callaghan.<sup>r</sup>

*Cloyne*;<sup>s</sup> In the barony of Imokilly, a poor village, yet is a bishop's see; with a good cathedral.

A.D. 707. An abbey was founded here.<sup>t</sup>

978. It was plundered by the people of Ossory.<sup>u</sup>

1089. Dermot, the son of Toirdhealbhach O'Brien, plundered this place.<sup>w</sup>

1159. O'Dubery, abbot of Cluanavama, died this year; in the annals of Inisfall he is called bishop Dubrein.<sup>x</sup>

Charles Smith, in his history of the county of Cork, says that St. Ite founded a nunnery here, a little west of the present See house; but he certainly mistakes, for that abbey was at Cluainchreduil, which is in the county of Limerick.

*Cluain*; Between the mountains Crot and Marige. St. Sedna, a disciple of St. Senan of Iniscathy, governed a church erected in this place; but he was buried at Kinsale.<sup>y</sup>

This place and the following are now unknown.

*Cluainfinglass*; An abbey was founded here by St. Abban, A.D. 650.<sup>z</sup>

*Cork*;<sup>a</sup> Is the second city in Ireland, and increasing every day in commerce and wealth; it is a bishop's see and a corporate town, sending two burgesses to parliament.

St. Barr, Barroc, or Finbar, but his parents named Lochan, was of the race of the Ibriunratha; he flourished about the year 600, and built an abbey, which, after him, was called the abbey of St. Barr, or Finbar;<sup>b</sup> this foundation is by some placed A.D. 606.<sup>c</sup> This abbey was founded near Loughcraic, which is generally supposed to be that particular hollow in which a great part of the city of Cork stands. St. Barr died at Cloyne, but was interred in his own Church, where his bones were afterwards deposited in a silver shrine;<sup>d</sup> his festival is held on the 25th September.<sup>e</sup>

<sup>a</sup> King, p. 137. <sup>r</sup> Smith, vol. 2, p. 302. <sup>s</sup> Called by the Irish writers *Cluainumha*.

<sup>t</sup> Conry's MS. <sup>u</sup> Annal. Inisfal. <sup>v</sup> Id. <sup>w</sup> Id. <sup>x</sup> Act. SS. p. 573. <sup>y</sup> Id. p. 615.

<sup>z</sup> Was called by the ancient Irish *Corcach*, or *Corcachbascoin*, that is, a marshy place; the harbour they called *Bealaghconliach*. Act. SS. p. 494. <sup>a</sup> Usher. Act. SS. p. 750. War. mon. <sup>b</sup> Conry's MS. <sup>c</sup> War. Bish. p. 556. <sup>d</sup> Calendar. Vet.

carucate of land did belong to the abbey; that the fishery of the pool of Cloggagh, lying between Cloggagh and Kilmoaloda, and adjoining the said lands, did belong to the abbey; that the said abbey, tithes, &c., were concealed by Dermot MacCarthy, formerly Vicar of Kilmoaloda, and that on his death. John, his son, claimed the same as his lawful inheritance, and sold the same to Dermot O'Drea, parson of Kilmoaloda."—"Ordinance Survey Papers," R.I.A., vol. iv., p. 31.



St Nessan, a disciple of St. Barr, and a presbyter of Cork, died March 17th.<sup>f</sup>

A.D. 685. The abbot Russin died April 7th, he was the son of Lappaius.<sup>g</sup>

733. Died Selbac, the comorb of St. Barr.<sup>h</sup>

800. Historians relate, that about this time there were in this abbey 700 monks and 17 bishops, who devoted themselves wholly to a contemplative life.<sup>i</sup>

822. The Danes plundered and burnt this city.<sup>k</sup>

823. They renewed their depredations.<sup>l</sup>

- 838. The town was again spoiled.<sup>m</sup>

839. The Danes repeated the like devastation.<sup>n</sup>

874. Died Domnald the scribe.<sup>o</sup>

891. Died Soerbrethach, another scribe.<sup>p</sup>

908. Ailliol M'Eogan, the abbot of Cork, lost his life in the same battle in which Cormac M'Cuillenan, Archbishop and King of Munster, met his melancholy fate.<sup>q</sup>

910. The Danes did again plunder and burn this town.<sup>r</sup>

913. They renewed their devastations.<sup>s</sup>

915. The same violences were continued.<sup>t</sup>

960. As they were in this year.<sup>u</sup>

961. Died Cathmogán, the comorb of St. Barr.<sup>v</sup>

970. This abbey was destroyed by the Danes.<sup>w</sup>

976. Magthamhain M'Cinneide going to the house of Donobhan M'Cathail, King of Cairbre Aodhbha,<sup>y</sup> under the protection of Colum M'Ciaragain, the comorb of St. Barr, to conclude a peace with Maolmuaidh and Donobhan, he was treacherously seized by Donobhan, notwithstanding the comorb's protection, and delivered to Maolmuaidh M'Broin, Tadg M'Broin, and Brian M'Broin, who put him to death; for which base and inhuman action, the comorb and church excommunicated both the betrayer and murderers.<sup>z</sup>

978. Cork was plundered twice in this year.<sup>a</sup>

990. Died Colum M'Ciaragain, the comorb.<sup>b</sup>

1006. Died Cellach, the son of Cennngorann, provost of this abbey.<sup>c</sup>

1013. A great fleet of the Danes came before Cork, and destroyed the town by fire.<sup>d</sup>

1025. Dungal ua Donchadha, King of Cashel, who had

<sup>f</sup> *Act. SS.* p. 630. <sup>g</sup> *Id.* p. 150. <sup>h</sup> *War. Bish.* p. 556. <sup>i</sup> *Walsk's Prospect*, p. 145. <sup>k</sup> *Annal. Inisfal.* <sup>l</sup> *Id.* <sup>m</sup> *Tr. Th.* p. 632. <sup>n</sup> *Annal. Inisfal.* <sup>o</sup> *Tr. Th.* p. 632. <sup>p</sup> *M'Geogh* <sup>q</sup> *Annal. Inisfal.* <sup>r</sup> *M'Geogh.* <sup>s</sup> *Tr. Th.* p. 633. <sup>t</sup> *Annal. Inisfal.* <sup>u</sup> *Tr. Th. supr.* <sup>v</sup> *War. Bish.* p. 556. <sup>w</sup> *M'Curtin*, p. 207. <sup>y</sup> *A territory in the county of Limerick, now called barony of Kenry.* <sup>z</sup> *Annal. Inisfal.* <sup>a</sup> *Annal. Inisfal.* <sup>b</sup> *War. Bish. supr.* <sup>c</sup> *Act. SS.* p. 334. <sup>d</sup> *Annal. Inisfal.*

(To be continued.)

## THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

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NOVEMBER, 1870.

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### LETTER OF THE ARCHBISHOPS AND BISHOPS OF IRELAND TO THEIR FLOCKS.

THE words we address to you to-day, beloved brethren, come from hearts filled with sorrow and indignation. And how can it be otherwise, since we have to announce to you that our Holy Father, Pius IX., is a prisoner in the hands of his enemies. He has been robbed even of that personal liberty, which, as a sovereign, he had made secure for the very lowest of his subjects; he has been torn by brute force from his children, whose voices cannot reach his ear, and whom his words of guidance can no longer direct. And why has all this occurred? What excuse can be put forward by the men who have thus assailed God's anointed? What fault has Pius IX. committed, whether as king or as pontiff, that this outrage should be inflicted upon him?

For nearly five-and-twenty years he has filled a throne, inherited by him in virtue of a title the most ancient, the most legitimate, the most sacred; and during that long period his rule has been distinguished for all the qualities that consecrate supreme power, and render it, as God intended it should be, a source of blessing to the people. What prince is there, whose sovereign rights have been more clearly defined or better guaranteed by the faith of treaties, and by the sanction of international law? Who has ever used power more gently? who more wisely than he? Under his benign sway, his capital was the home of genius, the shrine of the arts, the seat of learning, the centre of true Christian civilization. He

judged the poor in judgment, and his people in justice, ever seeking to lighten their burthen and to promote their prosperity. He gave them peace when all around them was convulsed, and plenty when others were harassed with want ; and on the eve of the usurpation, his subjects employed the very latest hour of liberty they were permitted to enjoy, before being crushed by foreign force, in acclaiming him as the best of sovereigns, who should rule for ever in their hearts. What pretext did such a ruler give for invasion ? What was there in such a monarch that he should be driven by strangers from his throne ?

But great as have been the glories of his reign, they pale before the sacred splendours of his marvellous pontificate. The annals of the Church hold up for our admiration very many among the Roman Pontiffs whose names shall live for ever in history, on account of the striking and noble qualities that distinguished them even among the greatest on earth. A far-seeing wisdom, which enabled them in troubled times to understand where lay the true interests of the Church and of society ; surpassing ability in choosing and directing the measures to promote those interests ; and a loftiness of personal character which made their exertions successful, while it commanded the respect even of their enemies ; these are the gifts that seem hereditary in the great line of Popes who have filled the Apostolic See. But it may be questioned if on that long and brilliant roll of Pontiffs there be found even one to surpass Pius IX., either in the fulness with which these great gifts were possessed, or in the measure of benefits conferred on the Church by the exercise of them. How often has it been our pleasing duty to describe to you the great things he has accomplished for the Church, and which mark with increasing glory each succeeding year of his pontificate. He has extended the tabernacles of the Church, by erecting so many new episcopal Sees in the remotest regions ; he has restored to Churches wasted by heresy the freshness and vigour of a second youth ; he has preserved the young from the ravages of infidelity, by condemning evil systems of education ; he has preached, to an age that worships only brute force, in season and out of season, the eternal principles of truth and justice ; he has protected society against the licence that saps morality, and the false philosophy which would pervert the rights of reason, and thereby degrade man from his high dignity as an intelligent being. Never can Catholic hearts forget how, by defining the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, Pius IX. gave joy to the whole world, and new glory to the Mother of God ; how by canonising so many saints he

multiplied for us intercessors in heaven, and models of holy living on earth ; how by celebrating the centenary of SS. Peter and Paul he taught the world that persecution does but end in the triumph of the Church. And have not we ourselves lately seen him, in the full majesty of his sacerdotal holiness and power, presiding over the General Council of the Vatican, which he convoked that the voice of God speaking through his infallible Church might be heard above the turmoil and discord of the earth, teaching the truth, and summoning to the bosom of Catholic unity the souls whom error had led astray. And it was at this solemn moment, when the Catholic episcopate was gathered together to treat of the most important subjects that can occupy men upon earth, that a blow was struck at the visible head of the Church, and through him at the entire mystic body of Christ.

Passing in review, then, the whole glorious Pontificate of Pius IX., are we not fully warranted in asserting, beloved brethren, that it is not for any fault or shortcoming of his that wicked men have risen against the Vicar of Christ? No, it is the absence of any fault in him that has stirred their indignation against him. Like the wicked men spoken of in the book of Wisdom, they have conspired, saying: "*Let us lie in wait for the just man, because he is not for our turn, and he is contrary to our doings, and upbraided us with transgressions of the law, and divulgeth against us the sins of our life. He is become a censurer of our thoughts. He is grievous unto us even to behold, for his life is not like other men's, and his ways are very different. We are esteemed by him as triflers, and he abstaineth from our ways as from filthiness, and he preferreth the latter end of the just, and glorieth that he hath God for his father. Let us then examine him by outrages and tortures.*"<sup>1</sup>

And truly, beloved brethren, they have accomplished their wicked deed, adding to it every circumstance of indignity and outrage that can well be conceived. Without declaration of war, after having bound themselves by a solemn convention to respect the temporal independence of the Holy See, with hypocritical professions of veneration on their lips, the Florentine Government despatched their troops to invade and occupy the remnant of papal territory hitherto spared by them. Neither the justice of the Pope's cause, nor the absence of provocation, nor his solemn protest, nor their own pledges, nor the thought that they were outraging the feelings of more than 200,000,000 of Catholics, nor the fear of the crime of sacrilege, or of its punishment, could restrain these

<sup>1</sup> Wisdom, ii. 12—19.

perverse men from assaulting the capital of the Christian world, and violating the holy soil of the Eternal City. They constituted brute force alone *as the law of justice, for that which is feeble is found to be nothing worth.*<sup>1</sup> In vain have they since sought to colour their outrages by a mock appeal to the voice of the people into whose city they had opened for themselves a way by a destructive cannonade. History shall record that this monstrous usurpation is nothing else than a triumph of brute force over justice; of hypocrisy over honesty; of revolution over social order; of infidelity over the interests of the Christian religion.

Therefore, we feel it due to ourselves and to you, and to our fellow Catholics throughout the world, to publish our solemn protest against this act of unparelled injustice, and to this protest here published we call the attention of all.

1. Believing that the Pope is the Vicar of Christ, the infallible teacher of Christian truth, to whom, in blessed Peter, has been given the supreme power of feeding, ruling, and governing the whole Church, we protest against the sacrilegious insults recently offered by the usurping power to the reigning Pontiff, Pius IX., and in his person to Christ himself, whose representative he is on earth.

2. Convinced that the full, perfect, and complete discharge of his Apostolic office requires as its necessary condition the freedom of the Roman Pontiff from the control of other temporal princes, we protest, in the name of 200,000,000 of Catholics, against the usurpation which has deprived their spiritual chief of his temporal dominions, necessary for the exercise of his liberty, and thereby subjected him to the caprice of hostile powers.

3. Persuaded that, in the ways of Providence, the temporal sovereignty of the Holy See has been ordained for the common good of all Christendom, and that Rome and the Papal territory belong to the Catholic world, we protest against the sacrilegious invasion of both, as a violation of the sacred rights of the whole Catholic world.

4. Regarding as subversive of social order the appeal made to revolutionary passions by the usurping power, against the oldest, and most legitimate sovereignty in the world; and indignant at the hypocrisy which sought to mask a brutal attack under the profession of Catholic loyalty and kingly honour, we protest against the means, so scandalous and immoral, employed to accomplish this most unjust usurpation.

5. Recognising with gratitude the benefits conferred upon

<sup>1</sup> *Wisdom*, ii. 11.

the world by the noble use the Roman Pontiffs have made of their temporal dominion, and the splendid example they have set to the sovereigns of Christendom by the mildness of their rule, their patronage of arts and letters, their tender care of the weak and poor, and their love of justice, we protest against the attempt to extinguish, and by means so unholy, an institution that has deserved so well of civilized society all over the world.

6. We protest also against the threatened devastation of the venerable sanctuaries of Rome, against the plundering of its shrines, the suppression of its religious communities devoted to prayer and good works, and the closing of its numerous schools and colleges, where so many students of our own and other countries are trained in piety and learning.

7. And, since the invasion of Rome has been undertaken and accomplished at a time when a General Council was being held therein, under the presidency of the Supreme Pontiff, we protest against the violence that has interrupted its deliberations, and we hold the Florentine Government responsible for the outrage offered to the assembled bishops of the universe, and for the injury done to the faithful by depriving them, for an indefinite time, of the blessings the Council was calculated to confer.

It now remains for you, beloved brethren, by taking practical steps to relieve the Holy Father, to give effect to this protest. First of all, it is your duty to have recourse to the powerful arm of prayer. When St. Peter was thrown into prison by Herod, the entire Church prayed without ceasing for his safety (Acts, xiii. 5). The united prayers of the Christian people, offered to God in the spirit of humility and with contrite hearts, through the hands of the Immaculate Mother of our Lord, will produce the most wonderful results.

And since, in the terrible events that are now passing in Europe the enlightened eye of faith recognises the hand of an angry God, punishing the world for its overflowing iniquities, we should endeavour to banish from among us that monster of sin *that maketh nations miserable*.<sup>1</sup>

We therefore implore of you all, that, by worthily approaching the Holy Sacraments of Penance and of the Eucharist, you may prepare yourselves to ask, with more confidence, grace and mercy from the Lord. And let your prayers, proceeding from pure hearts, ever be the fruitful source of good works. Fasting, acts of mortification, alms-deeds, spiritual and corporal works of charity to the poor, these should

<sup>1</sup> Prov. xiv. 34.

accompany your prayers to render them more powerful with God.

Secondly.—In addition to these spiritual weapons, it is desirable that Catholics should unite to protest against the insults which have been heaped on the Vicar of Christ, and against the violation of justice and right, on the part of those who have seized on Rome, the common property of the Catholic world. These protests, to have weight, should be made in writing, and, when recommended by your pastors, at meetings, to be placed in the hands of those who represent us in parliament, so that they may be laid before the public authorities of this country. We have a full right to ask from those who rule Catholic nations that they should secure from a control which cannot be other than than capricious or tyrannical, the Pontiff whose authority guides the conscience of millions of their subjects. The enemies of the Holy Father are most industrious in misrepresenting the feelings of Catholics, and in describing their own evil deeds as the necessary result of public opinion and of national aspirations, in the hope that they may pervert men's judgments, and thereby hinder them from taking effectual means for the relief of the Holy Father. Let it be our business to prove that their lies have not deceived anyone, and that Catholic Ireland will joyfully take her place among the nations who will emulate one another in assisting by their prayers and alms, the Vicar of Christ in this his hour of sore distress.

For the rest, beloved brethren, be not disturbed by the violence, nor scandalized by the momentary success that has attended the designs of the wicked. "*These things they thought,*" says the Holy Ghost of those who conspired against the just man; "*these things they thought, and were deceived; for their own malice blinded them. And they knew not the secrets of God, nor hoped for the wages of justice, nor esteemed the honour of holy souls.*"<sup>1</sup> *But the multiplied brood of the wicked shall not thrive—and if they flourish in branches for a time, yet standing not fast, they shall be shaken with the wind, and through the force of winds they shall be rooted out.*"<sup>2</sup> "*A mighty wind shall stand up against them, and as a whirlwind shall divide them;*" and although, by permission of an outraged Providence, it may come to pass that "*their iniquity shall bring all the earth into a desert, and their wickedness overthrow the thrones of the mighty,*" yet in God's good time truth and virtue shall have their triumph, and being rescued from the

<sup>1</sup> Wisdom, ii. 21, 22.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. iv. 3, 4.

hands of their enemies, "*the just shall sing to thy holy name, O Lord,<sup>1</sup> and shall praise with one accord thy victorious hand.*"

May the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all.

*Dublin, 19th October, 1870.*

- \* PAUL CARDINAL CULLEN, Archbishop of Dublin.
- \* DANIEL M'GETTIGAN, Archbishop of Armagh.
- \* JOHN MCHALE, Archbishop of Tuam.
- \* PATRICK LEAHY, Archbishop of Cashel.
- \* THOMAS FEENY, Bishop of Killala.
- \* E. WALSHE, Bishop of Ossory.
- \* WILLIAM DELANY, Bishop of Cork.
- \* FRANCIS KELLY, Bishop of Derry.
- \* WILLIAM KEANE, Bishop of Cloyne.
- \* P. DURCAN, Bishop of Achonry.
- \* DAVID MORIARTY, Bishop of Kerry.
- \* JOHN P. LEAHY, Bishop of Dromore.
- \* D. O'BRIEN, Bishop of Waterford and Lismore.
- \* JAMES WALSHE, Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin.
- \* LAURENCE GILLOOLY, Bishop of Elphin.
- \* THOMAS FURLONG, Bishop of Ferns.
- \* JOHN MCEVILLY, Bishop of Galway, &c., &c.
- \* M. O'HEA, Bishop of Ross.
- \* P. DORRIAN, Bishop of Down and Connor.
- \* GEORGE BUTLER, Bishop of Limerick.
- \* NICHOLAS CONATY, Bishop of Kilmore.
- \* THOMAS NULTY, Bishop of Meath.
- \* JAMES DONNELLY, Bishop of Clogher.
- \* NICHOLAS POWER, Coadjutor Bishop of Killaloe.
- \* JAMES LYNCH, Coadjutor Bishop of Kildare and Leighlin.
- \* W. J. WHELAN, Bishop of Aureliopolis.
- \* DANIEL MURPHY, Bishop of Hobartown, in Australia.
- \* THOMAS GRIMLEY, Vic. Ap. of Capetown, South Africa.
- \* TIMOTHY O'MAHONY, Bishop of Armidale, Australia.
- PETER DAWSON, Vic-Cap. Ardagh.

<sup>1</sup> Wisdom, x. 10.



# IRISH HISTORICAL STUDIES IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

## II.—HUGH WARD.

*Early fame of Hugh Ward:—Dempster's piracy of Irish Saints:—Traditional minstrelsy in Ward's family:—Letters of F. Patrick Fleming:—He visits Clairvaux:—Memorials of St. Malachy in France:—Ward guardian of St. Anthony's:—Researches of Fr. Michael O'Clery:—Letters of David Rothe, Lessing, Bollandus, &c.:—Colgan's MS. notes on the life of St. Dymphna:—The life of St. Rumold, &c.*

IT was in 1623 that Father Hugh Ward, O.S.F., arrived at the Convent of St. Anthony de Padua, in Louvain. He had many years before embraced the Franciscan rule at Salamanca, where he pursued his studies of philosophy and theology, and acquired considerable fame for acuteness of mind and depth of research. Father Pontius, a distinguished professor of the Order in Rome, publicly eulogized him in after times as surpassing the most famous Franciscan professors of that age<sup>1</sup> in scholastic subtlety. Father O'Sheerin gives him no less praise: "deformed in body, he was endowed with every accomplishment of mind; he was affable in his words, which sparkled with wit and humour; being of holy conversation, and spotless life, he was, at the same time, endowed with brilliant genius, and was profoundly versed in philosophical and theological science."<sup>2</sup>

From Salamanca he proceeded to Paris, as companion to Father Francis de Arraba, confessor of the Queen of France, and there he enjoyed abundant leisure to peruse his favorite studies, and explore the rich literary treasures of that great capital. It was at this time that the Scottish historian, Dempster, published his famous work on the Saints of Scotland,<sup>3</sup> in which he appropriated to his native calendar, most of the holy men who adorned our country by their sanctity in the first ages of our faith. It has been said of him that "he was as well inclined to believe a lie as any man in his time, and as well qualified to put it into a pretty dress of poetry."<sup>4</sup> He

<sup>1</sup> "Scholastica subtilitate antevisse doctissimos quosque quos norat, et sane hi multi fuerunt et celebres, sui Instituti et regni professores." *Vita S. Rumoldi*, praeftat. Sirini.

<sup>2</sup> "Vultus invenustus, venustissimi mores, &c." *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> "*Menologium Scotticum* (Bologna, 1619); which work being put on the index of prohibited books in Rome, was somewhat altered and republished in Bologna, in 1627, under the name "*Historia Ecclesiastica gentis Scottorum*."

<sup>4</sup> *Irish Hist. Library*, by Nicholson, page 73. Usher has been equally severe in his *Britt. Eccl. Antiq.* "Tam suspectae fidei hominem illum fuisse comperimus, et toties tesseram fregisse, ut oculatos nos esse oporteat, et nisi quod videmus, nihil ab eo acceptum credere." Cap. xvi.

was, however, a man of extensive reading, and he must be pardoned, if, writing in the beginning of the nineteenth century, he assumed, as a matter of course, that in the olden records the names *Scotus* and *Scotia*, referred to modern Scotland. His piracy of Irish Saints awakened the energy and zeal of our exiled countrymen, and we will have occasion hereafter to refer to the tracts which were published soon after by David Rothe, Messingham, Fitzsimon, and others, refuting Dempster's groundless but attractive statements. Ward enlisted with ardour in this controversy, and thenceforward each hour at his disposal was devoted to explore the records of the past, and search out new monuments illustrative of the history of the Saints of Ireland.

Indeed this study of the antiquities of our country was nothing new in the family of Hugh Ward. He belonged to that branch of the family that gave name to *Ballymac-Ward*, in Donegal. His ancestors had been for centuries the hereditary bards of the O'Donnells, princes of Tirconnell, and in poetry and minstrelsy had often borne away the palm from the chief poets of Ireland. In the Annals of the Four Masters, in 1541, we find recorded that "MacWard, ollamh to O'Donnell in poetry, a superintendent of schools, and a man not excelled in poetry and other arts, who had founded and maintained a house of general hospitality, died on the 20th of December, after unction and penance." In 1550 it is again recorded: "MacWard of Tirconnell, a learned poet, a superintendent of schools, and a man of great name and renown throughout Ireland in his time, who kept a house of general hospitality, died." Also in 1576, we meet the entry: "William Oge Mac Ward, ollamh to O'Donnell in poetry, a president of schools, illustrious for his learning and knowledge, a patron and supporter of the learned and the teachers, died at Druimmor (in Donegal), on the 22nd of February." Owen MacWard, brother of our Franciscan Hugh, was the last of these hereditary bards, and died in 1609: "Owen MacWard, ollamh to O'Donnell in poetry, an intelligent ingenious man, who kept an open house of general hospitality, died at an advanced age, after the victory of penance."<sup>1</sup> He was one of those who shared the perils of the flight and exile of the Earls in 1607. On the death of O'Donnell, in Rome, the following year, he composed a beautiful Irish Elegiac Poem, addressed to Nuala, the sister of the deceased Earl, and in it she is introduced as weeping alone on St. Peter's hill, over the tomb of the illustrious dead:—

<sup>1</sup> *O'Donovan's "Annals of the Four Masters."*



Look down upon our dreary state,  
And through the ages that may still  
Roll sadly on,  
Watch Thou o'er hapless Erin's fate,  
And shield, at least, from darker ill  
The blood of Conn !"<sup>1</sup>

I may here be allowed to remark that, like the subject of this chapter, most of the religious of St. Anthony's of Louvain, who rendered such services to the history of Ireland were linked by some personal ties with the princely families of Tirconnell and Tyrone. Thus it was with Father Mooney, who, whilst Guardian of St. Anthony's, discharged the duties of Tutor to the youthful earls. Thus, too, MacCaghwell, whose name will be mentioned more than once in the following pages ; he had fought under the banner of the earls in the wars against Elizabeth, and was subsequently their faithful companion in exile ; also O'Sheerin was closely allied by blood with the same princely families of Ulster.

It was in Paris, in 1623, that Father Hugh Ward contracted a close friendship with another member of his order, Father Patrick Fleming. The same ideas that quickened the energies of Ward, had already found an echo in the heart of Fleming, and when the former made known his project of laying the foundations of Irish hagiology by collecting together all the original acts of the Irish saints, and the other monuments connected with the history of his native land, Father Fleming at once promised to lend his earnest co-operation in thus promoting the hallowed glory of Ireland.

Father Fleming was at this time journeying on to Rome, companion of Father MacCaghwell, who was visitor of the order. They travelled, for the most part, on foot, and chose for their resting place, at each stage of their journey, some house of their own order, or, when none such could be found, some friendly monastery, where by their prayers and learned conversation, they repaid the charitable hospitality which was shown them. The monastery of Clairvaux, renowned for its memories of St. Bernard, our own St. Malachy, and so many other illustrious ornaments of the Church, was one of the asylums thus visited by our travellers. Before continuing his journey, Father Fleming thus wrote to Hugh Ward :—

<sup>1</sup> Eight other Irish poems written by Owen Mac ua Bhaire, all of an historical character, are mentioned by O'Reilly in *Irish Writers*, p. clxi. Several other writers of the Ward family, and their poems, are commemorated in the same work, p. cxlvii., cxlix., clix., &c.

"MY VENERATED FATHER,<sup>1</sup>

"I arrived at last at this sanctuary of my desire, this holy Clairvaux, where, would to God, I could remain at least five days, that thus I might be able to glean something from the many manuscripts which enrich it. But we have barely stopped two days here, and hence you can expect but little from me. I did all that I could, however, in the short time that was allowed me, and I wrote what I now

<sup>1</sup>"VENERANDE PATER,

"Veni tandem mei ad locum desiderii ad Claravallē sanctam in qua utinam vel quinque saltem diebus mihi liceret remorari, ut vel sic aliquid colligerem ex tot manuscriptis quae hic sunt. Sed vix duobus mansimus diebus ac proinde pauciora a me nunc expectabis. Feci tamen pro brevitate temporis quae potui et haec quae vides scripsi, reliquorum mittendorum si quae sunt cura fideli amico relicta. Archivium monasterii nondum vidi nec videbo, nempe hora 5 cras discessurus in quo tamen sperabam me reperturum epistolas S. Malachiae et Cogani Abbatis. Plura de S. Malachia scire non potui vestro operi convenientia. Agedum pater charē habebis quae Claravallis habet tuo usui opportuna. Nam hic post me relinquo alterum meipsum nempe Dnum. Joannem Cantwell Monachum Hybernū Sacerdotem magnae apud Abbatē fidei et auctoritatis quem Abbas nuper constituere volebat Priorem in quodam Monasterio prope Parisios, sed forte, Domini dispensatione, non est missus nec demittet curam quam hic habet. Vir est ejusdem nobiscum zeli et desiderii qui pariter disponendis libris monasterii praees, sunt enim omnes ita confusi et dispersi ut nihil invenire poterim cum tamen diu multos volvissem. Ipse autem reperit dum eos disquireret ante aliquot dies librum aliquem cui titulus 'Monachus quidam Hybernus in Regulam S. Benedicti,' ubi multa hinc inde de Hybernia miscet: non vidi librum quia aliquis fratrum ad cellam ipsum secum tulit. Vidi autem ipse aliquam historiam Britannicam nuncquam editam ubi aliqua sunt de Hybernia, sed tuo usui non serviunt: sunt etiam vaticinia quantum colligo Merlini: pervolvi grandia volumina quae habentur de vitis sanctorum in quibus inter caetera reperi vitam S. Deicoli Abb. prolixissime, historiam certe pulcherrimam quam tibi descriptam transmittit praefatus Joannes infra paucos dies. Ipse autem Deicola in illa historia se Scotigenam vocat ex quo patet Anglum eum non esse ac proinde Scoto-Hibernum cum nulli ipsum Scotobritannum adstruant. Miracula item Columbani quae non alia credens esse ab iis quae D. Messingham habet nolui curare ut scriberentur. Vita S. Mansueti Episcopi Tullensis conscripta jam a quodam Priore Anglo praelum subiit: ipsam vidit et legit dictus D. Joannes, cujus potissimum impulsu Anglus id operis arripuit: probat autem prolixē eum Hybernū esse, et aliquoties digreditur expatiens in laudibus Hyberniae. Episcopus Tullensis jam imaginem S. Mansueti erexit subscriptam '*S. Mansuetus Hybernus*,' etc.; ni obstitisset Anglus, posuisset *Scotus*. D. Joannes Cantwell, vitam brevi habebit ab Anglo tibi quae primum mittet, promisitque mihi se imposterum in hoc nostro negotio diligentissimum fore misurumque se tibi omnia quae reperiet quod bene potest nam habebit hic qui pro ipso integros tractatus exscriberent si ita vellet; praeterea est hic novitius Hybernus qui nihil recusabit, sed nec audebit quidem quia et Magister novitiorum secundarius Hybernus est qui ipsum compellet si ipsum recusare laborem contingeret. Rogavit me praedictus D. Joannes cum ipse sit (ut ipse loquebatur) materia et tu forma, ego inter vos absentes essem unio, qua vos per epistolas vestras invicem vinculo charitatis jungemini, quapropter rogo vos obnixē ut ipsum frequentibus litteris conveniat certi interim ipsum diligentissimum fore in rebus nostris colligendis, quae hic si ullibi abundant: cupit autem quam maxime opera habere Scoti a P. Cavello impressa, quae magni hic fierent cum ab Hyberno sunt edita. Tanto in Hybernō monachi hujus almae domus feruntur affectu ut ipse Dominus Abbas catalogum SS. Hyberniae coram se in loco orationis suae nunc habeat. Rogo ergo quantum possum humiliter ut ipsi praefato Domino opera Scoti mittatis tam ad decorem Bibliothecae quam ipsius privatum usum, quo facto ipsum multum obligasti.

"Litteras tuas mittas cum procuratore Claravallensi qui ibi habitat in collegio

send, leaving the charge to a faithful friend to forward the remaining monuments to you should any such be found there. I have not seen the archives of the monastery, nor can I see them, for we leave this to-morrow at five o'clock in the morning. I was in hopes to find here the letters of St. Malachy as well as those of Abbot Cogan. I could not learn anything new about St. Malachy that would be important for your work. But have courage, my dear Father, you will get everything that Clairvaux has useful for your purpose. For I leave here after me another myself in the person of the monk John Cantwell, an Irish priest of great credit and authority, with the Abbot. It was the desire of the Abbot that he should be prior in another monastery near Paris, but, by chance, through the mercy of God, he was not sent thither, and he will not resign his present post. He is a man having the same zeal and desire as ourselves; he has the charge to arrange the books of the library, which are now all in confusion and scattered about, so that I could find nothing although I turned over several of them. He, however, found, a few days ago, when putting the books in order, one work with the title 'Commentary of a certain Irish Monk on the Rule of St. Benedict,' in which many things are introduced here and there about Ireland. I did not see the book because one of the religious had brought it to his cell. I saw, however, an unpublished history of Britain, in which there are some things about Ireland, but which are of no importance for your work. There are also some prophecies, I suppose those of Merlin. I glanced over large volumes of the 'Lives of the Saints,' among which I found a very full life of the Abbot St. Dichuil; it is indeed a most beautiful life, and the above-mentioned John will have it copied for you

Bernardinorum, nihil ipsi interim de tuis revelans quia dicitur minus in nostros affectus quam alii: cum scribis sequenti vice promitte ipsi Scotum et librum Patris Cavelli de statutis ordinis existente ibi generali editum: cum his scribet tibi qua via poteris commode huc ad ipsum litteras dirigere. Plura nunc prae festinatione nequeo, vix haec ipsa scribere potui. Animose pater charissime alacriter perge, quia, ut spero non est qui de manu tua possit eruere quominus omnia tibi necessaria mittantur. Caeterum, mihi si quid in istq negotio imprudenter gessi parce, et discedentem ex hoc Paradiso terrestri, oratione proseguere. Vellem ad haec invenire ante me Lugduni responsum quod rogo mittas cum proximo eo profecturo, non quod de Domino Joanne quidquam dubitem quem totaliter, ut puto, ad hoc negotium traxi, ut tu ex epistolis ejus ad te brevi perspicies. Vale in Domino et pro me ora.

"In festo S. Marci, 1623,

"Tuus ut nosti,

"Fr. PATRITIUS FLEMINGUS.

"P.S.—Dicit mihi nihil essi periculi quod mittas Scotum quamprimum cum procuratore Claravallensi qui ibi est apud Bernardinos.

"Venerando Patri fr. Hugoni Vardeo,

"Socio Confessarii Reginae Christianissimae Parisiis."—*Ex. Archiv. S. Isidori, Romae.*

within a few days. St. Dichuil, in this life, styles himself a Scot, from which it is certain that he was not an Englishman, and hence, as the British-Scots do not claim him, he must, of course, be an Irish-Scot.

"I saw also the *Miracles of St. Columbanus*, but believing it to be the same work that Messingham has, I did not give any instructions to have it copied. The Life of St. Mansuetus, Bishop of Tulle, from the pen of some English prior, has been published. It was read and examined by Father Cantwell, at whose request that work was undertaken; it proves at great length that St. Mansuetus was an Irishman, and it often expatiates at great length on the praises of Ireland. The Bishop of Tulle has already erected a statue of St. Mansuetus, with the inscription *Sanctus Mansuetus Hibernus* (St. Mansuetus, native of Ireland): were it not for the English Prior he would have styled him *a Scot*. Father Cantwell will soon have a copy of this work from his English friend, and will send it to you, and he has promised me that henceforward he will be most diligent in our business, and that he will send to you everything that he finds. This he can easily effect, for he has persons here who if he so wishes will copy whole treatises for him. Moreover there is an Irish novice here who will not refuse such work; indeed he dare not refuse it, for the assistant master of novices is also an Irishman, who will oblige him to do this work if he shows any difficulty about it.

"Father Cantwell has asked me, since, as he says, he is the *matter* and you the *form*, that I should be the bond of union, requesting you to open a mutual and frequent correspondence. I am sure he will be most diligent in collecting the desired materials, which, if anywhere, are here most abundant. He is most anxious to have the works of Scotus, edited by Father MacCaghwell, which will be highly prized here on account of being edited by an Irishman. The Religious of this parent monastery are so devotedly attached to the Irish that the Lord Abbot himself now keeps a catalogue of the saints of Ireland in his own private oratory. I therefore earnestly and humbly request you to send the wished-for works of Scotus, as well for the ornament of the library as for the private use of Father Cantwell, and thus he will feel greatly indebted to you.

"You may send your letters through the Procurator of Clairvaux, who lives in Paris, in the College of the Bernardines, but do not disclose any of your projects to him, as he is supposed not to be so favorable to us as others. When you write to Father Cantwell promise to send the *Scotus* and also

the work of Father Caghwel on the rules of the order, published under the present General. He himself will send instructions with this letter how you may most readily communicate with him.

"My courageous and dearest Father, proceed in your work with earnestness, for, as I hope, there is no one who can keep from your hands all the materials that are necessary for you. For the rest, pardon me if I have acted with any imprudence in this business, and whilst I depart from this terrestrial Paradise, accompany me with your prayers. I would wish to find before me in Lyons your reply to this letter. Farewell in the Lord, and pray for me.

"The feast of St. Mark, 1623.

"FR. PATRICK FLEMING."

On his arrival in Lyons he again wrote to Father Ward, adding interesting details regarding the various Memorials of St. Malachy, preserved in some of the great French Cistercian Monasteries:—

<sup>1</sup>"I wrote to you from Clairvaux, in the hope of getting an answer from you. As this has not come to hand I fear my letter may not have reached you, and thus it will be necessary for you to write to that effect to Father John Cantwell, an Irish monk in Clairvaux.....Ask him about the Lives of SS. Dichuil and Mansuetus, and the Letters of St. Malachy, though these have not been found as yet. Ask him also about the Mitre of St. Malachy, which, according to tradition, was placed upon the head of that holy Bishop by Pope Innocent, and about the Chalice of St. Malachy, which I myself used

<sup>1</sup>"REVDE. PATER,

"Scripsi tibi ex Claravalle de nostro negotio quae scribenda videbantur cum spe ad ea responsum recipiendi quod cum factum non sit timeo meos ad te non pervenisse ac proinde opus erit iterum Dominum Joannem Cantwell monachum Claravallensem Hibernum (cui ejus negotii comisi curam) monere per epistolam, quod ipse facere poteris mittens litteras per Procuratorem Claravallensem qui habitat in Collegio S. Bernardi Parisius. Interroga ipsum de vita S. Deicoli, Mansueti et epistolis S. Malachiae (licet nondum inventis) de quibus tibi scripsi ex Claravalle. Item de mitra S. Malachiae ipsius, ut tradunt, capiti ab Innocentio summo Pontifice imposita, de calice S. Malachiae quocum ipse celebravi. Epitaphia ipsius tibi cum litteris misi. Aliud adhuc S. Malachiae monumentum vidimus in monasterio de Obrier decem vel circiter leucis a Claravalle distante, nempe cyphum quo usus fuerat ipse quemque secum ex Hibernia tulerat, ex quo bibimus. Est autem ligneus, et cooperculum seu bursa ejus ipso praetiosior est, ex corio multis nodis et pressuris varie incisa more Hybernico, in vaginis oblongorum cultrorum curiose decorandis servari solito; quod tibi scripsi quia notatu dignum judicavit Pr. Cavellus. Ex eo autem omnes religiosi bibunt in festo S. Malachiae tantum. Utere tua discretione in hoc ad ejus vitam apponendo.

"Caeterum nihil adhuc reperi quia nec quaerere tempus fuit; nam per monasterium Cisterciense venimus, et crastina ejus diei quo appulimus recessimus et ita



when offering the Holy Sacrifice. The inscriptions on his monument were sent to you enclosed in my former letter. We met another Memorial of St. Malachy in the Monastery of Obrier, which is about ten leagues distant from Clairvaux, that is, the cup which he brought with him from Ireland, and from which we had the privilege of drinking. It is made of wood, and its cover or case is more precious than itself, being of leather, wonderfully embossed and adorned with intertwinings, according to the Irish style (*more Hibernico*) of singular ornamentation, generally used on the sheaths of oblong instruments. I write this to you, as Father Caghwell thinks it may be interesting to you to know it. All the Religious drink from this cup only on the feast day of St. Malachy. Use your own discretion as to adding this when writing the Saint's life.

"As yet I have not found any MSS., because there was no time for searching for them. We stopped at the Cistercian Monastery, but on the day after our arrival we again started on our journey, so that I was not able to see the celebrated Library of that house, much more valuable, as I hear, than that of Clairvaux; and this I readily believe, as it is considered the first and Mother House of the Cistercian Order, and its Abbot should be, by right, the general Superior of the whole order. As for the remainder of the journey I despair of being able to transmit anything to you, unless it may please God to arrange matters otherwise than at present.

non mihi licuit videre celebrem illam Bibliothecam ejus domus multo ut audiui Claravallensi praestantior, quod facile credo, cum ordinis Cisterciensis prima domus et mater habeatur, ibique semper Abbas totius ordinis jure generalis esse debeat gubernator. Quod reliquum viae spectat despero pene me tibi quidquam posse transmittere nisi Dominus aliter disponere dignetur quam hactenus. Ego certe nihil de meo fervore remitto, nihilominus tamen timeo me parum hoc itinere praestitutum quod te parum movere debet quia spero Romae me reperiturum quae in via non potui quaerere.

"Lege supplementum chronicorum Philippi Bergomensis ubi de Hibernia agit et te in nomenclatura forte juvabit, si tamen ibi de nostra Hibernia loquitur. Dirige tuas litteras quamprimum Romam ad P. Lucam quia spero nos ibi futurum antequam ipsa venerint. Quaeso scribe plenius de processu huc usque operis; et Dominum Messingham, quem obnixae saluto, roga ut alacriter pergat ad gloriam sanctorum et honorem patriae sanctae suae. Me precibus fratrum commendatum habe, de tuis nolo dubitare. Plura non habeo pro nunc. Haec ipsa non rei urgentis sed officii debiti ratio scribere compellit. Det Deus ut bene legas quae calamus tam stupidus exaravit. Vale in Christo pater chare et tui memoris esto memor.

"Lugduni, 8 Maii, 1623. Tuus ut nosti,

"FR. PATRITIUS FLEMINGUS.

"Reverendo in Christo Patri, Fr. Hugoni Vardeo,

"Socio Confessarii Reginae Christianissimae,

"In Conventu Cordigerorum, Parisiis."—(*Ex. Archiv. S. Isid.*)

For my part I have lost nothing of my fervour ; nevertheless I fear this my journey will add but little to your store, but this should not disturb you, for I hope to find in Rome what I am unable to search for on the road thither.

“Read the Supplement to the Chronicle of Philip of Bergamo, where he treats about Ireland, and you will find something useful, perhaps, on the question of the nomenclature, if, however, it is our Ireland that he speaks of. Direct your letters to Rome, to the care of Father Luke Wadding, for I hope we will arrive there before your letters can reach. I pray you to send all details about the progress of your work ; and I lovingly salute Messingham, who, I trust, earnestly continues to labour for the glory of our Saints and the honour of our country.

“I commend myself to the prayers of the fathers ; as for yours, I feel quite assured of them. I shall write no more ; and even all this I have written, not as a matter of any urgency, but merely to discharge my duty towards you. God grant that you may be able to read what my stupid pen has written. Farewell in Christ, my dear Father, and be not forgetful of one who is ever mindful of you.

“Lyons, 8th May, 1623.

“FR. PATRICK FLEMING.”

Before the month of September, 1623, Father Hugh Ward proceeded to Louvain to teach Theology in the College of St. Anthony. A little later he was chosen guardian of that Convent, and thus a wider field was opened to him for promoting his cherished object of the glory of the Saints of Ireland. During his sojourn in France he had visited the libraries of Paris, of Rouen, of Harfleur, and of Nantes. In Belgium he also gathered in a rich literary store, but it was in Ireland principally that researches should be made for the surviving monuments of her early history. Here Providence came to his aid. “Whilst he was guardian of Louvain,” writes Father de Buck, “there came to the gates of St. Anthony’s a man advanced in years, who knew no Latin, but asked to be admitted to the habit of the lay-brothers of the Franciscan Order. This was Michael O’Clery, whose name will be for ever dear to the Archæologists and historians of Ireland. Born about the year 1580, in the County of Donegal ; he was an Antiquarian by profession, and ranked among his colleagues as one of the most skilled in Celtic Archæology. Father Ward asked permission to have O’Clery appointed his own assistant, and the permission was readily accorded. He soon saw that Ireland would be a better field of labour for one so

skilled in Irish literature than Belgium. The Superiors of the Order came to a like decision, and soon the Antiquarian Brother was sent back to his country, commissioned to search out and transcribe the lives of the Irish Saints, and all other documents connected with the history of the kingdom. As many of these records of our early ages were written in the ancient Gaelic, no one was better suited for such a task than brother Michael."<sup>1</sup>

We will have occasion hereafter to speak at greater length of the labours of O'Clery; for the present it will suffice to cite a few passages of a letter of Dr. Rothe, Bishop of Ossory, giving some details connected with that learned explorer of our early monuments. It is addressed to Father Hugh Ward as follows:—

"WORTHIE FRIEND,

"I need not make any relation of the trivial occurments now current in this poor realm, nor particularize anything touching myself, but remit you to the bearer, who will punctually inform you of all. As I was teaching at Cashel, upon your patron's festival day, there I met your brother Clery, who made a collection of more than three or four hundred lives. I gave him the few lives I had collected, and sent him to Ormond, part of my diocese, to write there for a time, from whence he promised to come to Chewmond, (*i.e.* Thomond,) where I undertook to get many things for him, but he came not since; soon I do expect his coming, he shall be welcome truly to me. I have some little alms to be sent to your house, but can find no way this year to convey the same to you, or send any supply to my brother, because the ways are stopped. I understood by one of your letters, written long ago, that some false informations were given of me, for my partiality against religious orders, which was most calumnious, as experience taught, and will ever teach, during my life; but I cannot sufficiently give you thanks for your advice and care of me and mine, assuring you your will was and will always be done in that behalf, as you will see in time.

"I commend the bearer to you, who is my special friend, and one of yours, worthy, for his parentage and behaviour, of any furtherance. Remember my love and humble service to the two noble gentlemen of Barnewall and M'Frihill. I am informed a priest who died there called John O'Duohy, of my diocese, spoke somewhat sinisterly of me, whose ground was because I refused to give him licence *celebrandi in meo districtu*.

<sup>1</sup> *L'Archeologie Irlandaise*, &c. par le R. P. V. de Buck, S.J., Paris, 1869, page 5.

"I hear many are suitors for my place, and I pray God to rid me of the pains thereof if it will tend to his own glory, and the common good, otherwise, *benedicta ejus in omnibus fiat voluntas* . . . . I long to hear from yourself, and when you intend to come for Ireland. I know you heard long ago from Mr. Francis Brian how Mr. William Kelly died of late, to my grief.

"I rest without end,

"Yours to be commanded,

"The 30th of Jan., 1628.

"DAVID ROTHE.<sup>1</sup>

"To the worthy and much respected friend,  
Mr. HEAGH WARDE, Louvain."

However the libraries of France, Italy, and Ireland did not satisfy this indefatigable man. He wished also to be enriched with the spoils of Germany, as we learn from the following letter of the celebrated Benedictine, Lessing, who thus writes to Ward from the monastery of St. Hubert, on the 23rd of August, 1629:—

"The peace of Xt.

"MY REVEREND FATHER IN XT.,

"When two of your religious lately made a pilgrimage to our monastery of St. Hubert, one of them requested me to have some lives of saints copied by one of our brothers from a MS. of the monastery. This copy, faithfully and accurately made from the said MS. (which is entitled *Vitae Sanctorum*,) I now send to you. I trust your reverence may accept my good will, and cause the holy sacrifice to be offered up by your religious for the good of our order, and may God grant his protection and blessing to you.

"Your servant in Xt.,

"FR. BENEDICT LESSING.<sup>2</sup>

"The Monastery of St. Hubert,

"The 10th of the Calends of September, 1629."

<sup>1</sup> *Ex. Archiv. S. Isidori Romae.*

<sup>2</sup> "Pax Xti.

"REVDE. IN XTO. PATER,

"Cum duo ex vestris nuper ad nostrum monasterium S. Huberti, peregrinationem instituissent unus eorum me rogaverat quatenus ab aliquo e nostris vitas quorundam SS. ex codice MS. transcribi curarem. Copiam ergo ex eodem MS. intitulo *Vitae Sanctorum* fideliter et ad verbum exscriptam ab uno ex prae-fatis transmittito. Aequi bonique consulat V.R. et Deum si placet per se et per suos pro bono religionis nostrae deprecetur qui paternitatem suam servet et salvet.

"V. R.

"Servus in Xto.,

"FR. BENEDICTUS LESSINGE.

"In Monast. Andiano,

"10 Calendarum, Septembris, 1629."—*Ex. Archiv. S. Isid., Romae.*

A marginal note adds, that the lives of Saints Fursey, Brigid, and Cadroe, with a fragment of a life of St. Patrick, accompanied this letter. All these lives were subsequently made use of by Colgan, in his *Acta Sanctorum*, and this greatest of our hagiologists regarded as singularly important and venerable for its antiquity, the valuable manuscript from which they were transcribed.

Whilst Ward was thus occupied enlisting the services of skilful and devoted men to collect the scattered monuments of Irish History, he himself was busily engaged in preparing for the press several works which were all closely connected with the same subject. The following treatises on which he was engaged are mentioned by O'Sheerin:—

1. On the ancient names of Ireland (*De nomenclatura Hiberniae*).

2. On the condition and political development of Society in Ireland (*De statu et Processu veteris in Hibernia reipublicae*).

3. On the Privileges of St. Patrick (*Anagraphe mirabilium Sancti Patricii*).

4. An Inquiry concerning the pilgrimage of St. Ursula (*Investigatio expeditionis Ursulanae*).

5. An Hyberno-Latin Martyrology, compiled from the ancient Martyrologies of Ireland (*Martyrologium ex multis vetustis Latino-Hibernicum*).

6. The Life of St. Rumold, Bishop of Mechlin (*Sancti Rumoldi Vita*).

The fame of Father Hugh Ward was soon widespread throughout Belgium. Letters were addressed to him from all parts, proposing queries connected with the Saints of Ireland; and among his correspondents we find the renowned Father Bollandus, from whom the great Jesuit collection of the Lives of the Saints derives its name.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "REVDE. IN XTO. PATER,

"Pax Xti.,

"Cum nuper ad Rev. Vram. scriberem, excidit mihi quaerere de operibus S. Columbani an apud vos ea sint etiamnum. R. Petrus Franciscus Chiffletius desideraret sibi ex epistola quadam ejus describi quae de cyclo Paschali 84 annorum habet. Ad haec rogat ut si quid in vitis sanctorum Hiberniae de eodem 84 annorum cyclo occurrat sibi communicemus. Ego praeterquam in Beda et vita S. Columbae nihil de ea controversia reperio: si extaret S. Adamnani Huensis vita non dubito quin plusculum de ea re reperiretur cum pro cyclo Romano sive Dionysiano plurimum ille laboravit. Quaesivit idem non semel an de S. Anatolio Scoto nihil legissem. Nihil legi. Colitur in Burgundia. An est Reventinae vestrae notus?

"Commendo me sanctis Rev. Vrae. Sacrificiis et praecibus.

"Rev. Vrae.,

"Servus in Xto.,

"Antwerpia, 26 Julii, 1634.

"JOANNES BOLLANDUS.

"Revdo. Patri in Xto., P. Hugoni Vardaco, O.S.F., Lovanii."

One of the letters thus addressed to him is particularly interesting; it was written by Father Augustine Wichmann, of the Premonstratensian Order, and dated from Tungerloo, the Feast of St. Waldetrude, in 1628. It is addressed to Father Hugh Ward, Order of St. Francis, Guardian of the College of St. Anthony in Louvain:—

“With both hands I have received, and then I have lovingly kissed the bundle of your most learned remarks on the Life of St. Dympna. Our people of Brabant will be astounded, as well as I, when they will receive, through your kindness, these wonderful details in the Life of St. Dympna. And, would to Heaven! that those manuscripts, regarding her deeds, which are preserved in your nation, should soon be placed within our reach. Oh, Dympna! hear my prayer, for it is directed to promote thy glory: and thou Oh, Angel! who art named *Accelera*, hasten this boon for me.”

He then propounds some of his own views about the Life of St. Dympna; and among other things, remarks that she could not have been the superior of a Convent, as according to the tradition of Gheel, she was only fifteen years of age at the time she suffered martyrdom. “Therefore,” he thus continues, “your conjecture seems to me to be the most probable, that is, that her staff, which is preserved, is not an Abbatial crozier, but a staff of pilgrimage, like that of St. Oda, which was brought from Mount Garganum, as her Life, which we possess, records, for she passed by that mountain when journeying from your country to Rome.”

From other remarks of Father Wichmans, we glean that it was Ward's opinion that St. Dympna made a pilgrimage to Rome; that her martyrdom took place about the year 480, and that the name of *Gheel* was derived from the two Gaelic Saints, SS. Dympna and Gerabern, who rendered that spot so illustrious by miracles, that a city soon sprung up round their shrines. He adds, “I have nothing to oppose to your explanation of the name Gheel, but I would wish to learn from you can any similar explanation be given to the name *Zammale*, by which the town is called, where they resided before their martyrdom.”

He further gives the following interesting particulars regarding St. Oda and her companion, St. Hilvaris:—“I don't know whether your Reverence has ever verified from other sources the statement made by Gazet in his Ecclesiastical History of Belgium, written in French, wherein, in the chapter on the Saints of Bois-le-Duc, he writes, regarding the Irish Saint, St. Hilvaris:—*St. Hilvaris, virgin, the companion of St. Oda, founded a Collegiate Church in the town of Beca,*

which, from her, is called *Hilvaris-Beca*. This is also the constant tradition there. The town is situated in the middle of our Campania, which was the native place of the late famous Theologian, Martin Becanus."<sup>1</sup>

Twelve years later Father Wichmans again wrote to Louvain, seeking further details about St. Dymphna. His letter was no longer addressed to Hugh Ward, who had passed to his reward, but to Father John Colgan, the worthy successor of Ward, as Irish hagiologist in St. Anthony's. He states in this letter that the life of St. Dymphna, by F. Cameracensis, was the most ancient preserved in Gheel, and was compiled in the 13th century, from the tradition of the inhabitants, and from paintings and various monuments collected in several places. There is fortunately preserved among the Colgan fragments at St. Isidore's in Rome, a fly-sheet containing a rough draft of a portion of Colgan's letter in answer to the above, and dated 18th September, 1640. It adds not a little to our scanty information regarding that great saint and martyr of our early church. He first remarks that the Father of St. Dymphna should not be styled Monarch of all Ireland, but rather Dynast, or inferior prince, many of whom received the title of kings, and some of whom it is probable persevered for a time in their pagan vices and superstitions. He then continues as follows:—<sup>2</sup>

"That the matter may be more accurately illustrated, I premise four remarks:—

"1st—That Dymphna, or Dimhna, is generally written *Damhnad* in Irish, although, according to the origin of the word, we should rather write it *Damhna*, according to what I have already remarked in my notes above, number 3.

<sup>1</sup> "Manipulum doctissimarum Adnotationum in vitam S. Dimphnae nuper utraque manu recepi et pleno ore exosculatus sum. . . . Stupebunt mecum Brabantini nostri dum stupenda illa, audita nunquam, ex vobis audient cum benevolentia, in vita S. Dimphnae. Et O si ! manuscripta illa quae apud gentem vestram latent de ejusdem gestis per manum vestram brevi recipiam. Audi votum O Dimphna ! quia ad honorem tuum illud emitto ; tuque imprimis, cui nomen *Accelera*, idem mihi accelera.

"Nescio autem utrum a R. V. alibi animadversum sit quod habit Gazetius in Hist. sua Eccles. Belgica, gallico idiomate edita, capite de SS. Diocesis Silvae-ducensis in quo haec de S. Hilvare Hiberna :—*S. Hilvaris virgo, pedissequa S. Odiae, fundatrix fuit Ecclesiae Collegiatae in pago Becensi qui ab ea nomen traxit Hilvaris-Beca.* Estque ea constans ibidem traditio: ager autem est in medio nostrae Campaniae, patriae magni illius nuper Theologi Martini Becani."

<sup>2</sup> Pro veritate melius eruenda praemitto quatuor :—

1. Dimhnam Hibernice passim vocari *Damhnad*, licet ex prima vocis origine *Damhna* potius videatur dicta juxta ea quae fusius notavi supra in notis n. 3.

2. Extare in Orgiellia Ultoniae in Hibernia perampla regione celebre et in magno praetio et veneratione habitum, in hujus virginis memoriam, monumentum quod *bichull-damhnad* id est baculus S. Dimhnae appellatur. Quando enim non solum dynastae et nobiles illius regionis sed et plebei volunt aliquid jurejurando affir-

"2nd—That in Oirghialla, which is a very large district in Ulster, in Ireland, there is still preserved, through reverence for this saint, a celebrated memorial called *Bachull-Damhnad*, i.e., Staff of St. Dymrna, which is held in the highest honour and veneration, and when anyone of this territory, whether he be prince or peasant, wishes to affirm anything on oath, he is invariably sworn on this *Bachull* as a most inviolable tessera of truth. It is uncertain whether it was used as a pastoral staff of Abbess, or as a staff of pilgrimage to foreign parts, but now it is covered with gems and gold, and held in the highest honour.

"3rd—That in different parts of Ireland there still remain four churches dedicated to one or more saints of the name of Dymrna. The first and principal church is situated in the aforesaid province of Oirghialla, in the district of Sliabh-Beatha; it is called *Teagh-Damhnad*, i.e., the house of St. Dymrna, and was formerly the burial-place of the princes and dynasts of Oirghialla (who in olden times were called by the generic name of kings) and in it to our own times was preserved the above

mare per hunc baculum tamquam certum veritatis asserendae sacramentum solent jurare. Et sive in officio abbatissae, sive in sua peregrinatione extra patriam, fuerit, ejus baculus est gemmis et auro coelatus et in magno praetio semper habitus.

3. Quod hodie extant in Hiberniae diversis regionibus ecclesiae quatuor sive uni sive diversis hujus nominis virginibus dicatae. *Prima*, et praecipua, in praedicta oirgiellia provincia in regione de Sliabh-Beatha, quae Teagh-Damhnad id est aedes S. Dimhnae appellatur, in qua olim erat et sepultura principum et dynastarum orgielliae qui temporibus priscis absolute reges vocabantur, juxta mox dicenda, et in hac usque ad nostros dies servabatur praedictus S. Dymhnae baculus et in ea insuper celebratur solemnis festum S. Dymhnae tamquam non solum loci sed et totius regionis patronae non tamen die 15 Maii, ut Ghelae, sed 13 Junii quo et publicae ibi majoris solemnitatis gratia servantur nundinae. *Secunda*, quinque circiter miliaribus a prima distans est in eadem regione latere montis *Betha* alia ecclesia . . . . Atchumairce appellata; et quia pars non exigua hujus magni montis spectabat olim ad hanc ecclesiam hinc ipsa virgo denominationem ab ipso monte accepisse videtur qua solet Damhna de monte Betha appellari. *Tertia* est viginti circiter inde miliaribus distans in comitatu et oppido Luthensi et regione de machaire orgiell, id est, planitie orgielliae cui adjacet alia capella ad jactum bombardae, S. Gereberno ut traditio habet dicata; ferunt enim in illa cella S. Dymhnam fuisse a S. Gereberno litteris et pietate instructam. *Quarta*, est *Kill-Alga* appellata in regione Mediae et media inter oppida de baile Athtruim, et baile-Athbuidhe, ab utroque tribus circiter distans miliaribus; quo die autem servetur S. Dymhnae festum in hisce ecclesiis mihi nondum constat.

4. Quantum quod praemonendum duxi est quod duae, nisi tres, hujus nominis memorantur a nostris hagiologis aliisque historicis virginis vitae sanctimonia et natalibus clariae. *Prima*, S. Dymhna patre S. Ronano Nennedii filio et matre Dublach, orta de celeberrima onellorum familia de qua ejusque aliis sororibus vide plura in notis ad vitam S. Lassarae sororis ejus ad 13 Novemb., sed quia Ronanus harum virginum pater non fuit paganus sed a puero Christianus et postea vir sanctus et post mortem uxoris episcopus, miraculis clarus ante filiarum ejus obitum ut habetur in citata S. Lassarae vita, non potest Dimhna nostra Gelensis a patre impio et pagano capite truncata fuisse ejus filia. *Secunda*, est S. Dimhna de monte Beatha de cujus familia paterna, matre et sanctissimis fratribus melius constat quam de ipso patre cujus nomen ab authoribus non exprimitur."



staff of St. Dympna. In it also the festival of St. Dympna is celebrated with the greatest solemnity, as the feast of the patron not only of that place, but of the whole province; it is not kept, however, on the 15th of May, as in Gheel, but on the 13th of June, on which day a public fair is held as an occasion of special celebration. *The second church* is about five miles distant from the former, and is situated in the same district, on the side of Mount Beatha, and is called *Atchumairc*, i.e., the ford of refuge; and as a large portion of the mountain formerly belonged to this church, the Saint seems to have derived from it her characteristic designation, for she is generally known as "St. Dympna of Mount Beatha." *The third church* is situated at a distance of about twenty miles thence in the county and town of Louth, in the district of Maghera Oirghialla, i.e., the plain of Oirghialla, and at a short distance from this church there is another chapel which, according to tradition, was dedicated to saint Gerebern; and tradition has it that it was there St. Gerebern instructed our St. Dympna in science and in religion. *The fourth church* is that called Kill-Alga, in the county Meath, half-way between Trim and Athboy, being distant about three miles from each of these towns. I have not as yet been able to discover on what day the feast of the Saint is kept in these churches.

"4. The fourth point to be held in mind is this, that two if not three holy Virgins of the name of Dympna, are commemorated by our Hagiologists and other historians as renowned for their birth and sanctity. The *first St. Dympna* had, for her father, St. Ronan, the son of Nennedh, and for mother, Dublacha, who was descended from the celebrated family of the O'Neils; about her and her sisters, see at the 13th of November, the notes on the Life of St. Lassair, who was her sister. As, however, Ronan, the father of these holy virgins was not a Pagan, but was a Christian from his infancy, and as he advanced in years was remarkable for his sanctity, and after the death of his wife was chosen Bishop, and was celebrated for miracles during the lifetime of his daughters, as appears from the life of St. Lassair, it is manifest that St. Dympna of Gheel, who was beheaded by her Pagan and impious father, cannot have been St. Ronan's daughter. The *second St. Dympna* is called St. Dympna, of Mount Beatha, of whose father's family, as well as of her mother and holy brothers, we are better informed than of her father himself, whose name is passed over in silence by our writers."

After this important passage another short paragraph is added (which however is in great part erased), as follows:—"Her mother's name was Bronach, the daughter of Milcho,

with whom St. Patrick lived as a slave for many years. See Aengus Keledeus."

This is all that is preserved of the letter of Colgan. The Mount *Beatha* here referred to is the modern Slieve Beagh, which is situated in the County Tyrone, near its junction with Fermanagh and Monaghan. Near it, to the south-east, is the ancient *Teach Damhnat*, giving name to the modern parish of Tedavnet. The *bachull* of St. Dympna is spoken of by Petrie as forming part of his valuable collection, and the ornamental work is described by him as not later than the tenth century. He gives two illustrations from it in his *Round Towers*, page 318. As regards the town and whole district of Louth, special devotion seems to have been there shown to St. Dympna even to a late period. In the 16th century as Hanmer writes in his chronicle,<sup>1</sup> her memory was vividly cherished there, and it was supposed that her father had been some dynast of that territory. Colgan also writes in the printed volume of his *Acta Sanctorum*, page 713, that "a most celebrated virgin of the name Damhna sprung from Oirghialla, is venerated to the present day as the common patron of all the territory of Oirghialla." The *Kill-Alga* mentioned above is now known as Kildalkey. It still gives name to a parish situated at a few miles from Trim. Mr. Donovan, who examined this district in connexion with the Ordnance Survey, reported that St. Damhnat, *i.e.*, Dympna, was its patron saint. In the Annals of the "Four Masters," he thus writes: "Kill-dealga, anglicized Kildalkey, was the name of an old church, now totally destroyed, giving name to a parish situated between the parish of Trim, in East Meath, and the boundary of Westmeath," (page 320). He adds that the festival of the saint was formerly kept there on the 15th of May. Though no vestige remains of the ancient church, a holy well near the site still retains the name of *Tobar-Damhnata*, *i.e.*, St. Dympna's well.

As an appendix to Hugh Ward's "Life of St. Rumold" some scattered poems were inserted, composed by him at leisure intervals, in honour of his special patrons. Two of these short poems are in praise of St. Dympna, and one of them, which we choose as a specimen, will sufficiently prove that even in Latin verse our distinguished countryman was true to his name, and reflected no dishonour on the traditional glory of his family:—

"Dympna peregrina superans mortalia forma  
Indiges inter abit Daphnea virgo Deas,  
Pacta pudicitia regnum patriamque patremque,  
Cuncta tenet fugiens quae fugiendo manet.

<sup>1</sup> *Chronicle of Ireland*, page 143.

Quem dedit Angelicum genitrix speciosa decorem,  
 Plus decorat maculis dextra sinistra patris.  
 Non onus est, sed honor, species laesura ferentes;  
 Quam gemina integro palma pudore manet.  
 Haud demit, geminat patricida machaera coronam;  
 De saevo agna Lupo bina trophaea refert.  
 Purpurat Augustam Dignam<sup>1</sup> cruor; almaque sceptrum  
 Lilia dant; addit gemmea sarta Deus.  
 Cumque haud digna forent Digna terrena sepulchra,  
 Coelica coelicolae mausolea struunt.  
 Jam septena Ghelae cedunt miracula mundi;  
 Pluria namque uno haec una dat urna die."

The *Life of St. Rumold*<sup>2</sup> is the only published work of Hugh Ward, and it was not till many years after his death that even this was given to the press by his friend and companion, O'Sheerin. Nevertheless it is justly described by the learned Bollandist, De Buck, as "indisputably one of the most erudite books for which we are indebted to Irish Archaeology."<sup>3</sup> Hugh Ward engaged in this work at the request of the Archbishop of Mechlin, who, with his clergy, was most desirous of having the details of the life of the great patron of that See illustrated by one so well versed in the antiquities of Ireland. It was completed in the year 1631, but its publication was deferred, in the hope that some further particulars connected with St. Rumold might be gleaned from the documents which were then so zealously sought for by O'Clery and other members of the Order in Ireland. Ward, however, was cut off by death before these documents could be transmitted to Louvain. It was the intention of Colgan to insert the whole work, with additional notes, in his *Acta Sanctorum* on the 1st of July, but he, too, was summoned to his reward before accomplishing his design. Hence it was that O'Sheerin, on being appointed hagiologist of the Order, resolved to begin his labours by the publication of this work of Ward, lest, as he writes in the preface, "he should be forgotten who had be-

<sup>1</sup> The Latin *Digna* corresponds with the pronunciation of the name of our saint in Belgium. In the *Palatium Spirituale*, or Life of St. Begga, published at Antwerp, in 1632, by R. P. Elias, a S. Teresa, St. Dymphna is commemorated on the 15th of May as "*Sancta Digna, virgo et martyr*."

<sup>2</sup> *Sancti Rumoldi martyris inclyti, Archiepiscopi Dubliniensis, Mechliniensium Apostoli &c. Acta, Martyrium, Liturgia antiqua et Patria: ex antiquissimis cum manu, tum prelo editis harum rerum Scriptoris, summa fide collecta, notis illustrata; et aucta Disquisitione historica, seu investigatione genuinae Scotiae S. Rumoldi et contribulium Sanctorum per R. P. F. Hugonem Vardaem Hibernum olim in Lovaniensi Collegio S. Antonii &c. de Padua guardianum, S. Theol. Professorem, et Hagiographum.* Lovanii, 1662.

<sup>3</sup> *L'Archaeologie Irlandaise*, p. 44.

gun these studies, and had collected a great deal of matter with much toil and industry, or lest it should be supposed that nothing had been achieved by all his toil."

The few and unfinished remarks made by Ward regarding the family of St. Rumold, show how accurate was his knowledge of the antiquities of our country. He conjectures that the Latinized name Rumoldus corresponds with the Celtic *Rumond*, which is often met with in the Annals of Ireland: thus *Rumond Duagh* is commemorated as connected by blood with St. Kieran of Saigher, and as the father of many saints: *Rumond O'Haedhagain*, Abbot of Clonmacnoise, is mentioned in 978: *Rumond mac Cathusach*, Bishop of Clonard, in 919: another *Rumond*, "exceedingly versed in chronology and poetry," in 742, at which time, indeed, the patron of Mechlin also flourished; but Ward adds, that this entry of our annals probably refers to another St. Rumond who lived at that time, and is referred to by St. Ængus in his Tract on the "The Mothers of the Saints of Erin," where *Funechta* is styled "the mother of St. Cormac, Bishop of Athtruim, and of SS. Baithellach, Ossan, and *Rumond*."

In the ancient life, St. Rumold is said to have been born in a city called *Guervia*. This gives occasion to Ward to remark that the Scottish writers were unable to find any place in Scotland corresponding with this name, but in Ireland, he adds, we have *Sliebh-Guaire* in Breffny, "which was formerly part of Connaught, but is now a county in Ulster;" also the more celebrated *Durlas-Guaire*, i.e. the fortress of Guaire, King of Connaught, situated nine miles from Galway and four miles from the see of Kilmacduagh,—the royal palace of Prince Guaire, who was renowned for his munificence and hospitality, formerly marked this spot; then again, *Gort-insi-Guaire*, the hereditary property of the O'Shaugnessys, only two or three miles distant from Durlas-Guaire; a fourth town situated between Dublin and Wexford (thirty-three miles from the former and twenty-three from the latter), in the townland of Kilmantan, is still called *Guaire-an-Ri*, i.e. "Royal Guaire"<sup>1</sup>—it was formerly the residence of the Dublin princes, and is now the seat of Viscount Esmond; in fine, *Rath-Guaire*, a village of Westmeath, situated twenty-five miles from Dublin and five miles from Mullingar; "it was once a noble palace as its ruins still attest." It is not easy to decide which of these places is the city mentioned in the life of St. Rumold, but as it states that the royal residence of the father of the saint was situated there, we may, with

<sup>1</sup> This gives us the origin of the modern name *Gorey*.

some probability look to *Guaire-an-Ri* as the birth-place of St. Rumold. It is worthy of remark that in the beginning of the eighth century our annals mention a prince of the Hy-Kinnsellagh called *Dathi*, which, as Ward fully proves, was the name of the father of our saint.

The most important part, however, of the work of Ward is an Essay on the Ancient SCOTIA, in which he displays the greatest learning, and proves that that name originally belonged solely to Ireland, and that it was only at a comparatively recent date it became appropriated to the northern part of Britain. In this essay he shows himself intimately acquainted with all the then accessible materials of Irish history, and he brings forward many passages from MS. lives of our early saints. In his incidental references, he remarks that the hymn in honour of St. Columbanus, beginning "*Nostris solemnibus sacculi*," which by some is attributed to Jonas, and by others to Notker Balbulus, is marked in the ancient MS. of Bobbio, as composed by St. Gall, the holy companion of St. Columbanus.<sup>1</sup> At page 152 he states that in the sacristy of Namur was preserved the inscription, "St. Forannan, an Irish archbishop and first abbot of the monastery of Walciodorum, is enshrined there, illustrious by his many miracles," and, after a few other remarks, he adds, "these things I myself copied in Walciodorum in 1626." Treating of the religious rule followed by the Irish saints, he writes (p. 64) that there were at least twelve great monastic founders in our early Church, each of whom composed a rule for his disciples; "I myself have fragments," he adds, "of these various rules, and they are referred to in the lives of our saints written in the earliest times. Thus, the ancient narrative of St. Molua's life, makes mention of his rule, which was brought to St. Gregory the Great by the holy abbot Dagan, and it was so admired by that great Pontiff that he exclaimed: 'Molua has raised even unto heaven a safe barrier for his followers, to preserve them from every assault of worldly wickedness.'" At page 105, speaking of the beautiful discourse of Vernulaeus on the Irish saints in Belgium, he states that it was delivered on the occasion of the consecration of Dr. Fleming, Archbishop of Dublin, in 1623, in the public Academy of Louvain, in the presence of four archbishops, and of a select number of academicians, who, in their poems and various compositions, declared that "Belgium was indebted to Ireland, and particularly to Dublin, for St. Rumold and other saints, but now repaid in part this debt

<sup>1</sup> Page 122., See this hymn in *Messingham* "Florilegium," p. 220.

by sending to Dublin as Archbishop, the Superior and Lecturer of Theology at St. Anthony's." At page 299 he also mentions that Edward Geraldine, connected with the noble families of Kildare and Desmond, and born in Ireland, held the post of Sergeant-Major in the Irish Legion in Belgium, and subsequently attained the rank of Colonel and Count of the Holy Empire in Germany, but died at Heydelberg in 1626, and was interred in the Franciscan church of that town. These few instances will suffice to show how important, even in its incidental references, is the "Life of St. Rumold."

The last event that we meet with connected with Father Ward's life is the visitation of the houses of his order in the province of St. Andrew, in Belgium, which he held in 1633 by special authority from the Papal Nuncio,<sup>1</sup> as well as by commission from the Franciscan-General. The Archives of St. Isidore's preserve some minutes of his report on the various allegations that were made to him, and on the true causes which created disturbance among the brethren of that province. From it we learn that he proceeded to Lisle on the 1st of July, 1633, held a consultation with the Nuncio at Brussels, on the 28th of the same month; returned a second time to Lisle on the 6th August, and finally communicated the result of his investigation to the Nuncio on the 18th of September, 1633, and two days later to the Commissary-General of his order. This was one of the last important missions entrusted to Hugh Ward.<sup>2</sup>

Two years later a tedious and painful disease brought his earthly career to a premature close, on the 8th of November, 1635.

<sup>1</sup> The patent of the Nuncio styles him "R. P. Fr. Hugonem Vardaeum ejusdem professionis ex Provincia Hiberniae religiosum et Sac. Theologiae Lectorem quem ad id muneris idoneum noscimus."—*Archiv. S. Isidori*.

<sup>2</sup> *Wadding* in "Scriptores Ord. Min." page 179, gives the following sketch of the life of *Ward*:—"Hugo Wardaeus, Hibernus Ultoniensis, provinciae S. Jacobi alumnus, quem ego in Coventu Salmanticensi anno 1616, curavi ad ordinem admitti. Acris et perspicui vir ingenii, Lovanium missus in Collegio S. Antonii FF. Min. Hib. Lectoris et Guardiani functus muneribus. Cum admirabili facilitate et singulari peritia linguam calleret Hibernicam, se totum convertit ad monumenta patriae colligenda, ea praesertim quae ad vitas spectabant sanctorum, parabatque praelo: *Plurimas Sanctorum Hibernorum vitas* et a vetustis Biographis Latine compositas et multas alias patrio sermone scriptas cum diversis Martyrologiis et Hagiographis eodem idiomate compilatas quas Joannes Colganus ejusdem instituti et Collegii, de quo infra, nuper ediderat. Multa reliquit historiarum fragmenta et illustrata Veterum Martyrologia. Obiit Lovanii anno 1635, die 8 Novembris."

## CLAIMS OF THE IRISH COLLEGE, PARIS, ON THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT IN VIRTUE OF TREA- TIES WITH FRANCE.

WE return again to the subject of the Claims of the Irish College, Paris, on the British Government. We have already devoted two articles to the matter, and we have still something more to say about it.

In our last article, we commented on the judgment pronounced by Sir John Leach, on behalf of the Privy Council, in repudiation of the appeal made to that tribunal by the Very Rev. Dr. McSweeney, President of the Irish College, and Universal Administrator of the Irish Foundations in France, in 1832 ; and our observations conducted us to the following conclusions :—

1st.—That Sir John Leach was in error in repudiating the *individual* or *personal* rights as regards the burses of the College.

2nd.—That he was in error in the *community* view he took of the College, and in his allegation of its being a French Establishment.

3rd.—That he was entirely at fault in invoking a precedent, the precedent of the Douay and other English Colleges in France, which had no relevancy to the case.

4th.—That the precedent of the Canadian institutions, which was exactly in point, should have led him to an opposite conclusion.

5th.—That it was dishonest of the British Commissioners to withhold compensation, or withholding it, not to return the money to France, which they had received for the purpose of such compensation, in order that France might herself make compensation for the losses and injuries the College had suffered at her hands.

In the present article we purpose occupying ourselves with the question :—

*What is become of the Indemnity Fund out of which the Irish College should have received its compensation ?*

This is a grave and delicate question, and we feel all its gravity and delicacy. But it is thrust upon us.

The British Treasury, in making a return to an address of the House of Lords, dated 9th of May, 1870, in pursuance of a motion of the Most Honorable the Marquis of Clanricarde, "*for copies of the award made in the case of the Rev. Paul Long, as Administrator General of the Irish College, Paris,*

by the Commissioners appointed for liquidation of British Claims out of the funds received from the French Government, and of the judgment of the English Privy Council, 1832, on the appeal from that award: Also a copy of the judgment in 1825, in the Appeal Case of the English College, Douay," accompanied this return with a further return "of Unsettled Demands on the funds provided by the Government of France for liquidating the claims of British subjects, and the balance which remains unappropriated to the liquidation of such claims, including interest thereon." This latter return comes before us as a wind-up account of the Indemnity Fund in question, and results in the statement that "*there no longer exists a balance which remains unappropriated to the liquidation of unsettled demands.*"

This statement of the British Treasury must be understood, under the circumstances, as a reply beforehand to the appeal which the friends of the Irish College are about making to the Imperial Parliament, and it would, in fact, say to them, "You are come too late. The Indemnity Fund, from which you are seeking compensation, has been long since entirely appropriated and expended, and nothing remains to meet your claim." Hence, as we have said, the question is thrust upon us: *What is become of the Indemnity Fund out of which the Irish College should have received its compensation?* But, before entering on the investigation to which this question challenges us, we desire to return for a moment or two to the judgment of Sir John Leach, on which we commented in our preceding article. For the more we consider the judicial treatment to which the claims of the Irish College have been subjected, the more we see the flagrant injustice which has been dealt to this venerable National Institution, by the Government of Great Britain, or, what amounts to the same thing, by the Commissioners acting in her name, and on her behalf, to give effect to treaties between her and France.

Sir John in his judgment says: "*Now we are bound, of course, by the judgment in the Douay case.*" This is the strong position within which he entrenches himself—the precedent of the Douay case. Hence, we must look back on the precedent, to see how it applies. The case of the Douay College, with the other English Colleges in France, was brought, in the first place, before the Commissioners appointed to administer the treaties for the liquidation of the claims of British subjects, and was rejected. But let us note particularly the *ground* of rejection. It was, to use the words of the Commissioners, because "these establishments had lost their corporate character by the laws of France; so that in consequence



of the dissolution of the ancient charter, and the creation of a new one for similar purposes, the claimants were not at the time the real members composing such a new corporation, and not entitled in their individual capacity to claim the property which belonged to the ancient Corporations."

Let him who can, understand this decision. To us it appears to be the veriest illustration of a *causa sine causa*—a reason that is no reason. But let us pass on. In virtue of the act of 1819, the right of appeal was allowed to claimants from the Commissioners to the King in Council. The representatives of the English College, availing themselves of this right, appealed to the Privy Council in 1825. They appealed in vain. But did the Privy Council sanction *the ground* of rejection relied upon by the Commissioners? By no means. They saw the futility of that ground; it should, therefore, as an Appellate Tribunal, have sent back the case, for reconsideration, to the Commissioners. Instead of doing so, however, they took up the cause as *de integro*, and adjudicated it on grounds that seemed good to themselves. These are their words: "Now the Institution, on behalf of which the claims are made, although their members were British subjects, and their property derived from funds constituted by British subjects, were in the nature of French corporations; they were locally established in a foreign territory because they could not be so employed in England; their end and object were not authorized by, but were directly opposed to, British law, and the funds dedicated to their maintenance were employed to that purpose in France, because they could not be so employed in England; and if other circumstances were wanting to fix their character, it appears that these establishments, as well as their revenues, were subject to the control of the French Government, and the conduct of that Government, since the restoration of the monarchy, shows, that if all had been suffered to remain entire during the period of the revolution, the monarchical Government would have taken the whole under its superintendence and management. We think therefore that they must be deemed French Establishments. Then, are such Establishments, though represented by British subjects, entitled to claim under the treaties? Treaties, like other compacts, are to be construed according to the intention of the contracting parties, and, looking at the occasion and object of these treaties, we think it was not, and could not have been, in the contemplation of the contracting parties that the British Government should demand, nor the French Government grant, compensation for property held in trust for Establishments

in France, and for purposes inconsistent with British laws, and which were subject to the control of the French Government. We therefore think, that having regard to the nature and character of the Establishments which the claimants allege themselves to represent, and to the purpose to which the property in respect whereof compensation is claimed, was dedicated, the claimants have not brought their case within the meaning or spirit of the treaties."

We have now before us the whole of the Douay case, and this is Sir John Leach's precedent for deciding the Irish College case. We must therefore ask, in what does the precedent hold? Not surely in the reason alleged by the *Commissioners*, namely: "that it (the Douay College) had lost its corporate character by the laws of France, so that in consequence of the dissolution of the ancient charter and the creation of a new one for a similar purpose, the claimants were not, at the time, the real members comprising such a new Corporation, and not entitled in their individual capacity to claim the property which belonged to the ancient Corporation." Evidently the Douay case is no precedent for the Irish College case, in this *pronouncement* of the Commissioners, and, indeed, to do Sir John justice, he does not urge it. He seems equally impressed as the Privy Council, speaking through Lord Gifford, with the futility of the allegation put forth. At all events, in the case of the Irish College, there was no question of an old charter dissolved or a new charter created, even if there was any sense in such a reason. The Irish College maintained its existence and character as a National Institution of Ireland in all the troubles and perturbations of France.

But Sir John's chief reliance is on the decision of the *Privy Council* in the Douay case, and therefore he quotes Lord Gifford as giving two reasons for that decision; *one*, that the Establishments (the Douay and other English Colleges) were opposed to the law of England; *the other*, that they were French Establishments, founded, as he says, under the authority and by the permission of the King of France, and that therefore they could not be considered within the meaning of the term "British subjects."

In quoting these two reasons, the learned gentleman admits that the first does not apply to the Irish College, in consequence of the different state of British Law with regard to the Catholic Religion and its institutions in Ireland. Therefore, he relies solely upon the second reason. Here we must tell him that he leans upon a broken reed. He must be very wanting in logical acumen, not to observe that Lord Gifford

does not rely upon *either, separately*, of the two reasons he assigns for his decision. He combines both, and rests his decision on both together. Nay, reading his judgment, it is plain to any one to see that he relies, chiefly, on the first reason, and attaches little weight to the second. Therefore, on the admission of Sir John himself, who allows this first reason not to apply to the Irish College case, his argument for the Douay precedent completely breaks down.

But he attaches much importance to what Lord Gifford says of the "control of the French Government over the English Establishments and their revenues," and he would argue, that the French Government having exercised a control also over the Irish College, the precedent of the Douay College is, so far, relevant and in point. And then he goes on to say, "We first find the control of the Convention; we next find the control of the Consulate; we next find the control of the Empire; and lastly, we find the control of the monarchy in the edicts of Louis XVIII. This case, comes, therefore, plainly," he adds, "within the reasons given by Lord Gifford for the prior decision."

We must here take Sir John Leach's logic to task. The gentleman may have, indeed, possessed the radical power of reasoning, but his talents seem to have been whetted very badly indeed for logical discernment.

We must therefore make good the deficiency.

"Control" is a word, as every one knows, of very ample and various signification, so that one kind of control may be very unlike another. Now this is actually the case as between the control exercised by the French Government over the English Establishments and their revenues, on the one side, and the Irish College on the other. With regard to the English Establishments, France abrogated their charter, as the Commissioners assert in their judgment on their claims, and revived it anew as it would have done with any similar French Establishment. But with regard to the Irish College, the control which the French Government exercised was quite of an opposite character. It was a control to mark a distinction between it and French Ecclesiastical Institutions, and to maintain for it uniformly, and in all the phases through which the country passed, its special character and *status* as an Irish Establishment. Thus, if the Convention exercised a control respecting it, it was to take it out of the category of French Seminaries, and to exempt it from the decree of confiscation with which they were smitten. Thus, again, if the Consulate exercised any control, it was to give more prominence to it as an Irish National Establishment,

and to secure for it a certain proportion of its own revenues. Thus, also, if the Empire exercised any control, it was to continue and confirm what the Consulate had previously done. Thus, in fine, if the monarchy exercised any control after the Restoration, it was to give it the position it at present occupies as an Irish Institution, as much so as it is possible for any institution to have such a position in a foreign country.

On speaking of the control of the French Government in reference to the Irish College, or any foreign establishment locally situated in France, be that establishment a college, an orphanage, an hospital, or a joint-stock company for any purpose of trade, it would be impossible for any such establishment to obtain existence, or continue to exist, without *some* control on the part of the French Government or Legislature in its regard. Now what we contend for respecting this control, is, that no foreign institution could have less of it than the Irish College, and that, existing in France it could not be less French nor more Irish than it is, and has been at all times. Therefore, we arrive at this conclusion, that Sir John Leach must either say that it is impossible for an Irish Establishment to be in France and remain Irish, a proposition which no man in his senses will assert, or he must allow the Irish College to be an Irish and not a French Establishment.

But Lord Gifford, speaking of the English Colleges, said, on the part of the Privy Council, that they were French Establishments, therefore Sir John Leach would say, *a pari*, that the Irish College was a French Establishment also. Here again we are dealing with an expression of large and various meaning. Hence, we must be precise in understanding what Lord Gifford intends to convey by the expression "French Establishments." His Lordship's meaning is to be ascertained from his reasoning on the case. To put his observations in technical form, according to his reasoning, he would say "the Establishments in question are either English or French. But they cannot be English, therefore they must be French." He sustains the *minor* proposition, viz. :—that they cannot be English, by referring to the "nature and character of the Establishments, and to the purpose to which the property, in respect of which compensation is claimed, was dedicated," all which he insisted to be "directly opposed to British Law." Now the direct contrary was the case of the Irish College, which was in strict accordance with British Law, so that Sir John's argument *a pari* completely breaks down, and, instead of being similar, the two cases are in absolute contrast with each other.

But Lord Gifford observes that the funds of the English Establishments were "held in trust" by the French Government. Yes ; he makes the observation, but takes no inference from it against the appeal. The inference is logically in an opposite direction, *trust*, being incompatible in the same hands with *ownership*. Say you are *trustee* for any funds, you declare thereby you are not *the owner*. The ownership is elsewhere. Thus, if Sir John Leach wishes to remark, that the Irish College funds were in the trust-keeping of the French Government, his remark points to the inference that the ownership belonged to the College itself, as a National Institution of Ireland.

We have been longer than we intended on this point, because we wished to expose the futility of the ground taken by Sir John Leach, speaking for the Privy Council, in the clap-trap pretension of the Irish College being a French Establishment. And from all we have said it is manifest that no foreign institution could be less French on French soil, than is the Irish College, nor could it be more Irish. Even though words should be silent on the subject, the College itself proclaims the fact. Let any one approach it by the street "*Rue des Irlandais*," in which it is situated, and entering the building, let him inspect the national emblems of Ireland, the Irish cross, the Irish harp, the Irish round towers, the Irish wolf-dog, the titles of the Irish dioceses, the statues and pictures of the titular saints of Ireland, the Irish mottoes, &c., &c., and then, let him mingle with the professors and students who are exclusively Irish—if the visiter be an Irishman, he forgets, for the moment, that he is in France, and feels as if he were at home in old Ireland, or if he be a Frenchman, he feels as if he had gone out of his native land, and as if treading upon foreign soil. So little is the Irish College a French Establishment ; so completely is it, and has it always been an Irish Institution.

A parting word with Lord Gifford, and his reasons for rejecting the Appeal in the case of the English Colleges. We are not pleading the cause of these establishments. But when we quote his Lordship in connexion with the Irish College, we feel bound to dissent from the principle he lays down as warranting his decision in the Douay appeal case. That principle, generalized and carried to its logical result, would mean that British subjects in a foreign country, for any object and purpose not in accordance with British law at home in England, are not entitled to British protection, and that the British Government may abandon them to any violence to which they may be exposed, in person or property. We

protest against such doctrine, and we know it to be contrary to the practise of Great Britain with respect to her subjects in foreign lands. On the contrary, 'tis her boast, and her proud boast, that as under the Roman Empire, "*Civis Romanus sum*" was an appeal which secured protection of life and property for the citizen of the great empire throughout the world, so "*I am a British subject*" are words to secure the same protection for the subject of the British Crown, in whatever region he may require it.

It is now time to return to our question, which we have already laid down in the beginning of this paper, viz., *What is become of the indemnity fund out of which the Irish College should have received its compensation?*

We feel that entering on so grave and delicate an investigation we must proceed with cautious and steady steps. Fortunately we have safe guides upon whom we could rely to pass even through a labyrinth.

Our first guide is Monsieur Le Baron, a living authority. He was an officer of the General Staff under the first Napoleon, and a Barrister of the Court of Appeal of Paris. He says of himself, "Young, I defended the honor of my country with my sword, for I made the campaigns of 1812 in Russia, of 1813 at the siege of Dantzic, and of 1815 in the army of the Rhine. Afterwards, the Emperor having been exiled to St. Helena, I broke my sword in despair, and returned to the desk in order to give myself up to the special study of international law. Having grown old I defended the interests of my country with my pen, for I spent nigh a quarter of a century in London, to collect all the documents relative to the debt due by England to France." This debt is no other than the surplus of the indemnity fund given by France to England, to make compensation to British subjects who had suffered injuries and losses during the French Revolution and subsequent wars—the fund out of which we claim compensation for the Irish College. During his long years in London, M. Le Baron sought out all sorts of documents bearing on the subject, treaties, conventions, diplomatic correspondence, parliamentary papers, &c., and he puts the result of his investigations and labours into an elaborate *brochure*, which now lies before us.

As the groundwork of his pleading in this *brochure*, he quotes the treaties of 1815 and 1818. By the former, there was an annual revenue of 3,500,000 francs inscribed on the Great Book of the public debt of France, as a security for the claimants under the treaty. And it was further provided that in case this sum should not be sufficient, additional funds

would be provided; accordingly, as the Commissioners appointed to administer the treaty proceeded with their work, they considered that the above-named sum would be inadequate, and they called for a new inscription of 3,000,000 of francs, which was granted under an additional treaty, bearing date 25th April, 1818. Both treaties stipulated, that when all the claims would be satisfied, the residue, with its accumulations of interest, should be refunded to France. They further provided that the claimants should be paid interest, even compound interest, on their claims, from the 22nd March, 1816.

M. Le Baron then follows the Commissioners in their operations up to 24th July, 1826, when they announced their mission as closed, and there remained an annual revenue of 700,000 francs, representing a capital of 14,000,000 francs, or £560,000. They furnished a report to this effect to the House of Commons at the time, taking credit very modestly therein, for an additional year's salary by way of gratuity. Gratuity no doubt it was; for what could be more spontaneous or less opposed to their best good wishes in their own regard?

M. Le Baron contests the accuracy of this report, and having found access to the half-yearly accounts, which, according to the eighteenth article of the statute, 59 George III., chapter 31, the Commissioners were bound to present to Parliament, he makes out an account in detail, by which he finds, instead of the surplus 14,000,000 francs, a surplus of 64,776,132 francs, 61 centimes, or £2,596,000 odd.

How are we to account for this enormous discrepancy? M. Le Baron is startled at it and leaves it so, to bear its own comment. Perhaps however we shall find some clue to it in the strange section No. 17 of the Act 1819, to which we have referred above, and which conferred upon the Commissioners the powers of disposing of such an immense fund, expressly enacting, however, "that the said Commissioners shall not, nor shall any such Commissioners be deemed public accountants, in respect of any such sums."

The Commissioners have fully availed themselves of this indulgence. Hence it does not appear that they kept any regular accounts, such as could be submitted to any commercial firm or business-like board of audit. We are therefore prepared, in advance, for the revelations we will have further on to bring to light.

For the present, we shall take leave of M. Le Baron, and commit ourselves to the safe guidance of another French authority, M. L. Belmontet. Like M. Le Baron, M. Belmontet devoted long years of application to the study of

the question which engages us. He had recourse to all sorts of authorities, accumulating proofs upon proofs; and so penetrated was he with the conviction that the surplus of the fund in question should be restored to the French treasury, that being a member of the "Corps Legislatif," he presented a resolution to that effect in the session of 1867. The resolution consists of several propositions, from which we extract only as much as bears on our purpose.

The resolution says, "in virtue of the peace treaties of 1814, 1815, and 1818, France confided successively to England an annual revenue (*une rente*) of 6,500,000 francs, to wit, 3,500,000 by article IX. of the convention No. 7, of the 30th November, 1815, and 3,000,000 by article I. of the convention of 25th April, 1818, these two revenues representing a capital of 130,000,000 francs, to indemnify the English subjects whose properties, moveable and immoveable, in France, had been confiscated and sold, in execution of its revolutionary laws."

He then speaks of the surplus remaining, and appeals to the half-yearly and authentic accounts presented by the Commissioners to the House of Commons from 1820 to 1826, and he continues:—

"From these official accounts it results that after the portion of the revenue applied and assigned to indemnify the English subjects, the surplus remaining amounts to the sum of 64,776,132 francs, 61 centimes."

He further adds "this unemployed surplus has been loudly and publicly proclaimed in the English Parliament in the sittings of the 14th June, 1852; 1st August, 1853; and 5th June, 1861."

It is a striking fact that M. Belmontet exactly coincides with M. Le Baron, these two gentlemen giving thereby mutual support to the conclusions at which they have respectively arrived.

M. Belmontet's resolution was seconded by a M. Martel, who, amongst other things, spoke as follows:—

"I understand how delicate this question is for the Government, and I should not wish to say anything to embarrass it. . . . But I have examined the question, and I have especially seen what has taken place in the bosom of the Parliament of Great Britain. I can assure you that in this Parliament the most honourable men, Lord Lyndhurst, Lord Truro, Lord Monteagle, and others, rose up to say that there was a point of honour therein for England; that there were sums which had been remitted to her in order to indemnify the English subjects who had suffered losses caused by the French Revolution, and that a part of these sums had been diverted



from their destination. . . . If the Chamber wish I shall lay before their eyes two or three speeches delivered in the Parliament of Great Britain, and it (the Chamber) will see the language that was used by these great men."

Continuing, he quoted the very words of Lord Lyndhurst, Lord Fitzwilliam, Lord Truro, and others, some of which we shall take occasion to produce later on.

We shall now return to M. Le Baron. He presented, as it will be recollected, the sum of £2,596,000 as a residue in 1826 of the 'British Subjects' Indemnity Fund'—the fund out of which the Irish College should have received its compensation. What has become of the residue? M. Le Baron will throw some light upon it. After the Commissioners first appointed had closed their labours in 1826, a new Commission was appointed in the same year, in order to take account of claims that had been long since set down as forfeited. A second Commission was appointed under date, 8th June, 1830, in order to call up for payment claims that had been long extinct. A third was appointed on the 5th March, 1833, for the purpose of submitting for settlement new claims set down as forfeited, and presented since 2nd May, 1826, as also to receive for payment other claims extinct since 1818. In fine, a fourth Commission dated 5th June, 1849, was created in order to make a rateable distribution of a sum of £16,067 that remained in the Fund, amongst claimants named in the minute of the 5th March, 1833.

M. Le Baron follows up the operations of these several Commissions, and presents to us, amongst others, the following remarkable disbursements:—

£250,000 for the improvement of Buckingham Palace. With regard to this sum, he allows that it was paid back in various instalments extending over a number of years, but the interest thereon £34,822 10s. remained to be accounted for.

£60,000 paid on the 19th December, 1824, to a French company of the East Indies.

£130,000 for the Coronation of George IV.

£50,000 for the relief of manufacturing districts in England.

£23,700 to pay Mr. Labédet, &c.

In quoting these sums, M. Le Baron gives his authorities as he goes along.

Now let us ask the question again, what has become of the fund from which the Irish College should have received its compensation? The above figures answer the question, showing that whilst the College is denied justice, the fund responsible for its claims has been dissipated, being applied

to purposes foreign to the end and object for which it was granted by France, and accepted by England, under treaties guaranteed by the Great Powers. But it is not in France alone that virtuous voices were raised against this abuse of this fund, diverting it so strangely from its appointed destination. The English Parliament resounded with denunciations against it. We will specially refer to a remarkable debate in the House of Lords, on the 1st August, 1853, on the subject. In that debate we have Lord Lyndhurst expressing himself in indignant tones to the following effect:—

We quote from the *Times* of next morning—  
 “He has been asked what has become of this money, and it was asserted that all the money had been distributed according to the terms of the convention. Now he had such confidence in the love of justice of his noble and learned friend, the Lord Chancellor, that if he could satisfy him the money had not been appropriated according to the terms of the convention, he was sure he would have the support of his noble and learned friend. The jury found that a balance of £482,000 remained after satisfying the claims strictly due. That sum, with its accumulations, amounted to £566,000, and that sum had been paid by the Commissioners into the treasury. Applications were then made by the individuals who had claimed compensation for claims which had not been preferred within a limited time. These claims amounted to £196,000, and that sum was ultimately awarded. But these claims certainly ought not to have been compensated at the expense of those who were strictly with the terms of the convention. Other sums of £23,000 and £232,000 were paid by the Government to the French Government for claims arising out of the maintenance of French prisoners and the Bordeaux tariff, respectively, and thus a sum of £255,000 was appropriated to the public service, and out of the balance in discharge of debts due from the Government to the French Government for the purposes of compensation. There was a further sum of £68,000 of which no account could be given, and all that could be said of it was, that it was not applicable to the discharge of these claims.” So far Lord Lyndhurst.

We shall now cite Lord Truro, from the *Times* also of the same date. Speaking on the same subject, and denouncing the misapplications disclosed by Lord Lyndhurst, his Lordship said:—

“He did not deny the power of Parliament to do what it had done in the matter. Parliament, it was said, could do anything except make a man a woman. But Parliament had no power, in one sense, to apply the money of which they

were the trustees to other purposes than those for which that money had been handed over to us. . . . The French Government paid over certain sums of money to this country, the sums to be paid to one class of claimants being wholly distinct from that which was to be paid to another, and these trust funds the Parliament was bound by contract with the French Government to apply according to the condition on which they were given. This however they have not done. They appropriated the money to other purposes.

We find that the subject was taken up likewise in the House of Commons, on the 20th June, 1854, and elicited the strongest denunciations. Amongst others, Mr. Montague Chambers does not hesitate to declare, that "as to the fund being duly appropriated or entirely expended, the misapplications, as appears from authentic returns, were startling and notorious; and he goes on to cite the cases we have already mentioned, of Mr. Labédut, of the Bordeaux claimants, and of the additional year's salary to which the Commissioners helped themselves at the close of their mission.

A Mr. Munz, member for Bermingham, was also amongst the speakers, and said "the question was to know who had the Funds. It was proved that the English Government had them, it should therefore give them up."

As a matter of course, the subject occupied the public press, and besides the reports of the debates spoken of, and the comments upon them at the time, we would refer to *The Spectator* of the 21st of April, 1860, *The Morning Star*, of the 7th May, 1860, and *The Morning Chronicle* of the 4th August, 1860.

Our readers now see what is become of the fund from which the Irish College should have received compensation for its injuries and losses, and they will agree with us, that it is no answer for the Treasury of Great Britain to say to it, "You have come too late, the fund is long since entirely expended and applied." The College is entitled to say, "You have misappropriated and misapplied the money you received to pay us. Restitution is an obligation of a public department abusing a trust, as well as of an individual. In the name of justice, therefore, and on the plainest principles of moral obligation, we demand restitution."

We purposed going into the inquiry, upon what authority the Treasury made the disbursements outside the provisions and stipulations of the treaties, and we hoped to throw additional light from this source on the claims of the College. Our article, however, has expanded beyond the dimensions we anticipated, and we must reserve this branch of the subject for our next.

Therefore, to sum up, we have seen—

1st.—How Sir John Leach in pronouncing the judgment of the Privy Council on the claims of the Irish College, and in making the judgment of Lord Gifford in the case of the Douay College a precedent, distorted and misapplied his Lordship's judgment, and that the cases, so far from being alike, are opposed in all essential particulars.

2nd.—How the Fund from which the College should have received compensation more than fifty years ago, has been misappropriated and spoliated.

3rd.—That if the fund be expended on other purposes belonging to the public service, the Treasury is bound to provide restitution from the public revenues in its custody.

P.S.—We would earnestly recommend to the Public, and more especially members of Parliament, the perusal of a pamphlet entitled *The Case and Claims on the British Government of the Irish College, at Paris, under the Treaties with France*. London: James Duffy, 22, Paternoster-row, and 15, Wellington-quay, Dublin, by HIBERNICUS HISTORICUS."

The author gives proof of deep study and patient research in every part of his production, and sustains himself as he goes along by authentic references.

On this account it cannot fail to be highly useful, with a view to the consideration of the subject in the next session of Parliament, when it is expected that on a Petition of the Irish Bishops the judgment of the Privy Council will be reviewed and considered.

## DOCUMENT.

### APOSTOLIC LETTERS OF HIS HOLINESS PIUS IX., PROROGUING THE GENERAL COUNCIL.

#### PIUS PP. IX.

##### AD FUTURAM REI MEMORIAM.

Postquam Dei munere Oecumenici Vaticani Concilii celebrationem inire anno proxime superiori Nobis datum est, vidimus sapientia virtute ac sollicitudine Patrum qui ex omnibus orbis terrarum partibus frequentissimi convenerant maxime adnitente, ita res gravissimi hujus et sanctissimi operis procedere, ut spes certa Nobis affulgeret eos fructus quos vehementer optabamus, in Religionis bonum et Ecclesiae Dei humanaeque societatis utilitatem ex illo fore feliciter profecturos. Et sane jam quatuor publicis ac solemnibus sessionibus habitis salutare atque opportuna in causa fidei Constitutiones a Nobis eodem sacro approbante Concilio editae ac promulgatae fuerunt, aliaeque tum causam fidei tum ecclesiasticae disciplinae spectantia ad examen a Patribus revocata, quae suprema docentis Ecclesiae auctoritate brevi sanciri ac promulgari possent. Confidebamus istiusmodi labores communi Fraternitatis studio ac zelo suos progressus habere, et ad optatum

exitum facili prosperoque cursu perduci posse; sed sacrilega repente invasio huius Almae Urbis, Sedis Nostrae, et reliquarum temporalis Nostrae ditionis regionum, qua contra omne fas civilis Nostri et Apostolicae Sedis Principatus inconcussa jura incredibili perfidia et audacia violata sunt, in eam Nos rerum conditionem conjecit, ut sub hostili dominatione et potestate, Deo sic permittente ob imperscrutabilia judicia sua, penitus constituti simus. In hac luctuosa rerum conditione, cum nos a libero expeditoque usu supremæ auctoritatis nobis divinitus collatae multis modis impediamur, cumque probe intelligamus minime ipsis Vaticani Concilii Patribus in hac Alma Urbe praedicto rerum statu manente, necessariam libertatem securitatem tranquillitatem suppetere et constare posse ad res Ecclesiae Nobiscum rite pertractandas, cumque praeterea necessitates Fidelium, in tantis iisque notissimis Europae calamitatibus et motibus, tot Pastores a suis Ecclesiis abesse haud patiantur; idcirco Nos, eo res adductas magno cum animi Nostri moerore perspicientes ut Vaticanum Concillium tali in tempore cursum suum omnino tenere non possit, praevia matura deliberatione, motu proprio eiusdem Vaticani Oecumenici Concilii celebrationem usque ad aliud opportunius et commodius tempus per hanc Sanctam sedem declarandum, Apostolica auctoritate tenore praesentium suspendimus, et suspensam esse nunciamus, Deum adprecantes auctorem et vindicem Ecclesiae Suae, ut submotis tandem impedimentis omnibus sponsae suae fidelissimae ocius restituat libertatem ac pacem. Quoniam vero quo pluribus et gravioribus periculis malisque vexatur Ecclesia eo magis instandum est obsecrationibus et orationibus nocte ac die apud Deum et Patrem Domini Nostri Jesu Christi, Patrem misericordiarum et Deum totius consolationis, volumus ac mandamus, ut ea quae in apostolicis litteris die 11 aprilis anno proxime superiori datis, quibus indulgentiam plenariam in forma Jubilaei occasione Oecumenici Concilii omnibus Christifidelibus concessimus, a Nobis disposita ac statuta sunt, iuxta modum et rationem iisdem litteris praescriptam in sua vi firmitate et vigore permaneant, perinde ac si ipsius Concilii celebratio procederet. Haec statuimus nunciamus volumus mandamus, contrariis non obstantibus quibuscumque; irritum et inane decernentes si secus super his a quoquam quavis auctoritate scienter vel ignoranter contigerit attentari. Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc paginam Nostrorum suspensionis nunciationis voluntatis mandati ac decreti infringere vel ei ausu temerario contraire, si quis autem hoc attentare praesumpserit, indignationem Omnipotentis Dei et Beatorum Petri ac Pauli Apostolorum Eius se noverit incursurum. Ut autem eadem praesentes litterae omnibus quorum interest

innotescant, volumus illas seu earum exempla ad valvas Ecclesiae Lateranensis et Basilicae Principis Apostolorum nec non S. Mariae Maioris de Urbe affigi et publicari eique publicatas et affixas omnes et singulos quos illae concernunt perinde arctare, ac si unicuique eorum nominatim et personaliter intimatae fuissent.

Datum Romae apud, S. Petrum sub anulo Piscatoris die 20 Octobris Anno MDCCCLXX.

Pontificatus Nostri Anno vigesimoquinto.

N. CARD. PARACCIANI CLARELLI.

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### NOTICES OF BOOKS.

- I. *Hortus Animae; or, Garden of the Soul.* II. *The Scale of Perfection*; by WALTER HILTON. London: John Philp.

Like all of Mr. Philp's publications, these two most recent additions to his catalogue are brought out with great taste and care. The *Hortus Animae* is an *édition du luxe* of the old familiar *Garden of the Soul*. The revival of the Pre-Reformation title, besides distinguishing this from ordinary editions, is justified by the circumstance that all the prayers for which a Latin original exists, are here given side by side in Latin and English. So also, the Epistles and Gospels for all the Sundays and chief festivals of the year, the Office of the Blessed Virgin, and the Vespers for Sundays and feasts. The *Hortus Animae* is thus a Missal and Vespéral, as well as a Prayer-book; and evidently no pains have been spared to make it as complete as possible. The bulk of the volume has, nevertheless, been kept within convenient limits for practical use. The Illustrated Calendar is very beautiful. Besides four or five large engravings, the initial letters in every page are in themselves works of art.

The *Scale of Perfection* is a reprint of an old spiritual Treatise, by Walter Hilton, Canon of Thurgarton (not a Carthusian monk), who died in 1395. The language is, of course, quaint, but of much beauty and simplicity. Many, however, will find the Introductory Essay on the Spiritual Life of Mediaeval England more pleasant reading. It is from the pen of Father Dalgairns, of the Oratory, who presents his curious and interesting data in a very vivid manner. His style has only improved, and his historical knowledge ripened, since the time when his contributions made themselves remarkable even amongst the series of English Saints edited by Dr. Newman. It is a pity that the pious old Canon's pithy chapters have no index or table of contents to guide us through them.

# MONASTICON HIBERNICUM,

OR,

## A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE ANCIENT MONASTERIES OF IRELAND.

[N. B.—The text of the “Monasticon” is taken *verbatim* from Archdall: the notes marked with numbers are added by the Editors.]

### COUNTY OF CORK.

forsaken the world, and dedicated himself solely to God, died in this abbey.<sup>o</sup>

1026. Cellach O'Selbac, comorb of St. Barr, and esteemed chief among the sages in Munster, died this year in his pilgrimage.<sup>1</sup>

1027. Died Neil O'Mailduibh, comorb of St. Barr.<sup>2</sup>

1028. Died Airtri Sairt, comorb of St. Barr.<sup>3</sup>

1034. Died Cahal, the comorb.<sup>4</sup>

1057. Mugron O'Mutan, comorb of St. Barr, was murdered in the night by his own people.<sup>5</sup>

1080. The town was destroyed by fire.<sup>6</sup>

1089. Dermot, the son of Toirdhealbhach O'Brien, spoiled and plundered the town of Cork, and carried away the reliques of St. Barr.<sup>m</sup>

1107. Died Maclothod O'Hailgenen, comorb of St. Barr.<sup>n</sup>

1111. Died Patrick O'Selbac, comorb also.<sup>o</sup>

1134. This abbey was refounded, for regular canons following the rule of St. Augustin, under the invocation of St. John the Baptist, by Cormac, King of Munster, or, as some write, King of Desmond.<sup>p</sup> Some of our annals place this foundation three years later.<sup>q</sup> The son of the founder tells us, that his father built this abbey for the strangers from Connaught, who were the countrymen of St. Barr.<sup>r</sup>

1152. Gilla Æda O'Mugin, the abbot, assisted at the famous synod of Kells held this year. He was justly esteemed for his piety, and died in 1172. From him this house acquired the name of Gill abbey.<sup>s</sup>

1174. About this time Dermot, King of Munster, who was son to the founder, confirmed the grant made to his father, and made additions thereto. Donat, abbot of Maig; Gregory

<sup>o</sup>Annal. Innisfal. <sup>1</sup>War. Bish. p. 556. <sup>2</sup>Id. <sup>3</sup>Id. <sup>4</sup>Ann. Ulst. <sup>5</sup>War. Bish. p. 557. <sup>6</sup>Annal. Innisfal. <sup>7</sup>Annal. Innisfal. <sup>8</sup>Id. <sup>9</sup>Id. <sup>10</sup>Id. <sup>11</sup>War. Mon. King, p. 334. <sup>12</sup>Id., p. 336. <sup>13</sup>War. Bishops, p. 557.

of Cunuga ; and Eugene, of Ardmore, were subscribing witnesses to this charter.<sup>t</sup>

1192. Gilbert O'Brogy was abbot, but was deposed ; licence was granted to the convent, dated April the 21st, to proceed to an election.<sup>u</sup>

1248. The abbot paid into the exchequer the sum of £20, being the amount of a fine imposed on him.<sup>w</sup>

1300. The abbot was indicted at Cork for receiving and protecting thieves and felons ; but he pleaded that he had formerly paid a considerable fine for that offence before John Wogan, Chief Justice of Ireland, and that he had not been guilty since ; the jury acquitted him.<sup>x</sup>

1303. On the 2nd of May a licence was granted to this convent to elect an abbot in the room of G —, lately deceased.<sup>y</sup>

1338. Thomas, the abbot, indicted John Fitz-Walter and others for cutting down a number of trees in his wood at Cloghan, in this county, to the value of 100s. and carrying away the same by force of arms.<sup>z</sup>

1357. Thomas O'Fin, the canon of this house, was elected abbot, and the temporalities were restored to him on 10th of October.<sup>a</sup>

1359. Maurice was abbot, who resigned in same year, and the temporalities were seized from the 1st of July to the 1st of September following, when they were restored to William, the newly-elected abbot.<sup>b12</sup>

Inquisition 12th January, 33rd Queen Elizabeth, finds that Knocknyleyny, in county Cork, containing half a carucate of land, annual value 4s. 6d., was parcel of the possessions of this house.<sup>bb</sup>

<sup>t</sup>King, p. 336. <sup>u</sup>Pryn., vol. 3., p. 573. <sup>w</sup>King, p. 336. <sup>x</sup>Id. <sup>y</sup>Pryn., vol. 3., p. 1017. <sup>z</sup>King, p. 337. <sup>a</sup>Id. <sup>b12</sup>Id. <sup>bb</sup>Chief Rememb.

<sup>13</sup> In addition to the facts connected with the monastery of Cork given in the text, we may mention the following :—

A.D. 680. Died Suibne, son of Maoluva, successor of St. Barr.

A.D. 759. Died the abbot Donait, the son of Tohence.

A.D. 767. Died the abbot Sealbach MacConalta.

A.D. 795. Died Commach MacDonat, abbot of Corca mor.

A.D. 812. Died the abbot Commach, son of Donat.

A.D. 821. Died the abbot Forbasach.

A.D. 833. Died the abbot Dunlaing.

A.D. 835. Dunlaing, son of Cathasach, successor of Barra, of Corcach, died.

A.D. 850. Colam MacAireachtach, abbot of Corcach, died.

A.D. 866. Reachtabra, son of Murchad, abbot of Corca mor, died.

A.D. 891. Soerbreathach, son of Comadh, scribe, wise man, bishop, and abbot of Corcach, died.

A.D. 892. Airgetan, son of Forandan, was abbot of Cork.

A.D. 894. Died the abbot Airgetan.

A.D. 903. Ailioll, son of Eogan, abbot of Trian Corcraighe, was slain in the



Inquisition 27th March, James I., finds that a great devastation, amounting to the sum of one hundred marks, sterling, was made on this abbey within the three preceding years, and particularly on the mill and weir of the said abbey; and Thomas Smith inhabited and held the said abbey during that time.

This abbey, containing two acres, with a church and the appurtenances, also six gardens and third part of a water-mill, with the tithes of the same, parcel of the possessions of this house, were granted to Cormac M'Teige M'Carthy. See Inislounaght, in county of Tipperary; and 26th June, 33rd of same Queen, the said abbey containing four acres, was re-granted to Sir Richard Greneville, Knt., together with sixty acres called Ballygagin; Kilnoony, in county of Kerry, containing two hundred and sixty acres; Killynecanana, lying north-east of Cork-water, and containing sixty acres; Farrenduffe fifteen acres; the island of Insiquiny, with three acres of unprofitable, and a chief rent out of the island of Cloghaule, parcel of the possessions of said house, to hold to him and his heirs, at the annual rent of £15 3s. 6d., Irish money.<sup>bbb</sup>

Ware supposes this to be the abbey which St. Bernard calls *Monasterium Ibracense*, but Allemande is more inclined to think that Begery, in county of Wexford, is that monastery.

The monks of this abbey erected the first salmon weirs on the river Lee, near the city of Cork. The remains of this building were totally demolished about the year 1745.

<sup>bbb</sup> *Aud. Gen.*

same battle in which Cormac Mac Cuillenain, Archbishop and King of Munster, met his melancholy fate.

A.D. 907. Died the abbot Flann Mac Laoige.

A.D. 926. Fonnachta was abbot in spirituals, he directed the greater part of Ireland.

A.D. 949. Ailill, son of Corc, was abbot.

A.D. 987. Colum Airchinneach, of Corcach, died.

A.D. 1000. Flaithemh, abbot of Corcach, died.

A.D. 1036. Died Aengus, son of Cathan, abbot of Corcach, died.

A.D. 1057. Dubhdailetha Ua Cineadha, Airchinneach of Corcach, died.

A.D. 1085. Clereach Ua Sealbhaigh, chief successor of Bairri, the glory and wisdom of Desmond, completed his life in this world.

A.D. 1096. Ua Cochlain, a learned bishop and successor of Bairre, died.

A.D. 1106. Mac Beatha Ua Hailgheanain, comorb of St. Barra, died.

A.D. 1116. Cork was destroyed by fire.

A.D. 1126. Corcach mor, of Munster, with its church, was burned.

A.D. 1152. Finar, grandson of Celechar Ua Ceinneidigh, successor of Colum, son of Crimathann [of Tir-da-ghlas], and who had been successor of Barr for a time, died.

A.D. 1157. Gillaphadraig, son of Donnchadh Mac Carthaigh, successor of Barr of Corca, died.

*(To be continued.)*

[NEW SERIES.]

## THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

DECEMBER, 1870.

### THE ENDOWED SCHOOLS OF IRELAND.<sup>1</sup>

THERE is a portion of the great question of Education in Ireland which does not seem to occupy that share of public attention which it merits: we mean Middle-class or Intermediate Education.

In 1854 a Royal Commission was appointed "to inquire into the endowments, funds, and actual condition of all schools endowed for the purposes of education, and the nature and extent of the instruction given in such schools, and to report their opinion thereon;" and in the following July, an Act was passed (18 and 19 Vic., Cap. 59), "to facilitate inquiries of Commissioners of Endowed Schools in Ireland." By this Act it was declared, that "Endowed Schools" should "mean and include all schools of royal foundation in Ireland, the schools on the foundation of Erasmus Smith, the Charter Schools and Diocesan Schools, and all schools endowed on charitable or public foundations in Ireland." It is in this sense also that we wish to treat of the Endowed Schools in the present article.

The importance of the subject, especially in the present position of the Education question, can scarcely be over estimated. The Endowed Schools referred to are engaged in middle-class or intermediate education; that is to say, in that portion of education which immediately concerns the middle-classes of Ireland—those classes which, in truth, constitute the bone and sinew of our people; those classes which, more than any other, will affect for good or evil, the future of our country; those classes, in fine, which by their spirit of religion and by their intelligence, will maintain and increase the fair name of the "*Insula Sanctorum et Doctorum*." In these days, more than ever, all that we have enumerated, and much

<sup>1</sup> An Inaugural Discourse read by the Rector of the Catholic University at the Academical Commencements, December 1st, 1870.

more, depends on our professional men, and on the respectable farmers of our country districts, and shop-keepers of our towns and cities, and as education is now-a-days the key to all social advancement, on the education which they give to their children must in a great measure depend their influence for good in future generations. Hence, on the one hand, the importance, or rather necessity, that the system of education under which the youth of our middle-classes is reared, should be Christian, that is, Catholic; otherwise their learning will "be *falsi nominis scientia*," "knowledge falsely so called," against which St. Paul warned his disciple Timothy: learning which, instead of being a blessing to themselves, to their country, and to society, will be a curse to all. And hence, on the other hand, the flagrant violation of distributive justice involved in confining to one section of the community public educational advantages from which others are excluded, in giving to Protestants, and Protestant institutions, public endowments for intermediate education, while Catholics of the middle-classes are left totally unassisted in their efforts to obtain for their children the like benefits.

Intermediate education holds a middle place between the university and primary schools. The latter regard the great masses of a people which cannot aspire to the higher branches of education: intermediate schools are the foundation of the university, which is the summit of a nation's education. Now, Irish Catholics have rights with respect to them, as well as with respect to the university and to primary education. Hitherto those rights have been denied to Catholics, while the educational interests of members of the Established Church have been fostered at enormous cost to the country. We allude to the royal and other schools mentioned above, which have been and are still endowed for intermediate education at the public expense. The benefits of these numerous institutions and of their large endowments are almost exclusively monopolized by members of the late Established Church. Our Bishops, in the Maynooth Resolutions of August, 1869, declared, "that the Catholics of Ireland are justly entitled to their due proportion of the public funds hitherto set apart for education in the Royal and other Endowed Schools."

The Royal Commission appointed in 1854, reported on this important subject of Endowed Schools on the 1st February, 1858. Three of the five Commissioners reported in favour of extending the "mixed" system to those public institutions which were then, and still are, Protestant. Two of these three gentlemen were the present Protestant Bishop of Limerick, who was at that time a Fellow of Trinity College, and

the Vice-President of the Queen's College, Belfast. We quote the following extracts from the excellent letter which H. G. Hughes, Esq., Q.C.—now Baron Hughes, the only Catholic on the Commission—addressed to his brother commissioners. These extracts will show how different are the views of Catholics on this most important question :—

“We all concurred in opinion,” says Baron Hughes, “that the demand in Ireland for ‘intermediate’ education is considerable. I believe that it is not only considerable, but that the demand is rapidly increasing, while the means of supplying it are diminishing. . . . I cannot concur in a Report which proposes to establish a system which I believe to be wrong in principle and impossible in practice; and it is therefore right that I should state the reasons which induced me to oppose the adoption of the principle of ‘mixed’ education, and which now induce me to decline to concur in your proposed Report. . . . In the year 1811, Mr. Leslie Foster, then a member of the Board of Education, addressed a letter to the Secretary of the Board, in which he stated: ‘That whatever plan may appear to this Board most eligible, it should be laid before the heads of the Roman Catholic clergy previous to our Report. No person,’ he adds, ‘acquainted with the discipline of the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland can doubt, that on the sentiments of the Bishops will depend the degree of resistance or co-operation which such a plan would receive from the subordinates of their religion.’ I believe,” continues Mr. Hughes, “that the same discipline still exists, and that the same results would inevitably follow. The sentiments of the R. C. Bishops on the subject of ‘mixed’ education are beyond doubt. Their views on that subject are not peculiar either to their order or to their religion. Similar views have been entertained by the most eminent divines of the Protestant Church, and have been advocated by the most distinguished statesmen in the British Senate.

“I am convinced that the ‘mixed’ system is wrong in principle, and cannot, even if right, be carried out in Ireland. I believe that the separate system is sound in principle, and if that is doubted, I think it is worthy of being submitted to a fair trial, as the only alternative the State can adopt, if it proposes to legislate for the education of the middle classes.”

Now, any arrangement of the University question, to be at all satisfactory to the middle classes of Irish Catholics, must be coupled with a re-distribution of the public endowments for intermediate education. It has been frequently stated, and with good reason, that the Legislature in establishing and endowing the Queen's Colleges committed a great mistake, by

endeavouring to found a University without subsidiary schools to supply it with students. It was believed at the time, that the Endowed Schools' Commission of 1854 was issued in the hope that, by reporting in favour of mixed intermediate schools, it would prepare the way to the supplying of the deficiency. But, thanks in a great measure to the clear and bold enunciation of the principles of Catholics by Mr. Baron Hughes, and by the great meeting of the county and city of Cork, nothing was done for the extension to intermediate schools of the system of mixed education. Still, the want of good middle-class schools exists, although the Catholic schools and colleges, created by the piety and love of learning inherent in the Irish heart, have done, and are doing much. The Endowed Schools' Commissioners appended to their report a list of 91 "towns having above 2,000 inhabitants, according to the census of 1851, and in which there is situate no grammar or superior English school, which is in operation, and included in tables of schools and endowments." Some of the towns mentioned in the list have classical schools under Catholic management; but the list shows how many centres of population receive no public assistance for the important work of intermediate education.

The following towns have grammar schools in operation, endowed to the amount of £250 a year, and upwards. All these Schools are exclusively, or almost exclusively, Protestant.

TOWN.	NAME OF SCHOOL.	ESTIMATED VALUE OF ENDOWMENTS.		
Kilkenny,	Kilkenny Grammar School,	...	£291	2 0
Drogheda,	Erasmus Smith's School,	...	254	6 8
Navan,	Navan Endowed School,	...	309	1 9
Ennis,	Erasmus Smith's School,	...	362	17 9
Midleton, Cork,	Midleton Endowed School,	...	265	1 5
Clonmel,	Clonmel Endowed School,	...	564	0 0
Tipperary,	Erasmus Smith's School,	...	373	7 0
Belfast,	Royal Academical Institution,	...	589	0 3
Armagh,	Royal Free School,	...	1520	17 9
Cavan,	do.	...	729	19 6
Raphoe,	do.	...	575	17 4
Enniskillen,	do.	...	2286	6 2
Londonderry,	Diocesan Free School,	...	899	10 0
Dungannon,	Royal Free School,	...	1545	10 1
Galway,	Erasmus Smith's School,	...	472	18 0
Exhibitions attached to Erasmus Smith's Schools,		...	360	0 0

£11,399 15 8

But the extent of the endowments enjoyed by the Royal Schools and other Endowed Schools, which came under the consideration of the Royal Commission of 1854-58, may be best known from the following facts, which we also take from their report.

*Extracts from Report of Commissioners on Endowed Schools, Ireland. (1858.)*

From Report of J. W. Murland, Esq., Inspector of Estates.

ROYAL SCHOOLS.

		A.	R.	P.	
DUNGANNON,	6 townlands—	3,890	3	12	£1,651 16 7
ARMAGH,	6 do. —	1,514	1	31	1,489 5 7
ENNISKILLEN	41 do. over—	5,566	0	2	2,262 13 8
CAVAN,	4 do. & over—	923	1	26	637 9 0
RAPHOE,	12 do. & over—	1,855	3	21	495 11 11
	of which are				
	mountain,	6,960	1	21	140 1 6
CARYSFORT,	1 townland and	305	1	34	
	mountain,	284	3	31	about 250 0 0
BANAGHER,	2 townlands and				
	over	387	3	8	
	and deep bog	211	1	8	
	72 townlands	14,443	3	14	£6,926 18 3
	mountain, &c.	7,456	2	20	
		21,900	1	34	

It would seem that CLOGHER and DERRY are entitled to 400 acres not mentioned in this list.

ERASMUS SMITH'S SCHOOLS.

	A.	R.	P.	
LIMERICK ESTATES,	4,343	2	19	£4,017 12 3
TIPPERARY do.	3,037	2	28	1,813 5 8
GALWAY do.	2,738	0	17	2,602 5 0
WESTMEATH do.	767	2	32	413 7 4
SLIGO do.	284	0	7	279 9 0
and mountain,	1,942	0	29	147 0 0
KING'S CO. do. about	300	0	0	23 1 6
	13,413	1	12	£9,296 0 9

CHARTER SCHOOLS Endowments, partly public, and partly donations.

Gross rental...	£7,771	10	5
Deductions	1,768	19	1
Net rental,	£6,002	11	4

FROM THE GENERAL REPORT.

The total acreage of endowments in operation is 75,600 acres

Estimated annual value of school-premises,	£14,615	9	7
Annual income from land (net)	37,564	4	2
Do. from trust funds	16,391	2	7
	£68,570	16	4

Endowments not in operation, £7,170 11s. 11d. per annum.

Endowments lost or expired, acreage: 1,314A. 2R. 31P.

Income from lands and trust-funds, £2,374 18s. 4d. per annum.

From the preceding table it appears that the estate of the Royal School of Armagh consists of six townlands, and contains 1,514 acres; while the Royal School, Enniskillen, is endowed with 5,566 acres, comprising 41 townlands, chiefly the confiscated estates of the Maguires of Fermanagh. The head master of the latter institution enjoys, free of rent, the lands of Portora, comprising over 53 acres.

A considerable portion of these endowments is devoted to the maintenance of the schools, the payment of teachers, &c. There is no valid reason why Catholics should not have for their schools and colleges a fair share, either of this annual income, or of the bulk sum which would accrue from its capitalization. Justice demands that these funds, as far as they have been given by the State, should be made available by the legislature for the benefit of the nation. Nor would this be done by applying to existing Protestant institutions the principle of "mixed education." For, as Baron Hughes remarked in the letter we have already quoted, neither the present, nor the "mixed" system, meets the educational wants of Catholics; and hence either "only provides for the education of the fewer and the richer, at the expense of the many and the poorer."

Another portion of the existing endowments is devoted to assist deserving students, by exhibitions and burses, either in the schools themselves or in Trinity College. In Trinity College, Dublin, there are 153 such exhibitions, varying from £50 a-year downwards, and tenable in general for five years.

There is no reason why these rewards and helps to learning should not be open to the competition of Catholics, to be

enjoyed by them in institutions congenial to their religious principles, either in Catholic schools and colleges, or should they wish to pursue higher studies, in the Catholic University.

Justice, and the principles of religious equality embodied in the recent Irish Church Act, require that those immense educational endowments should be re-distributed and made available for the benefit of Catholics and of Catholic institutions, as well as of Protestant and mixed schools and colleges, saving, of course, all private rights and life interests.

It may be said that these schools are open to Catholics as well as to Protestants. The Endowed Schools' Commissioners (p. 53 of their Report) quote from the Report of a previous committee on Foundation Schools, A.D. 1838:—"The Committee reported," they say, that "though the course pursued in the instance of diocesan schools of appointing masters from the Church of England, and generally clergymen, prevailed also in the case of the Royal Schools, it does not rest on any law. The Lord Lieutenant, as in the case of the diocesan, has the appointment solely in his own hands, unshackled by any limitation of a religious exclusive character. The assistants also are usually Protestants, but chosen from the laity. The Royal Schools have at all times been considered open to all religious persuasions."

That the appearance of liberality put forward in the foregoing sentences is only a delusion, is evident, first—because although thirty-two years have elapsed since that Report was presented to the House of Commons, nothing has been done to correct the acknowledged injustice; the schools continue as exclusively Protestant as ever in their teaching, their staff, and their general management; secondly—because the admission of a few Catholics to those institutions would not render them less objectionable to Catholics generally, who, it is well known, object to mixed education, as much as to teaching based on Protestantism and impregnated with its peculiar tenets; thirdly—because during the long period which has intervened—thirty-two years—representing an entire generation, although the Catholics of Ireland, in the midst of the greatest difficulties and sufferings, of a famine almost unexampled in its severity, of an emigration which still continues to drain our country of some of its best blood, of numberless calls upon their limited resources, have made prodigious efforts to advance the interests of education, no help has been extended to them by the State in this matter of intermediate education. While Protestants of the middle classes enjoy at the public expense all the advantages we have enumerated, Catholics of the same social grade are, *as far as the State is concerned,*



in the same position they occupied fifty or one hundred years ago—nay, in the worst days of the penal laws, when the rich endowments given by our fathers for Catholic education were confiscated or diverted to the maintenance and propagation of the dominant religion.

It may be said that some of the endowments in question are private gifts. As far as they are private property, of course we do not intend our remarks to apply to them ; but by far the largest part of these abundant endowments are derived from the crown and legislature, and, assuredly, that which the state gave, it has a right to re-distribute on more equitable principles. We ought to mention in particular the Erasmus Smith's Schools. The Commissioners appointed under the act of the Irish Parliament of 1791, stated with respect to them, that the income of the Governors had increased from the £300 a-year mentioned in the charter to upwards of £4,200 a-year. And they observed, that the Erasmus Smith's foundation, though originating in the intentions of a private individual, might, nevertheless, from the repeated interpositions of the Legislature and the crown, be considered as a public institution (*Vide* Report of Endowed Schools' Commission, p. 65).

But after making all reasonable deductions, the endowments in question would, still, under proper management, furnish a large national fund, which might, if necessary, be supplemented from other sources ; and the Catholic schools and colleges, which the piety and the love of learning inherent in the Irish heart have created, when aided out of that national fund in proportion to the wants of Irish Catholics, would become most efficient institutions, in which Catholics, without offering violence to their religious principles could prepare for public examinations, and for the cultivation of higher literary or scientific studies or the prosecution of professional studies in the Catholic University College. It is thus the Royal and other Endowed Schools prepare Protestants for the Protestant University. Thus would a suitable foundation be laid for a National University in which Catholics would be on a footing of educational equality, with their Protestant fellow-countrymen. Thus would be abolished the system of Protestant educational ascendancy which still remains as a relic of the Ecclesiastical Ascendancy, now happily no more ; and all Irishmen would have the same encouragement from the State to cultivate the intellectual powers which they have received from the Almighty Giver of all good gifts.

## A VISIT TO THE ARAN-MORE OF ST. ENDA.

## PART II.

THE fame of St. Enda's austere holiness, and of the angelical life which so many were leading in Aran under his guidance, soon spread far and wide throughout the land. The sweet odour of Christ, diffused from the lonely island in the Atlantic, penetrated to every part of Ireland, and wherever it reached, its gracious message stirred with joy the hearts of the noblest and best among the servants of God. It told them of a spot where men led a life of higher sanctity, and of more thorough severance from fleshly ties than was known elsewhere; and to souls hungering and thirsting after perfection, to hear of the spiritual treasures stored up in Aran, was to long for the wings of the dove to fly thither, to be made happy sharers in its graces. Hence, soon, the Galway fishermen, whom St. Enda had blessed, found day after day their *coracks* crowded with strangers—religious men, of meek eye and gentle face—seeking to cross over to the island; and so frequently was the journey made, that the words of the prophet seemed verified, and even in that trackless sea “a path and a way was there, and it was called the holy way.”<sup>1</sup> The pilgrims were men of every period of life, some in the spring of their youth, flying from the pleasures that wooed their senses, and the earthly loves that laid snares for their hearts; others in the vigour of healthful manhood; and others aged and infirm, who came to close in religious peace the remnant of their days, which at their best they had accounted as few and evil. And thus Aran gradually came to be as the writer of the life of St. Kieran of Clonmacnoise describes it, the home of a multitude of holy men, and the sanctuary where repose the relics of countless saints, whose names are known only to the Almighty God.<sup>2</sup> “Great indeed is that island,” exclaims another ancient writer, “and it is the land of the saints, for no one, save God alone, knows how many holy men lie buried therein.”<sup>3</sup>

But, although it is not possible to learn the names of all the saints who were formed to holiness by St. Enda in Aran, our ancient records have preserved the names of a few at least

<sup>1</sup> Isaias xxxv, 71.

<sup>2</sup> “In qua multitudo sanctorum virorum manet, et innumerabiles sancti, omnibus incogniti nisi soli Deo Omnipotenti, ibi jacent.” Colgan, Acta SS.

<sup>3</sup> “Magna est illa insula, et est terra sanctorum; quia nemo scit numerum sanctorum qui sepulti sunt ibi, nisi solus Deus.” Vita S. Albei. Colgan, Acta SS.

out of that blessed multitude. Among them we find almost every name of note that appears in the second part of the well-known list of the saints of Ireland, drawn up by some author who flourished not later than the middle of the eighth century, and in addition to these, many others of great celebrity, who are not included in that catalogue. This second order of saints lasted from about the middle of the sixth to the beginning of the seventh century.

The history of these men is the history of St. Enda's work on Aran.

First among St. Enda's disciples must be ranked St. Kieran, the founder of Clonmacnoise, who has been styled by Alcuin the glory of the Irish race. St. Kieran came to Aran in his youth, and for seven years lived faithfully in the service of God, under the direction of St. Enda. His youth and strength fitted him in an especial manner for the active duties, which were by no means inconsiderable in so large a community, and in a place where the toil spent on an ungrateful soil was so scantily repaid. "During these seven years," says the ancient life of our saint,<sup>1</sup> "Kieran so diligently discharged the duties of grinding the corn, that grain in quantity sufficient to make a heap never was found in the granary of the island." Upon these humble labours the light of the future greatness of the founder of Clonmacnoise was allowed to shine in visions. St. Kieran had a vision, which he faithfully narrated to his master, St. Enda. He dreamed that on the bank of a great river, which is called the Shannon, he saw a mighty tree laden with leaves and fruits, which covered with its shade the entire island of Erin. This dream he narrated to St. Enda, who said, "the tree laden with fruit, thou art thyself, for thou shalt be great before God and man, and shalt bring forth sweetest fruits of good works, and shalt be honoured throughout all Ireland. Proceed therefore, at once, and in obedience to the will of God, build thou there a monastery." Upon this, St. Kieran, prepared himself for the building of the monastery of Clonmacnoise. His first step was to receive the priesthood. But he could not bring himself to sever the happy ties that bound him to his abbot. He still longed to be under his guidance, and when recommending himself to the prayers of his brethren he said to St. Enda, in the presence of all, "O father, take me and my charge under thy protection, that all my disciples may be thine likewise." "Not so," answered Enda, "for it is not the will of God that you should all live under my care in this scanty island; but to thee, for thine

<sup>1</sup> Colgan, *Vita S. End.*, page 709.

admirable humility and perfect charity, will Christ the Lord grant the half of Ireland as the portion of thine inheritance." And when they had thus spoken, a cross was set up in the place, in sign of the brotherhood they had contracted between themselves, and those who were to come after them; and they said: "whosoever in after times shall break the loving bond of this our brotherhood, shall not have share in our love on earth, nor in our company in heaven."

The love which St. Enda bore towards his holy pupil, for his many and wonderful virtues, made their parting singularly painful to them both. For a time the holy abbot felt as if the Angel of God were leaving Aran with Kieran, and he could find no relief for his anguish but in prayer. The sternness of religious discipline had not crushed but chastened the tenderness of an affectionate disposition in St. Enda, any more than in St. Bernard, whose writings are the truest expression of the best feelings of the religious heart. And as St. Bernard deplored the loss of his brother Gerard, in whom the active and contemplative virtues were admirably united, so might St. Enda have spoken of Kieran. "Whom now shall I consult in doubtful matters? Who will bear my burdens? His wise and gentle speech saved me from secular conversation, and gave me to the silence which I loved. O diligent man! O faithful friend! He plunged himself in cares that I might be spared them, but in this he sought not for his own advantage, for he expected (such was his humility) more profit from my leisure than from his own. Who more strict than he in the preservation of discipline? Who more stern in the chastening of his body? Who more rapt or more sublime in contemplation?"<sup>1</sup>

The last hours spent by St. Kieran on Aran, as described in the ancient life of St. Enda, are full of touching incidents, which reveal the tender and simple affectionateness of those mortified religious.

The entire community of the island shared the sorrow that had come on their venerable abbot. When the moment of departure was at hand, and the boat that was to bear him from Aran was spreading its sails to the breeze, Kieran came slowly down to the shore, walking between St. Enda and St. Finnian, and followed by the entire brotherhood. His tears flowed fast as he moved along, and those who accompanied him mingled their tears with his. Peter de Blois, when leaving the Abbey of Croyland to return to his own country, stayed his steps seven times to look back and contemplate once again the place where he had been so happy; so, too, did Kieran's gaze linger with tenderness upon the dark hills of Aran and on the oratories

<sup>1</sup> St. Bernard, *Serm. in mort. Gerardi*. Op. tom. 1, Col. 1354.

where he had learned to love God, and to feel how good and joyous a thing it is to dwell with brethren whose hearts are at one with each other in God. And when the shore was reached, again he knelt to ask his father's blessing ; and, entering the boat, was carried away from the Aran that he was never to see again. The monastic group stayed for a while on the rocks to follow with longing eyes the bark that was bearing from them him they loved ; and when at length, bending their steps homewards, they had gone some distance from the shore, St. Enda's tears once more began to flow. "O my brethren," cried he, "good reason have I to weep, for this day has our island lost the flower and strength of religious observance." What was loss to Aran, however, was gain to Clonmacnoise, and through Clonmacnoise to the entire Irish Church, to which the venerable monastery on the Shannon was the source of so many blessings and of so much glory. Those who admire it even now in its ruins, should not forget that its splendours are reflected back upon the rocky Aran, where St. Enda formed the spirit of its founder, and fostered with his blessing the work he had undertaken to accomplish.

St. Kieran died at Clonmacnoise in the year 549, in the prime of life, having governed his monastery for the short space of a single year.

Next among the saints of Aran comes St. Brendan.<sup>1</sup> The life of this illustrious saint narrates "how the man of God went westward with fourteen brethren to a certain Island called Aran, where dwelt St. Enda with his brethren. With these the servant of God, Brendan, remained for three days and three nights, after which, having received the blessing of St. Enda, and of his holy monks, he set out with his companions for Kerry." This visit of St. Brendan to Aran has been described by one of our poets<sup>2</sup> as follows:—

Hearing how blessed Enda lived apart,  
 Amid the sacred cares of Ara-Mhor ;  
 And how, beneath his eye, spread like a chart,  
 Lay all the isles of that remotest shore ;  
 And how he had collected in his mind  
 All that was known to man of the old sea,  
 I left the hill of miracles behind,  
 And sailed from out the shallow sandy Leigh.

Again I sailed, and crossed the stormy sound  
 That lies beneath Binn-Aite's rocky height,

<sup>1</sup> In codice Insulensi. See Colgan, p. 712.

<sup>2</sup> *The Bell-Founder and other Poems*, by D. F. MacCarthy, page 180, sqq.

And there, upon the shore, the saint I found  
Waiting my coming through the tardy night.  
He led me to his home beside the wave,  
Where, with his monks, the pious father dwelled ;  
And to my listening ear he freely gave  
The sacred knowledge that his bosom held.

When I proclaimed the project that I nursed,  
How 'twas for this that I his blessing sought,  
An irrepressible cry of joy outburst  
From his pure lips, that blessed me for the thought.  
He said, that *he*, too, had in visions strayed  
O'er the untrack'd ocean's billowing foam ;  
Bid me have hope, that God would give me aid,  
And bring me safe back to my native home.

Thus, having sought for knowledge and for strength,  
For the unheard-of voyage that I planned,  
I left these myriad isles, and turned at length  
Southward my bark, and sought my native land.  
There I made all things ready, day by day ;  
The wicker boat, with ox-skins cover'd over,  
Chose the good monks, companions of my way,  
And waited for the wind to leave the shore.

St. Finnian of Moville is also mentioned in the ancient life<sup>1</sup> of our saint as one of St. Enda's disciples at Aran. This remarkable man was first placed under the care of St. Colman of Dromore, who flourished about the year 510. It is expressly mentioned in the life just quoted, that it was from Aran he set out on his pilgrimage to Rome. This was probably his first visit to the Apostolic See. Being of an active temperament, he there devoted himself with great ardour for several years to the study of the ecclesiastical and apostolical traditions. He then returned to Ireland, after having received the pontifical benediction, and carrying with him a rich store of relics of the saints given him by the Pope, and the penitential canons, which, in his biographer's time, were still called *the canons of St. Finnian*. He also brought to Ireland, the earliest copy of the Hieronymian translation of the Gospel : a treasure of such value in the estimation of his ecclesiastical contemporaries, that the records of the period very frequently refer to St. Finnian's Gospels.

In 540, he founded the great monastery of Moville, where St. Columba spent portion of his youth. After labouring with energy for many years in Ireland, St. Finnian

<sup>1</sup> Colgan, Act. SS. page 708.

returned to Italy, where, according to the best authorities, he was made Bishop of Lucca, in Tuscany, in which church he is venerated under the name of St. Frigidian, or Fridian. The Italian annals give 588 as the year of his death; the annals of Ulster and Tigernach 589.

The Irish life of St. Columbkille makes mention of the sojourn of that great saint on Aran. The traditions still current on the island confirm this statement. The deep love of St. Columba for Aran, the sorrow with which he quitted its shores for Iona, the spiritual excellencies which he had therein discovered, are expressed with singular warmth of religious feeling in a poem, written by him on his deparure, of which Mr. Aubrey De Vere<sup>1</sup> has given the following spirited version :—

## I.

Farewell to Aran Isle, farewell !  
 I steer for Hy ; my heart is sore :—  
 The breakers burst, the billows swell  
 'Twixt Aran Isle and Alba's shore.

## II.

Thus spoke the Son of God, "Depart !"  
 O Aran Isle, God's will be done !  
 By angels thronged this hour thou art ;  
 I sit within my bark alone.

## III.

O Modan, well for thee the while !  
 Fair falls thy lot, and well art thou !  
 Thy seat is set in Aran Isle :  
 Eastward to Alba turns my prow.

## IV.

O Aran, sun of all the west !  
 My heart is thine ! As sweet to close  
 Our dying eyes in thee as rest,  
 Where Peter and where Paul repose.

## V.

O Aran, son of all the west !  
 My heart in thee its grave hath found.  
 He walks in regions of the blest  
 The man that hears thy church-bells sound.

<sup>1</sup> De Vere's "Irish Odes and other Poems," page 274-275.

VI.

O Aran blest ! O Aran blest !  
Accursed the man that loves not thee !  
The dead man cradled in thy breast—  
No demon scares him—well is he.

VII.

Each Sunday Gabriel from on high  
(For so did Christ the Lord ordain)  
Thy Masses comes to sanctify,  
With fifty Angels in his train.

VIII.

Each Monday Michael issues forth  
To bless anew each sacred fane :  
Each Tuesday cometh Raphael,  
To bless pure hearth and golden grain.

IX.

Each Wednesday cometh Uriel,  
Each Thursday Sariel, fresh from God;  
Each Friday cometh Ramael  
To bless thy stones and bless thy sod.

X.

Each Saturday comes Mary,  
Comes Babe on arm, 'mid heavenly hosts!  
O ! Aran, near to heaven is he  
That hears God's Angels bless thy coasts !

The stanzas which in the original Irish correspond to the fourth verse of Mr. De Vere's translation, have been rendered as follows by Dr. O'Donovan, who remarks that O'Flanagan's translation is here defective.

The Son of the King—O ! the Son of the living God,  
It is he who sent me to Iona ;  
It is he who gave to Enna—great the prosperity,  
Aran, the Rome of the pilgrims.  
Aran thou sun—O ! Aran thou sun !  
My affection lies with thee westward ;  
Alike to be under her pure earth interred,  
As under the earth of Peter and Paul.

The ancient life of St. Enda also reckons among the inhabitants of Aran, St. Finnian the elder, the founder of the great



school of Clonard, who died in the second half of the sixth century ; St. Jarlath, the founder of the see of Tuam ; St. Mac Creiche, of the race of the men of Corcomroe, who were in possession of Aran when St. Enda first went thither. The Martyrology of Donegal makes mention of St. Guigneus ; the Martyrology of Aengus adds St. Papeus, St. Kevin of Glendaloch, St. Carthage of Lismore, St. Lonan Kerr, St. Nechatus or Nechanus, and St. Libeus, brother of St. Enda. In the midst of this holy brotherhood St. Enda died in 540 or 542.

Among the saints to whom, as we shall soon see, churches were dedicated on the island, we find St. Benignus of Armagh, who also most probably resided in Aran, and St. Caradoc, or Carantoc, whose name recalls his British origin. These two men may fairly be taken as representatives of the native and foreign elements which at that period went to make up the Irish Church. It is remarkable to find that on Aran, which seems to have been a common centre for the saints of the second order, these two elements are found in harmony, and most closely connected with each other. These facts contrast strangely with what we read in a late writer, that "the second order of saints do not appear to have had any connection with Armagh, or the institutions of St. Patrick," and that "they were connected with the British Church, and not with the Church of St. Patrick."<sup>1</sup> The history of Aran and of its monuments forbids these attempts to disparage the unity of the ancient Irish Church.

The sight of Aran peopled by this host of saints forcibly recalls to mind that other island, where, in an age of wild and fierce passions, the arts of peace, religious learning, and the highest Christian virtues, found a sanctuary. At the beginning of the sixth century, Aran may, with truth, be styled the Lerins of the northern seas. True, its bare flags and cold grey landscape contrast sadly with "the gushing streams, the green meadows, the luxuriant wealth of vines, the fair valleys, and the fragrant scents which," according to St. Eucherius, "made Lerins the paradise of those who dwelled thereon."<sup>2</sup> However its very wildness did but make it richer in those attractions so well described by St. Ambrose, which made the outlying islands so dear to the religious men of that time.<sup>3</sup> They loved those islands, "which, as a necklace of pearls, God has set upon the bosom of the sea, and in which those who would fly from the irregular pleasures of the world, may find a refuge wherein to practise austerity and save them-

<sup>1</sup> Todd's St. Patrick, page 95-96.

<sup>2</sup> S. Eucherius de laude Eremiti, 442.

<sup>3</sup> *Hexameron*, lib. 3, c. 5.

selves from the snares of this life. The sea that enfolds them becomes, as it were, a veil to hide from mortal eye their deeds of penance; it aids them to acquire perfect continence; it feeds grave and sober thought; it has the secret of peace; and repels all the fierce passions of earth. In it these faithful and pious men find incentives to devotion. The mysterious sound of the billows calls for the answering sound of sacred psalmody; and the peaceful voices of holy men, mingled with the gentle murmur of the waves breaking softly on the shore, rise in unison to the heavens." It must have been one of these men, whose island home had shut out all sights of earth save that of the altar, of the sea, and of the wild birds disporting along the sunny shore, who, in an ancient Irish treatise<sup>1</sup> on the mass vestments, warns the priest that his "heart should be chaste and shining, and his mind like the foam of the wave, or the chalk on the gable of an oratory, or like the colour of the swan in sunshine, that is, without any particle of sin, great or small, resting in his heart."

At Aran, too, as at Lerins, while men sought after eternal happiness, they found that earthly happiness pure and without alloy was poured into their hearts. In their religious brotherhood they met with the hundredfold return which God has promised to those who make sacrifices for Him. Oh! how joyous was the life of that blessed company of the saints of Aran, where the nobly born Enda and Kevin proved their kingly descent by the regal fulness of their virtues as well as by the grace and dignity of their manners; where Columba could gratify his scholarly passion for fair manuscripts, and Kieran find fresh treasures of ecclesiastical lore to acquire; where Brendan could learn all that man knew of the ocean and its mysteries, and Mochuda evermore delight in the sacred harmonies that first had won his young heart to the religion of Christ: where the highest form of oriental asceticism was happily united with the fire of the active energy of the west. No wonder that Kieran wept to leave the beloved shore! No wonder that through the farewell wail of the exiled Columba, there runs such an intensity of almost passionate sorrow, that a thousand years have not been able to efface it!

Thus far we have endeavoured to give a faint outline of the result of the spiritual labours of St. Enda. It is now time to describe the material traces of his presence which came under our observation at Aran. And first as to the churches.

Dr. Malachy Keely, Archbishop of Tuam—a man distinguished for his zeal in religion, and endowed with every

<sup>1</sup> Curry's Lectures on the MS. Materials of Irish History, vol. 1, p. 376.

virtue—compiled in 1645, or shortly before, a description of the churches then existing in Aran, which has been preserved by Colgan. The following is his list of churches in Aranmore :—

1. The parish church, commonly called *Kill-Enda*, lies in the County of Galway, and half barony of Aran, and in it St. Endeus, or St. Enna, is venerated as patron, on the 21st of March.

2. The church called *Teglach-Enda*, to which is annexed a cemetery, wherein is the sepulchre of St. Endeus, with one hundred and twenty-seven other sepulchres, wherein none but saints were ever buried.

3. The church called *Tempull Mac Longa*, dedicated to St. Mac Longius, is situated near the parish church, which is called sometimes *Kill-Enda*, that is, the cella or cell of St. Endeus, and sometimes *Tempull mor Enda*, or the great church of Endeus.

4. The church called *Tempull Mic Canonn*, near the aforesaid parish church.

5. The church called of St. Mary, not far from the same parish church.

6. The church which is named *Tempull Benain*, or the temple of St. Benignus.

7. The church called *Mainistir Connachtach*, that is, the Connaught Monastery, in place of which, being afterwards demolished, was built a chapel to St. Kieran.

8. The church called *Kill-na-manach*, that is, the church or cell of the monks, which was dedicated to St. Cathradochus, or Caradoc, the monk, surnamed *Garbh*, or the rough.

9. The church *Tempull Assurnuidhe* (or, perhaps, Esserninus), and this church is held in the greatest veneration among the islanders.

10. The church called *Tempull an cheathruir aluinn*, or the church of the four beautiful (saints), who were SS. Fursey, Brendan of Birr, Conall, and Berchann, whose bodies are also said to be buried in the same tomb, lying in the cemetery of the same church.

11. The church called *Tempull-mic-Duach*, or the church of St. Mac Duagh, (who is also called Colmanus, surnamed Mac Duagh), which is a handsome church dedicated to that saint.

12. The handsome, and formerly parochial church, called *Tempull Breccain*, or the church of Brecan, in which also his feast is celebrated on the 22nd of May.

13. The church near the aforesaid church of St. Brecan, which is commonly called *Tempull a Phuill*.

Several of these edifices have long since perished ; and of

those yet remaining, some, as not being immediately connected with St. Enda, do not come within the scope of this paper. For this reason, we make no mention of the ecclesiastical establishment of St. Breacan,<sup>1</sup> with its seven churches, and its inscribed stones marking the graves of St. Breacan, of the seven Roman strangers, and of the monks. But among the buildings visited by us which directly concern our present purpose, we were fortunate in meeting with samples of almost every class of the ecclesiastical structures in use among our Christian forefathers in Ireland. We found within short distance of St. Enda's tomb, what we may safely style representative specimens of the primitive Irish churches, as well of those known as *daimhliags*, as of those called *duirteachs*; the remains of a round tower, and several early stone houses, of divers kinds. Before we conduct our reader through those variously interesting remains, we ask his attention to Dr. Petrie's<sup>2</sup> description of the architectural peculiarities of the primitive Irish churches, which description we here present in a condensed form.

The ancient Irish churches are almost invariably of small size, being usually not more than sixty feet in length. In their general form, they closely follow that of the Roman basilica, and they are even called by this name in the oldest writers; but they never present the semicircular absis at the east end so usual in Roman churches, and the smaller churches are merely simple oblong quadrangles. In addition to this quadrangle, the larger churches present a second oblong of smaller dimensions extending to the east, and constituting the chancel or sanctuary, in which the altar was placed, and which is connected with the nave by a triumphal arch of semicircular form. These churches have rarely more than a single entrance, which is placed in the centre of the west end; and they are very imperfectly lighted by small windows splaying inwards, which do not appear to have been even glazed. The chancel has usually two or three windows, one of which is always in the centre of the east wall, and another in the south wall; the windows in the nave are also usually placed in the south wall, and rarely exceed two in number. The windows are frequently triangular headed, but more usually arched semicircularly, while the doorway, on the contrary, is almost universally covered by a horizontal lintel, consisting of a single stone. In all cases, the sides of the doorways and windows incline, like the doorways in the oldest cyclopean buildings, to which they bear a striking resemblance. The doorways and windows rarely exhibit

<sup>1</sup> Petrie's Inquiry into the origin and uses of the Round Towers of Ireland, p 139.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 158, sq.

ornaments of any kind. The walls are generally formed of very large polygonal stones carefully adjusted to each other, both on the inner and outer faces, while their interior is filled up with rubble and grouting. In the smaller churches the roof was frequently formed of stone, but in the larger ones always of wood, covered with shingles, straw, or reeds. These larger churches are designated in Irish writings by the names *damh-liag* or stone church, *tempull* (*templum*) *eccles*, *regles* (*ecclesia*), and sometimes, *baslie* (*basilica*). The smaller churches or oratories were called *duirteachs*, and in the beginning were for the most part, as the etymology denotes, *houses of oak*, although the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick makes mention of a stone oratory at Armagh coeval with St. Patrick himself. The average dimensions of the *duirteachs* was about fifteen feet in length, and ten in breadth, interior measurement. In the general plan of this class of buildings there was an equal uniformity. They had a single doorway, always placed in the centre of the west wall, and lighted by a single window placed in the centre of the east wall, and a stone altar beneath this window. It can scarcely be questioned that this class of buildings was originally erected for the private devotion of the founders exclusively: for in the immediate vicinity of such oratories we usually find not only the cells which served as habitations for the founders, but also as tombs in which they were interred.

We found a beautiful specimen of the class of larger churches here described, in Tempul-Mac-Duagh, at Kilmurvey. It has the nave and chancel which characterise the first-mentioned species of the Tempulls. The nave is little more than eighteen feet long by fourteen broad, and the chancel nearly sixteen feet long by eleven broad. The stones of the walls are of immense size, and the entire building has a sombre, severe look. The doorway is a remarkable instance of the cyclopean door, and resembles the doorway of the Cathedral Church of Kilmacduagh erected for St. Colman Macduagh by his kinsman Guaire Aidhne, King of Connaught, about the year 610. It is five feet six inches in height, two feet in width at the top, and two feet three inches at the bottom. The lintel is of granite, and measures five feet six inches in length, one foot six inches in height, and extends the entire thickness of the wall which is two feet six inches.<sup>1</sup>

Our chief interest, however, was naturally centred in the group of buildings which exist at Killeany, and consist of the church of St. Benignus, the church of St. Enda, the round tower of St. Enda, and the stone houses in its immediate vicinity. Our readers will have remarked that the first six churches

<sup>1</sup> For an engraving of this doorway, see Petrie's *Round Towers*, p. 174.

named in Dr. Keely's list, all stood near each other, and to the north of the present village of Killeany. Out of the six, four have almost entirely disappeared, namely, *Kill-Enda*, called also *Tempull-mor-Enda*, or the great church of Enda; *Tempull-mac-Longa*, *Tempull-mic-Canonn*, and the church of St. Mary. They were demolished by the unholy hands of the invaders for the sake of the materials which they supplied to build the castle of Arkin. So all-devouring time, says O'Flaherty<sup>1</sup>—

“Diruit, edificat, mutat quadrata rotundis.”

The church known as Teglach Enda still exists on the shore; it is in good preservation, and is a fine specimen of the single church without chancel. It is twenty-four feet in length and fourteen in breadth. All the walls now standing are by no means of an equal antiquity. The eastern gable and part of the northern side wall are the only parts belonging to St. Enda's time, the remainder of the building being the work of a later period. The eastern gable is built of large stones like those at Tempull-Mac-Duagh, cemented with excellent mortar, one of the stones extending almost the entire breadth of the gable. The window in the eastern gable is one foot seventeen inches high and eight broad on the outside, and on the inside two feet three inches high, and one foot two inches at the top, widening, however, at the bottom to one foot eight inches. The doorway is placed in the northern wall, and is about two feet broad, and five high. It is in the modern pointed style, and cannot be more than five hundred years old. There is a narrow window in this northern wall of about three feet in height, of the same age as the doorway. Beneath this window, on the outside of the edifice, we found inserted in the wall a beautiful sepulchral slab inscribed, *or do Scandlain, a prayer for Scanlan*, which, however, was clearly not *in situ*, since the lines ran not parallel but at right angles with the ground. It was, probably, one of the many sepulchral slabs belonging to the cemetery which surrounds the church, and was employed by the restorers of the building, just as the sepulchral slabs of the Roman Catacombs are sometimes found in the walls of the oratories erected at a later date over the entrances to the cemeteries, or over the spot where some illustrious martyr reposed below. We do not know who this Scanlan was, but in the list of saints of the family to which St. Enda belonged, we find mention made of a Scanlan who was father of Flann Febhla, Archbishop of Armagh. Around the church spreads the cemetery, now

<sup>1</sup> *Iar Connaught*, p. 82.

almost completely covered up by the sands, in which the body of St. Enda, and those of one hundred and fifty other saints, are interred. Between this cemetery and the castle of Arkin, we found some remains of masonry buried in the sands, which had left uncovered what seemed to be the lintel of the doorway of one of the primitive buildings. Probably it was portion of one of the four churches mentioned by Dr. Keely, and which had been destroyed.

A little beyond this point, in the street of the village of Killeany, we entered a narrow road, leading up the hill at the foot of which this ruined castle still frowns on the sea, and soon reached a small well sunk deep in the ground, known to the natives as the Friar's well. It was the well that served the Fathers of a Franciscan Monastery, which was built, Ware says,<sup>1</sup> in the year 1485, probably by the O'Briens, on the slope of the hill just under the round tower of St. Enda. This establishment also was demolished by the barbarians for the sake of its building materials. It was easy for us, however, to trace its site by the lines formed by the foundations of the walls; and the base of a large stone cross with portion of the cross itself were found lying in the middle of a field on which the building once stood. The walls of loose stone on the road side were here festooned by thick and verdant shoots of the hop plant, which spread in great luxuriance around. This shrub is not found elsewhere on the island. It, and the ruined cross, and a few shapeless walls, are all that survive to tell where once stood garden and cloister of the Franciscan Monastery.

A little higher up, on the hill side, we came to St. Enda's well, and altar; the latter surmounted by a rude cross, and betraying by its clumsiness the work of a modern hand. St. Enda's well, and indeed all the other wells we saw in the island, are carefully protected by the Araners; the scarcity of water rendering the possession of a well almost as precious to them as it was to the Eastern shepherds in the days of Rebecca. At a short distance to the left of the well, stands the remnant of the round tower of St. Enda. Once its height was worthy of the cluster of sacred temples which stood within the circle traversed by the shadow it projected in the changing hours; but now it is little more than thirteen feet high. An aged man who joined our group, told us that in St. Enda's time the Mass was not commenced in any of the churches of the island, until the bell from St. Enda's tower announced that St. Enda himself had taken his place at the altar in his own Church. There have been many theories propounded concerning the uses of the round towers, less satisfactory than this of the simple Araner.

<sup>1</sup> Vol. I. p. 280.

The contrast between the masonry of the round tower and that of the pagan forts is very remarkable. The round tower was built of chiselled stones, bound together with cement; the pagan fortress of stones not dressed by the hand, and put together without mortar. No one who has had an opportunity of comparing both, can ever be persuaded that they are the work of the same period or of the same builders.

Ascending the hill where it rises to the south-west behind the tower, we reached the exquisitely beautiful *duirteach* known as *Tempull Benain*, or temple of St. Benignus, pupil of St. Patrick and Archbishop of Armagh, which crowned the highest point of the hill above us, and stood out with its sharp lines clearly defined against the sky. This church is erroneously called Temple Mionnain. It lies north and south, a peculiarity which distinguishes it from the other churches of these primitive ages, which, as a rule, lie east and west. A solitary arched window in the eastern wall, where the altar stood, gave admittance to the light through an opening a little more than a foot high and a foot broad. The doorway is in the north gable, and commands an enchanting prospect over Casla Bay. It is six feet three inches in height, and one foot three inches broad at top, while, like the cyclopean doors, it widens at bottom to a width of two feet. The original height of the side-walls was seven feet four inches; the northern gable rose to the height of seventeen feet, but is now only fifteen feet high. In the western wall there is one large stone, in size four feet by four, and eleven inches in thickness. Tempull Benain measures on the outside only fifteen feet one inch in length, and eleven feet three inches in breadth. The roof has totally disappeared, but was evidently a stone roof like that on the building known as St. Kevin's house, at Glendalough. Dr. O'Donovan, who, in company with Dr. Petrie, examined all the churches in Aran, and to whose accuracy we owe those details of measurement, unhesitatingly declares this church of St. Benain to be an erection coeval with St. Benignus himself. It is well known that this saint has always been the object of great devotion in the west, on account of his apostolic labours in that portion of Ireland.

And here, before leaving this part of our subject, we wish to quote Dr. Petrie's eloquent remarks on the primitive churches of our land, and what are especially applicable to those on Aran. "That they have little in them," says the learned man,<sup>1</sup> "to interest the mind or attract regard as works of art, it would be childish to deny; yet, in their symmetrical sim-

<sup>1</sup> Round Towers, page 188, 189.



plicity—their dimly-lighted nave, entered by its central west doorway, and terminated on the other side by its chancel arch, affording to the devout worshipper an unimpeded view of that brighter sanctuary, in which were celebrated the divine mysteries which afforded him consolation in this world and hope in the next—in the total absence of everything which could distract his attention—there is an expression of fitness to their purpose, too often wanting in modern temples of the highest pretensions ; as the artless strains sung to the Creator, which, we may believe, were daily hymned in these unadorned temples, were calculated, from their very simplicity and artlessness, to awaken feelings of deep devotion, which the gorgeous artificial music of the modern cathedral but too rarely excites, even in minds most predisposed to feel its influences, and appreciate its refinement. In short, these ancient temples are just such humble, unadorned structures, as we might expect them to have been ; but, even if they were found to exhibit less of that expression of congruity and fitness, and more of that humbleness so characteristic of a religion not made for the rich, but for the poor and lowly, that mind is but little to be envied which could look with apathy on the remains of national structures so venerable for their antiquity, and so interesting as being raised in honour of the Creator in the simplest ages of Christianity.”

But where, it may be asked, did all these religious men live ? How were they sheltered from the Atlantic tempests of which the first fury was necessarily spent on the beetling cliffs of Aran ? How were they protected from the wintry cold, and from the rain ?

Let not our readers expect, in answer to this question, a description of any vast structure sufficient for the adequate accommodation of communities, as large as those that were housed in the stately monasteries of the middle ages. In Aran, as elsewhere in Ireland, the early monastic establishments were composed<sup>1</sup> of separate cells for the abbot, monks, and clergy, while the houses required for the accommodation of strangers, the kitchen, etc., were all separate edifices, surrounded by a cashel or circular wall, and forming a kind of monastery or ecclesiastical town, like those of the early Christians in the East, and known among the Egyptians by the name of *Laura*. The *Laura* herein differed from the *Coenobium*, that the latter was but one habitation where the monks lived in common, whereas the former consisted of many cells divided from each other. Such groups

<sup>1</sup> Round Towers, p 416.

of cells are frequently mentioned in the lives of the Irish Saints.<sup>1</sup>

These structures, it is fair to assume, were formed of the materials within easy reach of the builders, and consequently, in many parts of Ireland, of perishable materials, such as wood and clay. For this reason few vestiges of them remain in the northern and eastern portions of the island. But in the west and south, many such buildings yet survive; and of these we found interesting specimens in Aranmore. There, writes O'Flaherty,<sup>2</sup> "they have *cloghauns*, a kind of building of stones laid one upon another, which are brought to a roof, without any manner of mortar to cement them, some of which cabins will hold forty men on their floor; so ancient that nobody knows how long ago any of them was made. Scarcity of wood and store of fit stones, without peradventure, found out the first invention." These houses are of a circular or oval form, having dome roofs, constructed without a knowledge of the principle of the arch, and without the use of cement. They are formed upon the model left by the pagan Firbolg, and Tuatha de Danaan tribes, as is obvious from the resemblance they bear to the pagan circular stone forts. One remarkable difference between the houses of the pagan and Christian periods, is, that whereas the former are round internally and externally, the latter though externally round, are occasionally quadrangular in the interior, as if the quadrangular form of the churches had been adopted also for the houses of ecclesiastics. Whole villages of these houses exist on Aranmore.<sup>3</sup>

The neighbouring island of Ardillaun still exhibits the Laura, founded by St. Fechin, in the seventh century, which is one of the most interesting and best preserved anchoretical establishments in Ireland, or perhaps in Europe.<sup>4</sup> On the crest of the hill, on which Tempull Benain stands, about thirteen feet to the north-west of the sacred edifice, there was a *cloghaun*, partly under the ground, ten feet in length, and five feet four inches in breadth; the door-way was more than two feet broad, and the walls three feet thick. O'Donovan, who describes it,<sup>5</sup> is of opinion that it was probably the house of St. Benignus himself. Our interest was most excited by a cyclopean house, of angular form, which measured from north to south, eleven feet eight inches, and six feet ten inches across. It had two doorways, about two feet broad, and three thick; and in one of the chambers there

<sup>1</sup> Bollandists. Act. SS. Maii, Tom. 3. in life of St Mochuda or Carthage of Lismore

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit. page 68.

<sup>3</sup> Proceedings of R. I. Academy, vol. x., page 25.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. page 551-555.

<sup>5</sup> Ordnance Survey, MSS.

was a window. The double door is said to be more common in the Aran *cloghauns*, than in these found elsewhere.<sup>1</sup> One of the chambers in this house measures four feet nine inches in length, and four feet in breadth. The entire structure has suffered much from exposure. In addition to these separate cells, Dr. Petrie discovered on Aran-More, the ruins of a building, which would have been large enough to serve the purpose of a refectory. It is situated near the churches of St. Colman MacDuach, at Kilmurvey, and is an oval structure, without cement, of fifty by thirty-seven feet, external measurement, with a wall of six feet in thickness. But it is now full time to bring our wanderings to a close.

With the permission of the excellent and hospitable priest who has charge of the island, we resolved, on the last morning of our stay on Aran, to celebrate mass in the ruined church of Teglach-Enda, where in the year 540 or 542, St. Enda was interred, and where likewise repose the relics of a countless army of white-robed saints. The morning was bright and clear, and as we traversed the road skirting the shore from Kilronan to Killeany, the dark and rigid outlines of the rocks were softened by the touch of the early sunshine. The inhabitants of Killeany, exulting in the tidings that the Holy Sacrifice was once again to be offered to God near the shrine of their sainted Patron, accompanied or followed us to the venerable ruins. The men, young and old, were clothed in decent black, or in white garments of home-made stuff, with sandals of undressed leather, like those of the peasants of the Abruzzi, laced round their feet; the women were attired in gay scarlet gowns and blue bodices, and all wore a look of remarkable neatness and comfort. The small roofless Church was soon filled to overflowing with a decorous and devout congregation; and as the sands had accumulated to a considerable height on the exterior of the building, those who found no place within, were enabled to overtop the high walls on either side, and thus assist at the Sacrifice. It was plain to us, from what we saw before us, that these churches had not been originally intended to receive even ordinary assemblages of the faithful.

We can never forget the scene of that morning: the pure bright sand, covering the graves of unknown and unnumbered saints as with a robe of silvertissue, that glistened in the sunshine; the delicate green foliage of the wild plants, that rose here and there, as if wrought in embroidery upon the white expanse; on one side, the swelling hill crowned with the church of Benignus, and on the other the blue sea, that almost bathed

<sup>1</sup> Proceedings R. I. Academy, vol. x., p. 555.

the foundations of the venerable sanctuary itself; the soft balmy air that hardly stirred the ferns on the old walls; and the fresh, happy, solemn calm that reigned over all.

The temporary altar was set up under the east window, on the site where of old the altar stood; and there, in the midst of the loving and simple faithful, within the walls which had been consecrated some twelve hundred years before, over the very spot of earth where so many of the saints of Ireland lay awaiting their resurrection to glory, the solemn rite of the Christian Sacrifice was performed, and once more, as in the days of which St. Columba wrote, the angels of God came down to worship the Divine Victim in the Churches of Aran. And surely, not unworthy of the angelic company were the devotion and faith of the humble worshippers around. Throughout the Mass, a hush and a silence came upon them, and the only sounds that fell upon the ear was the solemn voice of the priest, or the murmur of the waves breaking on the beach outside; but at the moment of the elevation, when they beheld the pure and holy and unspotted Host raised up for them to Heaven, a cry of adoring faith and love went forth from their lips, and every head was bowed to the dust before the Lord.

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## LETTERS OF BALMEZ.

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### XI.—SELF-LOVE.

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MY ESTEEMED FRIEND—I am sincerely pleased your last letter exempts me for ever from dealing farther with the German philosophy, or the French, which is an imitation of it. I knew your naturally clear judgment, thirsting for truth and opposed to abstractions, would not tolerate the symbolic language and the phantastic ideas with which the good Germans have adorned philosophy, in the leisure moments abundantly afforded them by their climate of fogs and frosts. You wonder, and not without reason, that this philosophy could have spread in France, where mens' minds lean to the opposite extreme of sensual and materialist positivism. I believe it was by a kind of necessity in the supposition that the Voltairian philosophy was completely discredited, and those who wished to be regarded as philosophers must put on a grave and majestic

mantle ; and as they had no desire to follow the sound writers who preceded them in their native country, they had to cast their eye beyond the Rhine, and with great pomp import into the midst of a capricious and novelty-loving people the systems of Schelling and Hegel, as portentous inventions, capable of making the human mind progress indefinitely. For the rest, if I must frankly say what I think, I believe the French genius will not put up with the German philosophy, but will discover there is Pantheism in it at bottom ; and without waiting to subtilize or cavil about the *universal and only substance*, will jump at its last consequence, which is Atheism, without the ambiguity of mysterious words. In arriving at this result, it will observe it is taught nothing new beyond what it learned from its own philosophers of the last century. It will then despise this philosophy, said to be new, as a plagiarism of another worn out and effete ; and then it will be requisite to seek new springs of illusion to supply food, even for a short time, to the curiosity of the schools and the vanity of the professors. This is the history of the human mind, my dear friend. Examine its pages, and you shall at once discover that the phenomenon we witness is the reproduction of what has occurred in all ages. The advantage derived from it by religious men is not small, for when they contemplate the versatility of the human mind, they more easily comprehend the necessity of a guide in the midst of illusions and extravagances.

I have been almost surprised by the argument you use against the truth of our religion, founded on the fact that with our doctrines we contradict one of the most indelible and at the same time most innocent sentiments of the human breast—self-love. I was amused by the terms in which you develop your ideas. The reasons on which you ground them would certainly be strong, only they rest on a false supposition, and consequently are like edifices void of foundation. “I know not,” you say in your last, “what misanthropic spirit reigns among Catholics, and covers everything with gloomy sadness. You don’t want anything earthly to be named, nor permit people to think on the affairs of this world ; you annihilate, as it were, the entire universe, and when all is sacrificed to your tetrical system, when you have succeeded in isolating man in frightful solitude, want him to turn against himself, to deny himself, to annihilate himself also, to despoil himself of his most intimate sentiments, to abhor himself, and make a cruel effort against the most lively instincts of his nature. But what ! Is God the Creator opposed to God the Saviour ? Will God, who has communicated to us the love of ourselves,

who has imprinted it in indelible characters on our soul,—will that same God, when working in the order of grace, delight in contradicting himself as the author of nature? These are things I could never understand, and I think you shall have trouble in dissipating the mists that prevent me from seeing the truth. I know you will utter an eloquent sermon about the misery and iniquity of man, the just motives we have for professing a holy hatred of ourselves, but I now warn you I cannot desire such sanctity; weak and vain and evil as I know I am, I cannot do less than love myself, and when I compare my nothingness with the elevation of the cherubim, I feel more affection, more love for my insignificant being, than for those sublime intelligences which are said to hold a high place in the celestial hierarchy." The tone of security you employ tells me there is here something more than doubts—something approaching true conviction; and no wonder, in the supposition that you build on a false principle and consequently arrive at false conclusions. You have found some expressions in certain mystic works and have taken them literally, and hence your ascribing to our religion doctrines she does not hold.

Who told you Christianity condemns self-love, understanding this condemnation in a rigorous sense? This is the vacuum left by you in your reasoning. You were not careful enough to make sure of the principle on which you founded it, and so whilst you believed you were building on a solid base, you were only raising castles in the air. This is not the first time such a thing has happened to religion, for often and often, for the sake of combating it, phantasms are conjured up, and people make war on them as if they were its offspring, whereas they are only the creations of her opponent's brain. I do not accuse you of acting perversely; I am sure you suffer from misapprehension, which you will correct immediately I point it out; and I flatter myself I can do so notwithstanding your assertion that it is difficult to dissipate the mists that impede your knowledge of the truth. As to the eloquent sermon on the misery and wickedness of man, I think you may make your mind easy, as I have given you sufficient proofs I am not inclined to declamations of any sort. But let us come to the difficulty.

It is false that religion prohibits us from loving ourselves; and so false, that on the contrary one of its fundamental precepts is this same self-love. I need nothing but the Catechism to convince you of this. I hope you have not forgotten we are told in it to love our neighbours as ourselves, in which the precept of love which each one should entertain

for himself is most expressly recorded. This love is presented to us as the model of that we should have for our neighbour; and the precept would clearly be contradictory if we were prohibited from entertaining this love which is to serve as the rule and standard of that which we should have for others.

Are you aware the principle so common in the world, that charity should begin at home, is expressly recorded in all the theological tracts that have been written on charity? They all clearly mark out the order charity should observe, according to its different relations with the objects to which it extends, the first and principal being God, the second we ourselves.

You now see all your arguments are upset when I roundly deny the principle on which they rested, and adduce in favour of my negation proofs so clear and simple that you cannot reject them; nevertheless, I will amplify my ideas on the point, and make applications of them which shall satisfy you completely.

We will go back again to the Catechism. In it we are told that man was created to love and serve God in this life, and to enjoy Him in eternal bliss. Now then, all our actions have God and eternal bliss for their end. Does he who desires to be eternally happy not love himself? And is he who is bound to labour all his life to attain this felicity, not also obliged to love himself exceedingly? Or rather, do these two obligations not coalesce in one? The Christian holds it as a dogma of faith that this life is a transit to another. If he despises the terrestrial, if he makes no account of the vanities of the world, it is because all is passing, because all is nothing compared with the happiness he is promised after death, if he endeavour to merit it by his good works—his property, his health, his life, his honour—he should be willing to lose all sooner than stain his conscience with one sole act which might close the gates of heaven against him. But in that abnegation, in that abandonment of self, well-ordered self-love rides safely at anchor, for he despises the insignificant to attain the important, he abandons the terrestrial to obtain the celestial, he leaves the temporal to secure the eternal. When we examine the Christian doctrines, we find they wonderfully harmonise the love of God, the love of ourselves, and the love of our neighbour, and consequently it is totally false that the natural inclination which leads us to love ourselves is destroyed by religion; it is rectified, regulated, purified from the stains which deform it, preserved from ruin, and directed to the supreme end, infinitely holy and good, which is God.

How are we to understand, then, that destruction of self-love of which mystic writers speak? We must understand by it the extirpation of vice, the restraint of the passions, victory over pride, in a word, a solicitude to prevent the love of the sensual from injuring the moral man. To make the superior prevail over the inferior parts of man, is not to destroy his love for himself, but to cause it to act in conformity with the eternal law and advantageously to him. If a man abstains from a banquet for the sake of avoiding injury it might cause him, can it be said he does not love but hate himself? He will be truly said to deprive himself of a gratification, but that privation springs from the regard he has for his health, and consequently flows from his self-love, which induces him to sacrifice the less to the greater, and will not allow him to injure his health for a momentary appetite. This simple example, which we daily witness without any wonder, fairly explains the relations of the Christian doctrines with self-love, as we have only to extend the principle to higher objects, and consider the rule which guides a particular action is the same that regulates the whole conduct of the Christian.

"But how then are we told to abhor ourselves?" This abhorrence does not, and cannot, refer to anything but what is evil in us, whether it be wicked acts or certain inclinations which tend to draw us from the path of the law of God; but we should not, and cannot by any means abhor our nature as far as it is good and the work of God. On the contrary, we should love it, and the proof is in the fact that we should abhor what is evil in it, and to abhor the evil of anything is to desire its good and love it.

You are aware, my esteemed friend, that some of the rules laid down for the conduct of Christians are precepts, others counsels. The observance of the former is necessary for eternal life. The observance of the latter contributes to our perfection in this life, and merits a higher degree of glory in the next; but it does not so oblige that its omission would be culpable. The same holds in our conduct with regard to self-love. By the precepts we are obliged to abstain from all infraction of the law of God, no matter how our disordered appetites may impel us, as also to sacrifice the pleasure that might result from the satisfaction of our passions when there is question of doing something expressly commanded by the law of God; in this way we are all obliged to suffocate our self-love, and if we do not, we hold it as a dogma of faith we can never gain eternal life, but shall receive a punishment without end. But there are certain abstinences, certain mortifications of



the senses, which belong not to the principles, but only to the counsels. We see these mortifications practised more or less rigorously by persons who aim at perfection, and in some of the saints we find austerity carried to a degree that astonishes and bewilders us. But in these very saints self-love, properly understood, was not smothered. They gave themselves up unreservedly to penance, either to purify themselves from their faults, or to render themselves more agreeable to the Lord, by offering him in holocaust their senses, their body, all they had and all they were; but in the meantime did these extraordinary men forget themselves? No doubt they forgot the sensual man, or rather they declared war to the death on him, and attacked and tormented him whenever possible; but they did so, because they regarded him as an enemy of the spiritual man—a terrible, fearfully dangerous enemy, whom they could not trust for a minute, and from whose neck the chain could not be removed without imminent risk of rebellion against his ruler, the spirit, whom he might reduce to slavery. But those illustrious penitents never forgot the salvation of their soul, and the eternal felicity of the other life, but on the contrary incessantly sighed after it, anxiously longed for God to free them from this body which oppressed them, and their strongest desire was to be dissolved and be with Christ. The vision of God, the union with God in bonds of ineffable love, was the object of their hopes, their desires, and their continued sighs; and so they cannot with propriety be said to abhor themselves, but rather to love themselves with a better love than the rest of men.

I hope the preceding considerations may convince you you built on a false supposition, and if you want to continue your attacks on religion as opposed to self-love, must look out for other principles. In fact to do so, now that your error on the point is removed, and it was proved to evidence that religion not only does not prohibit self-love, but commands us to entertain it, there is only one course open to you, and that is to show that she has a wrong idea of this love, and whilst proposing to direct and purify, suffocates and smothers it. But do you know on what ground the question will then be placed? Do you know that, considered under this aspect, it has nothing to do with what we have hitherto discussed, but becomes an inquiry whether the precepts and counsels of the Gospel are just, holy, and prudent? I do not believe you will dare dispute a truth generally admitted even by the most violent enemies of Christianity. They deny its dogmas, they mock its creed, they laugh at its hierarchy, they despise its

authority, they consider it as a mere philosophical system, and despoil it of all supernatural and divine character ; but when they come to our moral code, they all agree it is admirable, sublime, superior to that of all ancient and modern legislators ; is in intimate harmony with the light of reason, with the most noble and beautiful sentiments that find shelter in our breast, and is the only one worthy of ruling humanity and directing the destinies of the world. So that when given up to their vain desires, they idealise new Christianities and totally new religions, they all adopt the morality of the Gospel for their model ; and even when perhaps they profess in the depth of their heart doctrines morally degrading and highly obnoxious, they do not dare to express them publicly, but eulogise the sweetness, the sanctity and sublimity of the maxims uttered by the lips of Jesus Christ.

If then you direct your attacks against this point, you shall meet with serious opposition ; and hence I will venture to give you an advice, which most of those who attack religion would do well to take, and it is, that when you come to judge our doctrines or maxims you do not allow yourself to be carried away by that giddiness which decides on things of the utmost importance, without taking the trouble to examine them with proper attention ; but reflect that what so many men eminent in talent and wisdom have believed and taught and practised, must undoubtedly be well founded, and not to be overturned by a few observations, which though ingenious, are extremely futile. Believe me when you find arguments of this sort which appear to easily upset any religious truth, you should suspend your judgment, and not be precipitate, but meditate or read and consult ; and you shall soon discover the invincible Achilles has no more strength than what is supplied by a false supposition or vicious reasoning. I have no doubt you are convinced that if in time you resolve on returning to the bosom of religion, you may love yourself. In the meantime be assured of the affection of your attached friend,

J. B.

## AN IRISH MARTYR AT TIEN-TSIN.

THE 21st of June, 1870, will for ever be memorable in the Christian annals of China; and the blood of many martyrs, which on that day flowed in the city of Tien-Tsin, gives promise that a rich harvest of faith will soon smile upon that dreary wilderness. Such days of martyrdom, are days of glory for the Church of Christ, and are sure to usher in the triumph of the holy cause, which the heroes of religion thus seal with their blood.

It is a privilege for Ireland, that one of her chosen daughters was reckoned in that glorious array of the 21st of June last—one of those ten Sisters of Charity who, fired with the zeal and fervour of their great founder, St. Vincent de Paul, welcomed on that day the Pagan executioners of Tien-Tsin, and, offering their lives as a holocaust to God, attained their heavenly crown.

Sister Louise was born in the parish of St. Mary's, Clonmel, County Tipperary, in the year 1835. She shewed from infancy a great disposition for works of charity, and felt strongly inclined to devote herself to religion and the service of the poor. After her early studies, she went to the convent of St. Mary's, Kingstown, to complete her education, and her memory is still cherished there for her piety and virtues. In the year 1854 she became a postulante of the Sisters of Charity at their hospital in Amiens, and received the habit of the Congregation after the usual novitiate in the parent house, Rue du Bac, Paris. The first field for her charitable labours was Boulogne-sur-mer. She was sent in 1857 to Drogheda, where she spent five years of loving labour amidst the poor of that town. Her only pain was that she had not adequate resources to meet the pressing demands of the numbers who appeared fit objects of her devoted charity. From Drogheda Sister Louise was sent to the house of the sisters at Hereford. The difficulties and privations of that mission were a suitable preparation for her future sacrifices.

An hospital was to be established at Shanghai, China. The Jesuit Fathers asked for the daughters of charity to take its charge and direction, and Sister Louise, having frequently made known to her superiors her readiness and desire to labour in any distant mission, was selected to join other sisters from Italy, Algiers, and France, to devote themselves to this good work.

Sister Louise was very useful in the hospital at Shanghai. Being the only sister able to speak English, her time and exertions were in constant demand in labouring for the English, Irish, and American sailors and soldiers. These recipients of her kind and untiring attention will long remember her, who so tenderly nursed them when suffering in a far distant land.

The last work in which Sister Louise was engaged was the Institute of the Immaculate Conception at Pekin—an orphanage for the support and education of poor children rescued from death, when abandoned by Chinese mothers, in consequence of the inhuman and savage objection the Chinese have to rear female children.

It was from this house Sister Louise proceeded in company with her superioress as far as Tien-Tsin, when an adorable Providence arranged that she should prepare to sacrifice her life in her loving Master's service. She was on her way to Europe, when, making a short stay at Tien-Tsin, she went to visit the Catholic Church; and praying before the statue of Our Lady of Victories, she felt an irresistible impulse to request of her superioress to take another companion to Europe, and to leave her to her beloved work among the Chinese.

The superioress could not fail to see in her earnestness and entreaty the work of grace, and yielding to her request took another sister with her to Europe, and left the Irish sister to receive her early crown.

With renewed zeal Sister Louise devoted herself at Tien-Tsin to the orphans and the hospital, from the end of March to the 21st of June, when, with her heroic companions, she lost her life in the cause of charity.

During the first months of the present year, the city of Tien-Tsin was a favorite resort of the leading enemies of the Christian name, and for some time previous to the day of massacre, rumours were industriously set afloat that the Sisters of Charity and the Priests took special delight in tearing out the eyes and hearts of Chinese children, which were afterwards used for medicinal purposes. The hatred of the Chinese mob was gradually fanned into a flame, and at length on the 21st of June, it burst forth in all its fury against the Catholic institutions of Tien-Tsin.

The French Consul seeing the gathering storm, went on the morning of that day to solicit the aid of the Government authorities in guarding from violence the foreign settlers in the city. On his return from the Governor, he himself and his companion were brutally assailed and cut to pieces

by the mob. "But, (thus continues the correspondent of the *Times*, writing from Shanghai, on the 8th of July,) dreadful as is this death, the details are more horrible of the massacre of the Priests and Sisters of Charity which followed the attack on the mission premises. It is not clear whether it occurred before or after the murder of the French Consul; but the two occurrences were very nearly simultaneous. The establishments of the Lazarists, the Jesuits, and the Sisters of Charity were burnt, and their inmates murdered with circumstances of brutal atrocity. Women, whose only fault was to have devoted their lives to do good, who had earned the respect of the foreign community at Shanghai (where they were known and appreciated), as well as at Tien-Tsin, were stripped, their bodies ripped open, their breasts cut off, their eyes scooped out, and their remains cast into their own burning house. All the native inmates of the missions were also, it is said, burnt to death; the children only were saved, several hundred in number, and even of these between thirty or forty were unknowingly suffocated in a large cave where they had taken refuge at the first approach of the mob. The body of a priest, since recovered, is so mutilated, as to be hardly recognisable, and two others are missing, supposed to have been also burnt."

One of the devoted sisters who had left Tien-Tsin only a few days before this dreadful massacre, writing from Ning-Po, on the 3rd July, to the superioress of the Order in Paris, details some circumstances connected with this dreadful tragedy. "The courier of to-day, bears to you intelligence which will overwhelm your maternal heart with affliction :—For some days we were in great anxiety about our dear mission at Tien-Tsin, but we were in hopes that the rumours were exaggerated, and that the storm would soon cease. The events of the 21st of June, proved how well founded were the fears that were entertained. On that day the storm of persecution burst forth in all its fury against the Catholics of Tien-Tsin. The mission-house, the Catholic Church, the Consulate, the house of our sisters, were all reduced to ashes. Our ten sisters were massacred, and then their bodies were thrown into the flames of their own burning houses. M. Chevrier, and M. Ou (a Chinese priest), were put to death, and their bodies cast into the river. The French Consul, and many other Catholics, were also massacred. It was a storm of fiendish fury. We are told that they even tore out the eyes and hearts of our sisters, and this would be explained by the calumny that was circulated against us for some time back, that we used to tear out the hearts

and eyes of the poor little Chinese children. All this proceeded from the malice of Satan, who was filled with envy at all the good that this mission was achieving, and hence gathered together all the wickedness of hell, in order to impede it. The persecution only fell on the Catholics; the Protestants, though very many of them are in that city, did not suffer from it in any way, and God did not permit their cause to be mixed up with ours. Here, then, is a good number of martyrs. Our Holy Father will, I hope, return thanks to God that some of his children have attained this crown. How I would rejoice to have been one of their number: but I was not worthy of so great a favor, and I was called away from that city, just at the moment when the persecution burst forth. All the persons connected with our two houses were also massacred, and with them a good many other Christians; and the children were carried off to a pagan hospice. We have been told that our dear sisters expected this dreadful outburst of persecution, and though they hoped it might be averted, they spent the whole morning of that day in preparing for it. The Missionaries also spent a part of the morning hearing the confessions of the Christians. In fine, our hearts are broken at this news; for though we feel sure that our dear sisters and the worthy Missionaries are in heaven, and here everybody calls them martyrs, still this does not prevent those that survive them being overwhelmed with affliction at the dreadful massacre."

She then adds the following extract from a letter received from Tien-Tsin: "It is reported here, and all the pagans vouch for it as certain, that at the time of the massacre of the sisters, a Bonzesse (*i.e.*, the wife of one of the pagan priests), went to the balcony of her house to look on at the bloody scene, and as each one was massacred, she saw a beautiful and brilliant cloud mounting to heaven. Struck with this prodigy, she cried out that these people must have been beloved by God, and she at once proceeded to the court-yard of the sisters' house. The murderers seeing her, asked her what she sought there. She replied that they were injuring holy people, and that she came to adore the God whom the murdered sisters adored, whereupon they at once struck off her head."

The *Times* correspondent at Shanghai, writing on the 11th of August, gives some details regarding the interment of the remains of these victims of Chinese ferocity.

"The victims of the Tien-Tsin massacre were buried on the 3rd inst., in the presence of a large body of native and foreign officials, and of nearly all the foreign residents of Tien-Tsin.

I mentioned in a previous letter that the site of the burnt consulate and mission premises had been selected for their cemetery. The coffins had all been lowered into the grave on the previous day, so that it remained only to perform the funeral ceremony, which was impressively conducted by Mgr. Thierry, the pro-vicar of Chilli, aided by two other missionary priests. After it had ended, and holy water had been sprinkled on the grave, orations were delivered by several of the officials present in relation to the event. Count de Rochechouart, his Imperial Majesty's Charge d'Affairs, spoke first. History, he said, might be searched in vain for events so detestable as the massacre of the 21st of June. Seventeen French subjects, of whom twelve were women, had been massacred, cut to pieces by a fanatical mob, which, not content with killing and destroying, had wished to increase the enormity of its crime *en s'acharnant sur les cadavres*. He could not trust himself to relate the horrors which had been committed; but neither could he pass in silence the sublime conduct of the Sister Superioress, who, when the bloodthirsty mob had surrounded the building and was breaking in the doors, advanced alone towards them, and offered herself and her sisters as victims to their rage, begging that they would spare the Chinese who surrounded and had learnt to rely on them.

"Mgr. Thierry spoke briefly but well, in a tone becoming his profession. The death of the victims had been to them a gain; come to China with a hope of martyrdom, they had obtained the accomplishment of their most sincere wish, and had given their lives for Christ."

That nothing should be wanting to complete the crown of the martyred Sister Louise, the enemies of her faith at home united with the barbarian murderers of Tien-Tsin in seeking to heap obloquy on the memory of such heroic victims of charity. The Protestant missionaries and residents of China raised their voice against the barbarity of the pagan murderers. Nearer home, Protestant merchants held a meeting at the London Tavern, to protest "against the horrible outrages perpetrated on Christian ladies engaged in works of mercy." But the Orangemen of Ireland are Protestants of quite another stamp, and the *Mail*, in a leading article, writing as their official spokesman, could find no other name for these heroines of charity but baby-farming Nuns; and adds that at the hands of the Chinese populace they received the punishment which they deserved. I need not remind the reader that *baby-farming* is a term reserved for those wicked wretches in England, who obtain babies from unnatural parents, undertaking to rear them for a certain price, and then maliciously and murderously drug

them to death. And thus that Protestant organ, almost surpassing the virulence of the Tien-Tsin barbarians, would fain compare such a system of assassination with the mission of those heroines of charity who gratuitously, and at the risk of their own lives, would seek to rescue the Chinese infants from the certain death to which their heartless pagan parents so often expose them.

In contrast with such ignoble bigotry, we will present two Protestant narratives—the one English, the other American—regarding this dreadful tragedy. The Rev. Charles Henry Butcher, M.A., British Chaplain at Shanghai, writes from that place on July 6:—"It is no exaggeration to say that since Cawnpore no such deed of blood has been committed. The murder of the Sisters of Charity, is an outrage not on a nation or a church, but on humanity itself. As chaplain to the British community of Shanghai, I have had opportunities of seeing the noble and devoted work of some of these women, when taking care of the sick at the hospital at this port, before they removed to the north. One lady, who has been murdered with every circumstance of horror, was an Irish lady whose memory is cherished with affection and gratitude by many of the community here. While the recollection of these things is fresh it is not easy to write with calmness, but I must venture to ask your permission to place prominently before your readers three points which are, in my judgment, the most practical and important lessons of the Tien-Tsin massacre.

"1.—This event disproves one popular fallacy—viz., that the Chinese are free from superstition. We hear repeatedly a broad contrast drawn between the calm and comprehensive spirit of the Confucian philosophy and the narrow-minded bigotry of sectarian Christians. Now, though there is much that is admirable in the writings of Confucius, it is a mistake to believe that his system has been able to preserve the mass of the people from the most abject and ignorant superstition. The credence obtained for the stories about eye-gouging, &c., lately circulated against the Roman Catholic missionaries, goes far to prove this. The people, whom many delight to represent as a school of tolerant and placid philosophers, are actually proved to be capable of cruelties which bear comparison with those of North American Indians. As an illustration of the fallacy of the popular view, I may say that at the very time when I received the news of the savage murder of nine Sisters of Charity, a priest, and his converts, I was reading an article in the *Saturday Review*, stating that the Pekin Government is 'entirely exempt from religious bigotry.'



" 2.—This event blows to pieces any fragments of trust in the late Mr. Burlinghame and his theories, that may yet remain in men's minds. The speeches about the Chinese mandarins desiring to see the 'shining cross' on every hill, are now felt to have been fabrications made to serve a particular purpose; at least, even Chinese perversity could scarcely persuade us that men show their regard for a faith by burning its churches and stabbing and disembowelling its priests. The truth is, the *litterati* hate missionaries; the common people hear them gladly.

" 3.—The tragedy in the north shows us that the Chinese Government is absolutely untrustworthy. His Excellency Chung How knew, three or four days before the massacre, that an outrage was intended. He took no steps whatever to prevent it; on the contrary, he connived at it. The actual perpetrators of these crimes were the bravos of Tien-Tsin, but it must never be lost sight of, that the sisters were murdered in the presence of disciplined troops, who protected the native shops from pillage, but did not stir a hand to defend the foreigners—*i.e.*, they were present to keep the murderers to their fiendish work, and to prevent their digressing into any other more innocent employment. This event has no parallel in the Gordon riots, or any similar disturbances when a Government has been temporarily unable to control a mob. That the responsibility rests with the officials none can doubt who read the account, which says distinctly:—

" 'The whole thing was done by the bravos of Tien-Tsin, the fighting men and brothel bullies, the streets being full of troops, who were apparently there simply to keep the rowdies from breaking into the shops. The attack was made by signal, the same as used at fires, and when the murders were completed, the retreat was tom-tommed in the same way as at fires, and the crowd dispersed.'

" It is very important to keep this in mind, as before the assassins could have well washed the blood off their hands, an Englishman in the employ of the Chinese was engaged in writing to a Chinese newspaper an account, endeavouring to throw the blame on the French Consul and the Sisters. No money and cunning will be spared to hide the truth, and, therefore, it is the duty of every one who is assured from reliable sources of the facts to endeavour to give them the widest publicity in Europe and in America.

" And now about the future. It is the wish of all fair-minded men interested in the China question that foreigners may not attempt to atone for a culpable remissness by any unreasonable violence. To take blood money, and to procure the

judicial slaughter of a number of substitutes, while the real criminals escape, will do more harm than good. The troops whom we had seen so ready to protect the people while they were doing evil, should be compelled to protect the foreign missionary while he is doing good. This is all that the Roman Catholic Fathers desire. To quote the words of the Shanghai Priests' reply to the Protestant address of sympathy:—

“No doubt the blood of so many innocent victims so barbarously shed must rise up to the Altar of the Lamb, and cry aloud on our behalf till it obtains for us the sole vengeance we wish for—viz., the better spread of the true light on these people, now living under the shadow of death, the greater freedom for the better exercise of works of charity towards the sufferer, and principally towards the little ones, who were for our Divine Saviour objects of such singular affection.”

An American correspondent from Tien-Tsin, thus writes to the *New-York Nation*, on July 23, 1870:—

“Notices of the Tien-Tsin massacre have reached you already, doubtless; but you may not be in possession of the facts relating to it. Little more will be attempted now than to bring before your readers the main features of an event so horrible in its details that no one can think of it but with a shudder.

“For many months rumours were in circulation that the Catholics were guilty of taking out the eyes and hearts of children for medicinal purposes, which, though false, created much excitement. These rumours increased in virulence till they burst forth in an unfuried mob, on the 21st of June, causing great destruction of life and property. Twenty-two foreigners, occupying various positions in life, were the victims of one of the most brutal massacres which history records.

“Reliable evidence of a most convincing character had been obtained, establishing the following points, viz. :—

“The plot has been maturing for weeks, if not months, and the time for its consummation has been arranged and known for days previous.

“The plot was known, approved, and aided in execution by two, at least, of the leading city officials and some of the military officers, one of whom led foreign drilled troops to the attack, and encouraged the people in the work of destruction and death. More than a month has elapsed since the enactment of this fearful deed of blood and suffering, and yet no proof can be adduced to show that our representative in Peking has attained even an approximately adequate conception of the

magnitude of the crisis which has overtaken us. The only *positive* information we have is, that the members of the U. S. Legation are rusticated 'at the hills,' enjoying in undisturbed tranquillity the countless charms of their summer retreat. Report speaks of them as 'calm and grand' in deportment, and so philosophically superior to what is occurring about them, that they receive with a smiling suspicion all our notices of this sad catastrophe, as the fanciful narrations of an excited brain. And what wonder, when we remember that their official adviser, our consular agent at Tien-Tsin, is an alien whose *interests* are wholly with the Chinese Government, in whose employ he receives about 5000 dollars per annum?

"That the above is not overdrawn may be gathered from the following facts:—

"The foreign ministers were informed that, for a considerable period previous to the fatal day, the anti-foreign feeling in Tien-Tsin and the surrounding country had been deepening and intensifying; that it had been increasingly manifested in the conduct of the official classes; and that, in manifold and specious ways, it was gradually permeating all classes of society. The same facts were often referred to by those resident in Peking. The expulsion of the hated foreigner was known to be matter of common desire and expectation.

"It was known to them that this general feeling throughout China had found expression, during the last three or four years, in a series of attacks on foreigners, all emanating from the same sources, aiming at the same end, and, in degree, following an ascending scale of gradation; and that innocent blood of a preceding year remained still unavenged. They were at last informed that the climax had been reached in fearful deeds of violence and blood. The terrible events of that never-to-be-forgotten day were minutely described to them, and of the dire results they were fully apprised. They were told that a score of foreigners—the most of whom were unoffending, delicate women—were horribly murdered in broad daylight—that they were subjected to the most cruel barbarities that fiendish ingenuity could invent; that, when death had at last ended their sufferings, their remains were treated with every possible indignity—haggled, cut in pieces, and cast some into the water and some into the flames. They were told how the corpses were rescued from the river at the foreign settlement, hacked, mutilated, almost beyond recognition—such spectacles of ghastly horror that the stoutest hearts, in gazing, were terror-stricken and bowed down in grief. They were told that when the coffins sent by the mandarins, and said to contain the bodies of the Sisters of Charity,

were opened, there were found only a few ashes and a melancholy collection of charred bones. They know that several score of natives, Christians and others in foreign employ, were robbed, beaten, tortured, and not a few murdered, for no other crime but that of connection with us. They have been informed that many buildings, in more than a dozen localities—some of them imposing structures erected at great cost, others the houses of Christians and friendly natives—were looted, torn in pieces, or consigned to the flames. They have had ample information of the fact that this event was not the result of a sudden outburst of popular feeling, but has been a matter of gradual and extensive preparation.

“Some may think this an overdrawn picture ; but I assert it to be given on credible evidence. It is substantiated by documents in our possession ; it is borne out by competent judges in the capital ; it is proved by the demand already made on Tien-Tsin residents to prepare estimates of losses sustained, in order to immediate payment by the Chinese Government. And all this while the villains—who tore down our chapels, searched in them for the missionaries with avowed intent to kill them ; beat and killed the native Christians ; cut in pieces foreign officials, and cut off the breasts, ran spears through, and ripped open the bodies of innocent and defenceless women—are still running at large, vaunting their blood-stained booty, boasting of their valour in perpetrating these diabolical deeds of crime and shame, and stirring up the people to commit further outrages.”

We feel confident that Sister Louise will receive from Holy Church at no distant day the bright aureola of the martyrs of Christ ; but whilst amidst the white-robed army she followeth the Lamb, and waits this earthly tribute to her devoted heroism, we pray her to intercede for those who calumniate her saving religion here at home, that their eyes may be opened to see the wickedness of the course which they pursue, their hearts be led captive to truth, and they themselves be brought to share the manifold blessings of God's mercy, as members of the one true fold.

# MONASTICON HIBERNICUM,

OR,

## A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE ANCIENT MONASTERIES OF IRELAND.

[N.B.—The text of the “Monasticon” is taken *verbatim* from Archdall: the notes marked with numbers are added by the Editors.]

### COUNTY OF CORK.

*Grey Friary*,<sup>13</sup> Dermot M'Carthy Reagh founded this monastery A.D. 1214, For Conventual Franciscans, and dedi-

<sup>13</sup> The MS. History of the Franciscan Order in Ireland, written by F. Francis Ward, O.S.F., in 1632, gives the following details connected with this convent:—“The convent of Cork, called also the *monastery of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Shandon*, was founded in the episcopal city of Cork, in the year 1214, and completed in the year 1229. Father Wadding says that this monastery, on account of its strict observance of regular life, and the piety of the brethren, was formerly called ‘the mirror of all Ireland.’ It was erected into a *custodia* in the year 1260, in the general chapter of Narbonne. It passed to the Friars of the Reformed Observance previous to the year 1500, and remained in their possession till the year 1540, when heresy and persecution began to rage, and it was the first convent in all Ireland that was suppressed by the heretics. It remained desolate till the year 1600, when in the provincialate of F. Maurice Ultan, a residence was erected in that city, and F. William Farris was appointed guardian, and from that time to the present day (1632), the friars labour with great fruit for the salvation of the faithful and the conversion of the heretics. The first founder of the convent was Dermot MacCarthy More, called *Dondraynean*, King of the people of Munster; and some provincial kings of his kindred were buried there in the habit of the Friars Minors. The most powerful family of the MacCarthy's also erected a mausoleum for themselves in that Convent, till, in the course of time, they were divided into several noble families, each of which built a special convent for its own immediate members. Besides the tombs of the MacCarthy's, and of fourteen Knights of Mora, the families of the Barry's and the chief nobles and citizens of that county are buried there. Philip Prendergast, the Treasurer of King John of England, who was one of the greatest benefactors to this house, is also buried there. A curious charter of his to the convent will be found in Wadding. A chapter was held in this convent in 1224, 1288, 1521, and 1533. One of the most remarkable religious of this convent was F. Francis Matthew, who, after being Guardian in Cork, his native city, was appointed Provincial in 1626, and was subsequently Guardian of St. Anthony's, in Louvain. In his writings he assumed the name of *Ursulanus*, and it was in reply to him that Paul Harris wrote his curious *Arktomatrix*, i.e., a whip for the Bear. F. Matthew was put to death for the faith in Cork, in the year 1644.

Grey Friary—Inquisition 5th April, XXX. Elizabeth, finds that Andrew Skiddeis, late of the City of Cork, gent., was seized in fee of the precincts of this priory, with three gardens near Cork; the moiety of a water-mill, the third part of another mill; a pool of water called the Friar's Pool; the right of fishing for salmon in Gaule's weir from sun-set on Saturday to sunrise on Sunday; also one salmon on every Friday out of the said fishery, provided two fish were taken; forty acres of land in the townland of Templenamkahir, with the appurtenances, all the said premises being of the annual value of 40s.; also a park, containing by estimation, one acre, annnal value 5s.; also certain gardens belonging to the friary, annual value 6s.; all the said premises being in the county of Cork, and held from the Queen in capite by knight's services.

“Ordnance Survey MS., R.I.A.” vol. iv., p. 52.

tated it to the Virgin Mary; the founder dying in the year 1219, his son Fineen continued the work, and the Lord Philip Prendergast, of Newcastle, was a great benefactor, having rebuilt this house in the year 1240;<sup>o</sup> although other writers affirm that the Bourks were the parents of the second foundation.<sup>d</sup>

A.D. 1244. On the 15th of October King Henry III. granted the sum of £20 to be paid on the feast of All Saints yearly, to buy one hundred tunics for the use of the Franciscan Friars of Dublin, Waterford, Cork, Athlone, and Kilkenny.<sup>o</sup>

1291. A general chapter of the order was held here.<sup>oo</sup>

1293. King Edward I. granted to the Friars Minor of Dublin, Waterford, Cork, Limerick, and Drogheda, an annual pension of thirty-five marks.<sup>t</sup> Several liberates for the payment of this pension remain on record.

1317. The friars of this monastery complained, that they were indicted and impleaded in the King's courts, contrary, as they alleged, both to the common and ecclesiastical laws.<sup>s</sup>

1371. Philip Prendergast, a descendant of the founder, made a grant to this friary.<sup>h</sup>

1500. Before this year the Franciscans of the strict observance had reformed this convent.<sup>i</sup>

Many illustrious persons were interred here, particularly Cormac M'Donald, King of Desmond, in 1247; M'Finin, who was killed in the Lord Stanton's court in 1249; Dermot, surnamed the Fat, in 1275; Donald Rufus, in 1300; and Thady, the son of Donald, King of Desmond, in 1413.<sup>k</sup>

The Franciscans of this monastery were called the friars of Scandun.<sup>l</sup>

26th May, 8th Queen Elizabeth, this friary, with its appurtenances and forty acres of land in the town of Templenemarhyr, also a park containing one acre and an half and a stank, with seven gardens, parcel of the possessions of the friary, were granted to Andrew Skydie and his heirs, in capite, at the annual rent of 58s. 8d. sterling.<sup>u</sup>

This building, which stood on the north side of the city, is now entirely demolished.

*Dominican Friary*,<sup>14</sup> this monastery, called the abbey of

<sup>o</sup> War. Mss. vol. 34, p. 135, and Mon. <sup>d</sup> Allemande. <sup>o</sup> King, p. 308. <sup>oo</sup> Clynn. Annal. <sup>t</sup> King, p. 308. <sup>e</sup> Annal. Munst. <sup>h</sup> Wadding. <sup>i</sup> Id. <sup>k</sup> King, p. 307. <sup>l</sup> Wadding. <sup>u</sup> Aud. Gen.

<sup>14</sup> Dominican Friary.—Inquisition 25th June, XXVII. Elizabeth, finds that David Goulde was seized in fee of three parts of the precincts of this friary, three parts of the moiety of a salmon fishery, three parts of a water-mill, three parts of a certain arable and pasture land belonging to the friary; annual value £6.

"Ordnance Survey MS., R.I.A.," vol. iv., p. 67.

St. Mary of the Island,<sup>m</sup> was founded in the year 1229.<sup>n</sup> Philip de Barry, who arrived here to assist Robert Fitz-Stephen, his uncle, in his conquests in this country, was a principal benefactor to these friars, and his equestrian statue in brass, was formerly in this church.<sup>o</sup><sup>15</sup>

A.D. 1333, 13th January, 8th King Edward III., a liberate issued for the payment of one year's annual pension to the Dominican friars of Cork, Drogheda, Dublin, Waterford, and Limerick.<sup>p</sup>

1340. John le Blound was prior.<sup>q</sup>

<sup>m</sup>*Bourke*. <sup>n</sup>*Ann. de Trim.* *King. p. 87.* <sup>o</sup>*War. Mon.* <sup>p</sup>*King, p. 87.* <sup>q</sup>*Id. p. 90.*

<sup>15</sup> This house was founded for friars-preachers, or Dominicans, by Philip de Barry, a Welsh knight, ancestor of the noble family of Barrymore, in the county of Cork. A bronze equestrian statue of the founder was preserved in the church by the community, as a monument of pious gratitude, until the suppression of the convent under Henry VIII. The convent was dedicated to the Blessed Virgin; and, from its insular site—being built on one of the great marshes of “the five-isled city”—was called “St. Mary’s of the Island.” The church attached to the convent is noticed in the history of the order as having been magnificent—“Magnifica Ecclesia.” Soon after its erection, David Mackelly, dean of Cashel, took the habit of a Dominican in this house; in 1237 he was consecrated bishop of Cloyne; next year, being succeeded in the chair of St. Colman by a brother Dominican, Allan O’Sullivan, he was translated to the Metropolitan see of Cashel. Archbishop David introduced into the arch-diocese an affiliation of friars-preachers from Cork, and built for his brethren a beautiful church and abbey, at a short distance from his own cathedral, on the rock of Cashel. His name is celebrated in the works of many foreign and domestic writers. In 1245 he assisted at the first general council at Lyons, to the acts of which his name is subscribed.

A charter, confirmed by assent of King Edward II., was granted, in 1317, by Sir Roger de Mortimer and his council in favour of the Dominican community, by which the ward or custody of the gate of the lately-erected city walls, nearest to the abbey of St. Mary’s, should be committed to the mayor, bailiffs, and other trusty men, and free passage to and from the city should be given to the friars, and, for their sake, to other good citizens.

Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March and Ulster, father of the Heir-Presumptive to the crown of England, and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, when he came to Cork took up his viceregal residence in the Dominican convent. He died in that house on St. Stephen’s day, 1381, and, as is supposed, was buried in St. Mary’s Isle.

A friar of the order of Preachers from Cork, and thence called Fr. Joannes Corcagiensis, was Archbishop of Cologne in 1461.—(See Supplement of Hib. Dom., page 866.)

The Convent of Cork, with the houses of Dominicans in Youghal, Limerick, and Coleraine, were in 1509, erected into “a congregation of strict observance,” under the direction of a Vicar-General of the Order, which congregation was solemnly approved in the general chapter in Rome, A.D. 1518. A few years later all the Dominican communities of Ireland, inside and outside *the Pale*, being restored to discipline, and united in spirit, were formed into a distinct Province of the Order, to be governed by an Irish Provincial, freely chosen in Chapter.

The monastery of the Island at Cork, with all its appurtenances, lands, water mills, salmon weirs, fishing pools, &c., was confiscated to the Crown, in 1544, and sold to a person named William Boureman, at a head rent of six shillings and nine-pence a year! The Friars, nevertheless, maintained possession for a long time afterwards, and though often obliged to disguise and hide themselves, they never abandoned the hope of regaining their ancient Convent, in which, at intervals, during “the troublesome times,” they contrived to live in community until the reign of William III.

In the reign of Queen Elizabeth, Matthew Sheyne, Protestant Bishop of Cork,

1355. Another liberate issued on 4th of May for the payment of the same pension.<sup>r</sup>

1381. Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March and Ulster, and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, died in this monastery on the 26th of December,<sup>s</sup> and John Colton being appointed Lord Justice, took the oath of office in this house, on the following day.<sup>t</sup>

<sup>r</sup> *King*, p. 87. <sup>s</sup> *Cox*, vol. 1, p. 135. <sup>t</sup> *War. Bps* p. 84.

ordered the image of St. Dominic to be dragged from "the Abbey of the Isle" to the High Cross of the City, where it was publicly committed to the flames, and burnt to ashes, amidst the tears of the persecuted Catholic citizens.

At the commencement of the reign of James I., the Friars began to repair their convent and church. Religious persecution soon stopt the work of restoration in the old Catholic churches and abbeys. In 1616 we find a grant made to Sir John King, of the church, steeple, monastery, &c., of St. Dominic, in Cork.

A middle Chapter of the Fathers of the Irish Dominican Province, was held in the Convent of Cork, at which Father James O'Hurly, subsequently Bishop of Emly, presided, which is specially noticed in the Acts of the General Chapter of Rome, in 1644. Several of the Friars there assembled, became soon after illustrious as bishops and martyrs for the faith in the time of persecution.

Father John O'Morrogh, a distinguished preacher in this convent is said, in the Annals of the Order to have flourished about the year 1640.

1642. The Dominican Order completely restored in Ireland. There were flourishing, in the short interval of peace for the Catholic Church, 43 houses, and 600 Friars of the order of St. Dominic.

1644. The Catholics expelled from Cork, by order of Lord Inchiquin.

The year 1647 was marked by the glorious martyrdom of Father Richard Barry, a Cork Dominican, then Prior of Cashel, who, having valiantly stood up for the defence of the sanctuary in the Cathedral of Cashel, and refused to accept his life, on condition of stripping himself of his religious habit, and assuming a secular dress, was condemned to be burned alive on the summit of the Rock of Cashel, and having heroically suffered in the flames for the space of two hours, was transfigured through the side with a sword. Four days after, when the Parliamentary forces had retired, the Vicar-General, with the Notary Apostolic Henry O'Callanan, having judicially examined the proofs of his martyrdom, conveyed his sacred remains in solemn procession and with joyful anthems to the beautiful cloister of his Convent, where, perhaps, they are reposing undisturbed to the present day.

In 1648, Dominic de Burgo, a young professed member of the Order of Preachers, and near relative of the Earl of Clanricarde, was made prisoner on board of the ship in which he had taken his passage to Spain, to pursue his studies. He was thrown into prison at Kinsale, whence he made his escape by jumping from the top of the gaol wall down on the sea-shore. For two days he lay concealed in a neighbouring wood, all covered with mud, without clothing, food, or drink. At length he found shelter under the hospitable roof of the Roches in that neighbourhood, probably of Garrettstown. He was, at a later period of life, the celebrated Bishop of Elphin, for whose head or capture the government offered a large reward, and to whom Oliver Plunket, the martyred Archbishop of Armagh, wrote from his dungeon, warning him of the attempts of the Privy Council against his life. He died in exile.

In 1651, Father Eneas Ambrose O'Cahil, an eloquent preacher, and zealous missionary in Cork, being recognised as a Friar of a Dominican community, was rushed upon by a troop of Cromwell's soldiers, cut to pieces with their sabres, and his limbs were scattered about to be trampled under foot. At this time, indeed, a most furious persecution raged, the effects of which, on the condition of the Dominican Order in Ireland, are thus described in one of the Acts of the General Chapter held in Rome A.D. 1656:—"An abundant harvest of those who in our Irish



1400. September 18th, an annual pension of thirty marks was granted to the Dominicans of Cork, Dublin, Waterford, Limerick, and Drogheda.<sup>u</sup>

<sup>u</sup> *King. p. 87.*

province. have suffered cruel torments for the Catholic faith, has been gathered, in these our days, into the celestial granary ; since of forty-three convents which the Order possessed in this island, not a single one survives to-day, which the fury of the heretical persecutor hath not either burned or levelled to the ground or diverted to profane uses. In these religious establishments, there were counted about six hundred, of which but the fourth part is now in the land of the living, and even that number is dispersed in exile ; the remainder died martyrs at home, or were cruelly transported to the island of Barbadoes." Among other facts connected with this period, it is recorded that Father Thomas Fitzgerald, a Dominican, a good priest, combining great zeal and piety, with primitive simplicity of manners, dressed himself as a peasant, and in that assumed garb, served the Catholics of Cork during the entire period of Cromwell's usurpation. Father Eustace Maguire, of the convent of Cork, was no less distinguished, in the time of terror and persecution, for his intrepid courage, than for his meek piety and religious zeal. Being chosen by the Catholics as governor of the castle of Druimeagh, near Kanturk, he so guarded and defended it during the period of Cromwell's wars, that it was never taken or surrendered.

In 1689. King James II. landed at Kinsale, and proceeded thence to Cork. On his arrival in this city, the king lodged in the house of the Dominican Friars, and on Sunday heard mass in the Church of the Franciscans, called the North Abbey.

At the accession of William, Prince of Orange, the most persecuting laws were enacted against the Catholic clergy and people. The Dominican Friars fled from St. Mary's Island, of which they never after were able to resume possession. The Convent was used for the residence of the Governor or Mayor of the City. It was called, in after times, the Great House of St. Dominic's, and became the town mansion of the Earl of Inchiquin.

About the year 1698, Father John Morrogh, O.S.D., not being able to escape from the city, on account of illness, was taken prisoner, thrown into irons in Cork jail, where he found rest in a pious death. in the year 1702. About the same time, Father Walter Fleming, O.S.D., came to Cork, whence he sailed to France, in company with Father John O'Heyn (author of the interesting Dominican history, called *Epilogus Chronologicus*), and having sailed the year after for Ireland, with Father Daniel M'Donnel of the same Order, both Friars were seized on board before they came on shore, and more than a year were kept in chains and close confinement in Cork jail, whence they were allowed to take shipping again for France.

In the beginning of the 18th century Father Ambrose O'Connor, appointed Provincial of Ireland while in Spain, privately returned home, and made his visitation in this country, providentially escaping the spies who were in search for him. In the Memorial or Report of his Visitation as Provincial, which he drew up for Pope Clement IX. in 1704, he states that he found about ninety Dominican missionaries working in the service of religion, but living in concealed places, and that five were confessing the faith in prison.

The fury of the persecution somewhat abating about the time of the Hanoverian succession, the scattered Dominicans of Ireland cautiously began to unite and form themselves into communities. The friars of Cork lived together in the narrow obscure lane in the northern district of this city, off Shandon-street, called to this day Friary-lane. Father Peter M'Carthy was Prior.

1731. In the Report of the Lords' Committee to inquire into the state of Popery in Ireland, one Friary only is returned as being in Cork, with the number of friars unknown.

In 1784, the Dominicans built a more suitable convent and chapel in a more public and convenient place, on the site of old Shandon Castle. They remained here till 1839, when their present beautiful church of St. Mary's, on Pope's Quay, was solemnly dedicated.

*(To be continued.)*

[NEW SERIES.]

## THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

JANUARY, 1871.

### CLAIMS OF THE IRISH COLLEGE, PARIS, ON THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT, IN VIRTUE OF TREATIES WITH FRANCE.

TREATING, in a late number, of the claims of the Irish College, Paris, on the British Government, we made good the following points :—

1st—That Sir John Leach, in pronouncing the judgment of the Privy Council on the claims of the Irish College, and in making the judgment of Lord Gifford in the case of the Douay College, a precedent, distorted and misapplied his Lordship's judgment, and that the cases, so far from being alike, were opposed in all essential particulars.

2ndly—That the fund from which the Irish College should have received compensation more than fifty years ago, has been misappropriated and spoliated.

3rdly—That if the fund has been expended on other purposes belonging to the Public Service, the Treasury is bound to make restitution from the public revenues in its custody.

We proceed now to answer a question of which we gave notice in our last, viz. : *Upon what authority did the Government apply the fund, out of which the Irish College should have received its compensation, to purposes other than those indicated by the Treaties in question ?* This may appear to be a simple question ; and one might expect we should answer it simply, and in an off-hand manner. This, however, we regret, cannot be so. On the contrary, we have before us a tedious and troublesome inquiry, and we must request in advance the patience of our readers, more especially as we are likely to meet on our way several incidental matters that may have an important bearing upon the main issue of these papers.

But before entering on our subject, we shall take leave to remark, that the question we propose places us in an attitude which to some may appear rather bold and presuming. We may be asked, Do we mean to question the uprightness of the Government in dealing with the trust fund confided to its administration in virtue of an International Treaty? Do we mean to cast distrust and discredit on the Public Service of the country? We reply, there is nothing more remote from our wishes than to make a gratuitous attack on the Government, either past or present, or any department of the Public Service. But we have a task to perform—a just and legitimate task. We have undertaken to vindicate the rights of a national institution in a foreign land, and to repair an injury inflicted upon it more than half a century ago, and yet remaining unredressed. If, in the prosecution of this task, awkward facts shall meet us, we do not think that we should be diverted from our course in order to avoid disclosures, however painful, and in every way undesirable, it may be to bring them to light.

But need we an apology? Responsibility, and therefore publicity, are they not of the essence of free institutions, like those under which we live? Does not the Government of these realms profess to do its work in the open face of day? Does not our whole political system warn every department of the Public Service, and every officer in the public employment, that there must be no “hidden things of darkness” in the discharge of their official duties, and that “nothing is covered that sooner or later shall not be revealed, nor hid that shall not be known.”

We therefore offer no apology. Nay, we avail ourselves of no more than the simple right of every citizen, however humble, to make the inquiry we put before us. We therefore ask the question again with all confidence, *Upon what authority did the British Government apply the fund out of which the Irish College should have received its compensation to purposes other than those indicated by the Treaties in question?*

A Government, as every one knows, is a complex machine, consisting of various departments for their respective purposes. It is frequently, therefore, a work of difficult analysis to fix responsibility, or apportion the just measure of praise or censure, of merit or fault, in public affairs. And in our present inquiry we are concerned with no less than three distinct departments, viz., the several Commissions that from time to time had charge of the fund on which the Irish College had its claims, the Lords of the Treasury, and the Imperial Legislature.

Beginning with the Commissions, the first was that which

was appointed under the Treaty of 1815, between Great Britain and France, and which was composed partly of English and partly of Frenchmen, and continued their operations until 1818. We have no charge to bring against this Commission of applying the fund placed at its disposal outside the provisions of the Treaty. We shall remark, however, *en passant*, that it was to it that the claim of the Irish College, amounting at the time to £3,398 15s. 2d. a-year, was presented by the Very Rev. Paul Long, the then Administrator-General of the Irish Foundations in France; that it registered the claim as presented *as legitimate*, and, of course, included it in the approximate estimate of the total amount deemed necessary afterwards to satisfy the various claimants according to the intents and purposes of the further Treaty of 1818, of which we will have occasion later on to speak more at large. Well would it have been for the Irish College if this mixed and, therefore, impartial tribunal had the adjudication of its claim. But owing, perhaps, to the fact that it stood low on the register of claims, or to changes in the administration of the College itself at this period, or to both causes combined, the claim was held over, and passed on with other reserved claims to the succeeding Commission in 1818.

This second Commission owed its appointment to a special Treaty agreed to between the two Powers, and having for object, as its preamble indicates, the final arrangement of the claims of his Majesty's subjects, in order to effect the payment and entire extinction, as well of the "capital as of the interest thereon, due to them;" for which object it provided a capital producing an annual interest of 3,000,000 francs, in addition to the 3,500,000 francs annually already provided by the Treaty of 1815. It was exclusively composed of Englishmen, and exercised its functions in England until 1826. The members were appointed directly by the Government, at the head of which was Lord Liverpool, with Lord Eldon as Lord Chancellor of England, two characters specially distinguished at the time, as they are still notorious in history, for their unrelenting hostility to the rights of their Roman Catholic fellow-subjects. It is also worthy of remark, that the period was one of great religious strife, calculated to envenom sectarian bigotry to the highest degree, on account of the struggle for Emancipation which the Catholics of the empire were carrying on with such vigour and perseverance. We are consequently prepared for the supercilious disdain with which the gentlemen of this Commission treated the claim of our time-honoured national Establishment in Paris.

Already had they rejected the claims of the Douay and

other English Catholic Colleges in France, but they had condescended to give a hearing to their case, and arrived at an award by what had, at least, the appearance of a judicial proceeding. Then came the case of the Irish College; *it was a mere Irish affair, it was unworthy of being entertained.* Consequently, without the formality even of an award, the Commissioners directed their secretary or some other official to notify to the representative of the Irish College, that he should consider his claim as included in the disallowed claims of the English Colleges already disposed of. The Administrator could have well represented, as we have abundantly shown in these papers, how, instead of analogous, the two cases stood upon entirely different footings, and that the reasons that militated against the English Colleges spoke in favour of the Irish establishment. But it was *a mere Irish affair*, and that was an "*ultima ratio*" of the case. But we find that whilst these gentlemen were pretending "to strain at a gnat," when disposing of the Irish College, they had no difficulty in "swallowing a camel," in dealing with other applications. In looking over their proceedings we find, amongst others, the enormous misapplication of £130,000; for what purpose may it be supposed?—for the expenses of the coronation of George IV.!! This fact we find revealed in the History of England, in French, by *Roujoux and Mainguet* in 4<sup>o</sup>, 1847, t. 2, p. 690. Need we ask the question, upon what authority did these Commissioners make this enormous allocation for a purpose that had as little to do as the Alabama claims with the Treaty which they were appointed to administer. But before parting with them, we have another little account to settle—a two-penny affair, likely, it appeared to them. To our readers, however, the amount will appear more serious. Under the provisions of the Act of Parliament to which they owed their appointment and authority, they were to have been paid their expenses and salaries by deducting two *per cent.*, on the amount of all the claims to be liquidated by them; but this appeared to them a paltry provision, and we, therefore, find in their accounts the sum of £132,178, and a further sum of £122,414 13s. 3d., making a total of £254,592 13s. 3d., instead of, or in addition to (we do not know which), the two *per cent.* allowed them by the statute; and to take a friendly farewell of their Commission, they had the modesty to take credit to themselves at the close of their labours, for a year's salary in advance,—in advance—that is, to borrow a phrase from the trade, "for work and labour" **UNDONE** and **NEVER TO BE DONE**. And, yet, to the very last, the Irish College can find no access to their sympathies. No compunctious visitings come upon them for their injustice to the Irish College, Paris.

We now proceed to the other Commissions. They are respectively of the dates 1826, 1830, 1833, and lastly, 1849. When the Commission of 1818 had terminated its mission in 1826, it laid before Parliament "an account of its stewardship," and exhibited a balance of 700,000 francs annual revenue, representing a capital of 14,000,000 francs or £560,000. But M. Le Baron, the French authority whom we quoted in our last, finding access to the half-yearly accounts as previously reported to Parliament, discovers this balance to be inaccurate, and, that instead of a surplus of 14,000,000 francs, it should be 64,776,132 francs or £2,596,000 odd.

However, the Commissioners passed the amount reported by themselves into the Treasury, and so washed their hands out of their responsibilities.

We have now the Lords of the Treasury committed to a joint responsibility with the new Commissioners, the former holding the trust-fund in their safe-keeping, and the latter investigating and adjudicating the claims as they came before them. We will, therefore, treat both as in a common cause, and we shall dispose of the several Commissions above enumerated *in globo*, as the observations we purpose making shall have the same application to each.

As the new Commission of 1826 was installed, we find them, as one of their first acts, making order on the Treasury for £250,000 for the repairs and improvement of Buckingham Palace. Casting our eyes further over their disbursements we meet the enormous amounts, some of which we enumerated in our former article. By what authority were these sums taken out of the fund, from which, let us constantly remember, the Irish College should have received its compensation. The treaties of 1814, 1815, and 1818, between England and France, are yet in existence; they are an international compact between two great countries, and are guaranteed, moreover, by the Great Powers of Europe that had been combined in war against France. And the compact, so far from authorizing such disbursements, is most distinct and precise in fixing the application of the fund, also of any surplus that might remain after such application. Reserving for the moment, the observations we have to make, we prefer that other authorities should speak first, and applying the rule "*ex uno disce omnes*," we will listen to the *Times*, as it thunders out on the Buckingham Palace affair. We quote from its issue of 29th April, 1828, the following leading article:—

"Within these few days we adverted to a strange occurrence which had come to light, involving the disposition of a sum of public money reputed to amount to £250,000. The subject

is as delicate as it is painful. After the peace of 1814, a considerable number of British subjects preferred claims upon the French Government for indemnification of losses sustained through acts of that Government or its officers. After some negotiations between the two Courts, that of France handed over a sum of money to Great Britain in full satisfaction of the claims as estimated, leaving the detailed distribution of it to the British Government, as the claims of its own subjects might be decided on by its own tribunals. A Commission for the investigation and settlement of these claims was appointed by the ministers of the day. After intervals of no very short duration (including several years), two classes of claimants were successively satisfied or rejected, and at last the Commission closed its sittings, declaring in substance, as is said, that no further demands could be authenticated, and that no further distribution of the fund ought to be made by the Government of Great Britain. A large balance of from £200,000 to £300,000 was thus left unappropriated in the hands of the British Treasury; and the money so left, became beyond all question, public property, to be accounted for to Parliament, and not disposed of without its sanction. By a stroke of the pen, however, it is said, that the First Lord of the Treasury transferred this large balance of public money from the Treasury where Parliament ought to have found it, to another department. The affair we presume will undergo a rigid investigation."

This article elicited the following letter, which we find in the *Times* under date 2nd May, 1828:—

"TO THE EDITOR—Sir, the misappropriation referred to in your paper of Tuesday last, or the misappropriation—to use a gentle word—of a sum reported to amount to £250,000 is a very serious one. The really unappropriated balance, however, of money received from the French Government, to enable the British Government to satisfy the claimants alluded to, is supposed to nearly double that sum. What adds to the scandal of the transaction is, that the claimants are in fact *not* satisfied. The case, I believe, stands nearly thus. When the separation of the mixed Commission took place, which was established in Paris in 1815 to manage the fund for indemnifying the subjects of the belligerent powers for the losses they had sustained through the French Revolution and the subsequent wars, each power received a share, and engaged to settle with its own subjects,—his Grace the Duke of Wellington having been unanimously appointed to make the division among the powers. The British Commission was then transferred to London, and out of the sum apportioned to Great

Britain, one part was destined to satisfy the claimants under the Convention No. 7 of the treaty of November 20, 1815, who were, I think, all English by birth, and the other to satisfy those under Convention No. 13, who had become British in the course of the war, and remained so at the peace, such as the inhabitants of the Mauritius, the Ionian Islands, &c. Many of the claims under both heads have been rejected, I conclude, for sufficient reasons. Those which were admitted under Convention No. 7 have been liquidated in full, principal and interest, whilst those under Convention No. 13 have only received £53 18s. 9d. per cent., and are refused the remaining £46 1s. 3d. per cent., under the *plea that there is no more money*. Now, Sir, the inquiry should be made, by whom, and on what principle, a given sum was at the outset set apart for one class of claimants, and another sum for another? Surely it could not have been with the view of creating a large surplus on the one hand and leaving a deficit on the other. The whole sum obtained should be divided as far as it will go among those whose claims have been admitted, and who have all an equitable right to be paid in full. I have reason to believe that the overplus balanced under Convention 7 would be far more than sufficient to pay the remaining £46 1s. 3d. per cent. due to the claimants under Convention 13. How unwarrantable then is the abstraction of a large sum out of the surplus under Convention 7, at the very moment when a large class of claimants, who, I contend, have a right to be satisfied in full from the sum levied upon France for the specific purpose, have been paid little more than one-half of what the Commissioners have admitted to be due to them. The question cannot rest where it is.

FIAT JUSTITIA.

“London, May 1.”

The *Times* returns to the subject, and gives the following leader on the 28th June, 1828:—

“On the affair of the £250,000, a part of the sum *given* by the French Government for satisfying the claims of British subjects, and really applied to the building of the new palace, we have a remark or two to make which we overlooked yesterday, but which, we venture to think, of some importance. With respect to the remaining claims of British subjects, though many of them we have no doubt are well founded, yet are the proofs required of the validity of those claims of so difficult a nature, and probably now, that another object is found for the money, the ears of the Commissioners so dull of hearing, that we shrewdly suspect it is not intended or contemplated to bestow one farthing more upon those in whose behalf the money was first demanded. What then



ought really to be done with this excess, if we were an honest and upright-minded people, if our Government were just and equitable? Unquestionably it ought to be returned to France.

"The French Government paid a covenanted sum to ours, in lieu of all demands of a certain kind to be made by British subjects. The whole of that sum was not expended on the objects for which it was destined. Then what ought to become of the residue? Why it ought, we again assert, to be returned to the French. They are probably too proud to request it. But we know that they will also, hereafter, have a strict logical right to advance this extortion transaction as a proof of the bad faith of Great Britain, of her rapacious and perfidious practices in pecuniary transactions; that she has screwed more money than she ought to have required from France for a certain purpose, and has applied a part of what she received to building regal palaces. It is out of French money that the palace of the kings of England is partly built—out of French money advanced by that people to satisfy the demands of certain English people. We again say that a high-minded Government would restore the £250,000 to France."

We shall next quote no less a personage than Lord Lyndhurst. His Lordship took a prominent part in a debate in the House of Lords on August 1st, 1853, the subject being the administration of the fund we are treating of. As we observed, the Treasury and Commissioners are in the same boat, and his Lordship prefers in his observations taking the former to task. His words, as we find them in the *Times* of next morning, are to the following effect:—"It was asserted by a great law authority that a corporation had no conscience. How far that was applicable to the Treasury it was not for him to determine. They saw in the public papers cases where conscientious persons sent money to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, which they ought to have paid, but they might look in vain for any instance of reciprocity on the part of that functionary. The footsteps were all one way. But *nulla vestigia retrorsum*. In his long experience of public men, he had never known a case in which money was paid back again when it had once been got in. The genius at the head of the Government, represented by the noble Earl and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, stood at the entrance of the Treasury, stern, inflexible, and obdurate—'*Quam si dura silex aut stet Marpesia cautes*.'"

Such are the scathing words in which the great statesman upbraids the Treasury as being inexorable to the claims of simple justice, and puts it into the inextricable dilemma of

pleading guilty to the charge of having no conscience, or of granting the claim he urged on the occasion.

We, on our part, urging the claim of the Irish College, press the same argument, and give the Government the option of saying to us, "the Treasury has no conscience," or of admitting our claim.

But his Lordship bears down with yet greater force upon the Treasury. Like ourselves, he would ask upon what authority the Treasury applied the trust fund in question to purposes other than those stipulated; and, employing the weapon of sarcasm, of which he was so distinguished a master, he puts forward, by way of hypothesis, *extreme necessity* as the pretence—extreme necessity, which makes all things common, and abrogates all law of right and property. His words, as reported by the *Times*, are:—"The answer he would make, and he would make it with shame, would be, that this country was so poor, so wretched, and had so little means, that it had appropriated the funds allotted by Parliament for these claimants to discharge the debts due to the French Government." Extreme necessity!! the phrase in his lordship's mouth means, more forcibly than if he were to say in express words, extreme injustice, extreme fraud, extreme perfidy.

But we will quote another great authority, one who, like Lord Lyndhurst, sat upon the woolsack in his day, and who took part in the same debate. It is Lord Truro. He spoke as follows, according to the *Times* of the same date:—"The French Government paid over certain sums of money to this country; the sums to be paid to one class of claimants, being wholly distinct from those which were to be paid to another; and these trust funds Parliament was bound by contract with the French Government to apply according to the condition on which they were given. This, however, they have not done; they appropriated the money to other uses."

To these terrible condemnations we will add a few sober reflections from ourselves.

It is to be recollected that the several Commissions were appointed for the purpose of administering the Treaties we have referred to, and of disbursing the funds placed in their hands, according to the express terms of those Treaties. Consequently we should expect them to follow a uniform rule, and to be directed by fixed principles taken from the terms of the Treaties. The contrary, however, we find to be the case. Each succeeding Commission calls up for liquidation, and award claimants disallowed by preceding Commissions, thereby showing that arbitrary rule was their sole guidance in the distribution of the money.

We also find that these several Commissions were called into existence by minutes of the Lords of the Treasury, which arrogate the authority of dispensing with the stipulations of the Treaties. Thus, for instance, by the minute appointing the Commission in 1826, the Treasury prolongs the time fixed for claimants by the treaties to present their claims. Also we find that the Treasury minute creating the Commission of 1830, grounds itself "*upon the mere bounty of His Majesty, upon the liberality of the Crown,*" assuming the right of distributing a part of the fund amongst individuals who had no claim whatever upon it under the Treaties; and by the minute creating the Commission of 1832, its decisions are declared beforehand as "*final and unassailable, being an act of grace and favour.*" These several minutes, placed side by side with the Treaties, bear their own comment. If the decisions of the Commissioners were to be regulated according to the Treaties which they had to administer, there should be no room for "*the mere bounty of his Majesty,*" "*the liberality of the Crown,*" "*acts of grace and favour.*" Justice before liberality. But the Lords of the Treasury, and the Commissioners, inverted the rule, setting at nought the Treaties and their express stipulations.

We have associated the Lords of the Treasury and the Commissioners in a joint responsibility. They acted in a *vicious circle*. The Lords of the Treasury appointed the several Commissions from 1826, and gave them their orders respecting the fund. The Commissioners, on their part, made orders for payment on the Treasury, so that the Treasury cast the responsibility of its payments on the Commissioners, and the Commissioners, in turn, cast the responsibility of their orders on the Treasury, in pursuance of the minutes of their appointment. Nevertheless, the poor Irish College, Paris, injured and robbed though it had been by the French Revolution, admitted though it had been by the first Commission acting in France to a right of compensation, could never obtain admission within the circle of the Lords of the Treasury and the Commissioners, even "*by the mere bounty of His Majesty,*" or "*the liberality of the Crown,*" or by any "*acts of grace or favour.*"

But, after all, the Lords of the Treasury and the Commissioners of the Fund must have some support at their back—some plea to exculpate them in the exercise of such authority. It cannot be expected that they would have recklessly and capriciously cast to the right and to the left hundreds of thousands of pounds confided to them as a sacred deposit, under the guarantee of International Treaties. Here we have

arrived at the most serious, and, we must add, the most distressing part of our case. We find ourselves at this point standing in the actual presence of the Imperial Legislature. No well-affected citizen should think or speak otherwise than with respect and reverence of the exalted institution to which are entrusted our properties, our liberties, and our lives, and which is allowed a species of omnipotence in the unbounded sway it exercises over all our institutions and the countless interests of the great commonwealth. But "*humanum est errare*" has been, unfortunately, a truth from the beginning, and everywhere that human nature has to act, we find the traces of human weakness, and too often of human perversity. Reserving the latter epithet, we would say that Parliament has its moments of distraction, weariness, and drowsiness, and it happens sometimes that when those who should watch fall asleep, "the cockle is sown among the wheat," and thus enactments find their way to the Statute Book, which virtuous and honourable men have reason to be ashamed of. What are we preparing our readers to expect? Nothing less than the legislative anomaly of a National Legislature annulling and abrogating International Treaties. How is this? Let us bear in mind that the subject matter about which we are concerned is the trust fund confided by France to this country for specific purposes. These purposes are declared on the face of the Treaties. But the British Legislature interposes its authority, and by Act of Parliament directs the application of the fund to other purposes. The Treaties are the well-known Peace Treaties of 1814, 1815, and 1818, between France and Great Britain. The Act of Parliament is that of 59th year of George III., c. xxxi., intituled "*An Act to enable certain Commissioners fully to carry into effect several conventions for liquidating claims of British subjects and others against the Government of France.*"

The point in which the Treaties and this Act come into conflict, is the surplus of the fund after satisfying the claims specified in the Treaties. *This surplus, the Treaties say, must return to France.* The Act of Parliament says, *No; the surplus must remain in this country for such purposes as the Commissioners of the Treasury shall direct the Commissioners of Liquidation, Arbitration, and Award.*

We shall put in juxta-position the text of the Treaties and of the Act. The Treaty of 1815, article 9 of the Convention No. 7, which is one with the other Convention of April 15, 1818, which refers to it in its Preamble, and Article 1st, the latter being the complement of the former, says that "*when all the payments due to the claimants shall have been made, the*

*surplus of unappropriated revenue, with the porportion of accumulated and compound interest which shall belong thereto, shall be returned, if there be any, to the French Government."* On the contrary, our Act of Parliament says, section xvi., that the fund in question was to be transferred to England, and to be invested in Exchequer Bills or other Public Securities, bearing interest "*for the purposes of being applied to the Payments or Liquidation of any such claims,* OR IN CASE ALL SUCH CLAIMS SHALL BE PAID, OR LIQUIDATED, FOR SUCH OTHER PURPOSES AS THE SAID COMMISSIONERS OF TREASURY, FOR THE TIME BEING, OR ANY THREE OF THEM, SHALL DIRECT THE SAID COMMISSIONERS OF LIQUIDATION, ARBITRATION, AND AWARD TO APPLY THE SAME."

Now, the merest tyro-lawyer will pronounce this Act of Parliament to be a nullity. There is no condition more vital or fundamental in legislation than competent authority in the legislating power ; and we do not require to be told that the Imperial Parliament, omnipotent though it be in matters of internal legislation, has no authority whatever over an International Treaty. The Act, therefore, which would authorize the Lords of the Treasury, and the Commissioners appointed by them, to dispose, in the manner they did, of the trust-fund confided to them under the guarantee of an International Treaty, was a nullity, and absolutely void from the commencement. But it was not merely a nullity ; it was a breach of faith—of a nation's faith, pledged by solemn International Treaty. We recollect an eminent judge in one of our own Courts complaining in a particular case from the bench on which he sat, that in administering law he was obliged to violate Justice. The Commissioners of the trust-fund in question, had reason to make the same complaint, that they were required according to law to violate an International Treaty, and perpetrate perfidy in the name of the Imperial Parliament, with a foreign state. Is this language too strong ? If it be deemed so, let us observe that Lord Truro has used stronger terms in stigmatising this Act of Parliament. We quote him from the *Times*, August 2nd, 1853, as he is reported to have spoken in the House of Lords in a debate on the subject of this trust-fund we are treating of. His words are : " The Parliament it was said could do anything except make a man a woman ; but Parliament had no power in one sense to apply the money, of which we were the trustees, for other purposes than those for which that money had been handed over to us. He complained of that Law as WICKED, FRAUDULENT, AND UNJUST.

We are now arrived at the end of our inquiry, starting from

the question—*Upon what authority did the Government apply the fund, out of which the Irish College should have received its compensation, to purposes other than those indicated by the Treaties in question?*

We have followed the fund from France to England, from the mixed Commission appointed under the Treaty of 1815, to the exclusive Commission appointed by the Government in England under the Act of Parliament of 59th year of George III., cap. 33, on which we had to make such painful remarks. We have further followed it from the last-mentioned Commissioners to the British Treasury, and we have seen it in a joint trusteeship between the Lords of the Treasury and other Commissioners appointed by their order. We have seen how both these bodies, acting in concert, or, as we have said, in a *vicious circle*, dissipated the fund on purposes unauthorised by the Treaties, and how they were sustained in so doing by an Act of Parliament, which was a manifest nullity, and which the highest legal authority branded in open Parliament as "WICKED, FRAUDULENT, AND UNJUST."

To these terms of reprobation Lord Truro might add, that the Act was also an impossibility. How is this? We have seen that it was in direct contradiction with the express provisions of the Treaties of 1814, 1815, and 1818. Nevertheless, it refers to these Treaties, and binds the Commissioners by oath to fulfil them, and carry out the Act at the same time; that is, to perform contradictory duties, a task of manifest impossibility. The oath imposed by the Commissioners was literally as follows:—

"I, A. B., one of the Commissioners of Liquidation, Arbitration, and Award, appointed to carry into effect the provisions of several Conventions, concluded between His Majesty and His Most Christian Majesty the King of France, do swear that according to the best of my judgment and knowledge, I will faithfully, impartially, and truly execute the several powers and trusts vested in me by an Act of 59 year of the reign of King George III., entitled *An Act to enable certain Commissioners fully to carry into effect several conventions for liquidating claims of British subjects and others against the Government of France*, according to the tenor and purport of said Act, and according to the true intent and meaning of the said several Conventions. So help me GOD."

We see the Commissioners by this oath placed between the "*tenor and purport of the said Act*" on one side, and the irreconcilable "*intent and meaning of the said several Conventions*" on the other. Their position reminds us of the philosopher's ass between the two bundles of hay; but the money

imparts a superior attraction to the Act of Parliament, and null and void though it was, and "wicked, and fraudulent, and unjust" though it was, they determined their hesitation, if indeed they hesitated at all in that direction, turning their back upon the Treaties, the force and obligation of which were above and beyond the reach of Parliament.

To come to an end, Lord Lyndhurst and Lord Truro helped us a considerable way through this paper, and we shall now avail ourselves of their assistance to conclude it. The former, in the debate in the House of Lords of August 1st, 1853, to which we have more than once alluded, said of the surplus of the fund:—"The balance of this money being thus appropriated and misapplied from its original purposes, would any one say it was not reasonable that the country which had benefited by the appropriation of this property to the public service, should replace that money?" And Lord Truro in the same debate said—"The verdict of the jury which decided in his favour had never been questioned, and in answer to all this he was met by an Act of Parliament. It was an answer which he did not hesitate to say was as disgraceful to this country as it was unjust to the claimant. Everything that they could expect to be done, in order to establish a case, had been done in the case of Baron De Bode, and unless the misapplication of the fund was to be taken as a justification of breach of faith with the French Government, of dishonour to this country, and of gross injustice to the claimant, the demand which had been made would be fully recognized." This case of the Baron De Bode created a great sensation in Parliament and out of Parliament at the time. But every point in it applies strictly to the Irish College, so that *mutato nomine*, the concluding words of these two great statesmen may be taken as enforcing its claims, and obtaining for it the compensation of which it has been so long and so unwarrantably deprived.

## LETTERS OF BALMEZ.

## XII.—MORAL CODE OF THE GOSPEL.

MY ESTEEMED FRIEND—The method you employ in our discussion proves, or rather, as I had already known it, convinces me of one thing, and that is, your want of firmness and moral exactness, of which those who build not on the solid foundations of religion, are totally devoid. It has been said, with much truth, that morality without dogmas, was justice without tribunals. We hear your incredulists raise and enthusiastically proclaim the sublimity of the doctrine of Jesus Christ in everything appertaining to the regulation of the conduct of man ; you confess there is nothing superior or equal in the precepts of ancient or modern philosophers ; you acknowledge there is nothing to add or retrench ; and you do all this with such a tone of sincerity and such apparent *bona fide* as to leave no doubt that if you reject the dogmas of the Christian religion, you at least embrace its code of morality as a philosophical conviction. But then, behold ! you immediately launch into the exposition of some doctrine totally at variance with the morality of the Gospel. You, yourself, have done this in your last letter ; for, after resigning yourself to the abandonment of the trench in which you had fortified yourself concerning *self-love*, you change the argument, but not the object.

You say you agree with me that religion does not destroy, but only rectifies self-love ; and you have no hesitation in acknowledging the objections of your former letter hinged on a false supposition. Nevertheless, you are unwilling to abandon your ground, and insist that the manner in which religion rectifies self-love is too severe, and opposed besides to the instincts of nature. Here we have the application of what I told you a short time ago, viz., that men without religion frequently fall into a manifest contradiction, by praising in one place the moral code of Jesus Christ, and attacking it in another without consideration or respect. You are one of those who recognise the sanctity of the Gospel morality, and yet you do not hesitate to condemn it for what it prescribes concerning the passions. But do you know that to declare a moral code bad or useless, or inapplicable in relation to the passions, is little less than to condemn it in its totality ? Have you not remarked that the greater part of moral precepts deal with the regulation and re-



pression of the passions ? If then, the morality of the Gospel is not suited to them, of what use is it ?

You assert the Gospel precepts are much too severe in their opposition to irresistible instincts of nature ; and as regards some of its counsels, you venture to say it will be hard to persuade you they are comformable with reason and prudence. You hold that the secret of directing the passions is to leave them a safety-valve to avoid an explosion, and regard the neglect of this maxim as one of the capital defects of the code of the Gospel. You do not object to its declaring culpable acts which introduce disturbance into families, and even those which tend to multiply the population, while the fruit of the incontinence is abandoned to public charity ; but you cannot believe its rigor should be carried so far as to prohibit the very thought, and declare him culpable, in the eyes of God, who should admit levity into his heart, though he abstain from everything repugnant to nature, or that could entail injury on the family or society. Avoiding the discussion to which your objection might tend under many aspects, and circumscribing ourselves to the prudential point of view, I maintain the moral code of the Gospel is so profoundly wise and prudent in its so called harshness, that it would be much more harsh if moulded after your doctrines. This assertion may appear to you extravagant, and yet, I flatter myself with being able to support it with such reasons, that you shall find yourself compelled to suscribe to my opinion.

As you appear fond of the study of the heart, I shall venture to ask you, whether, supposing an act to be prohibited, it is more difficult to secure obedience by prohibiting the desire of it also, or allowing it to roam at will ? I hold it as certain, that it is much more easy to make a man avoid what he cannot even desire, than what he cannot do, but the desire of which is not prohibited. It is said there is as little distance between the thought and the execution, as between the head and the arm ; and daily experience tells us that he who has conceived vehement desires of possessing an object, seldom hesitates at employing the means of attaining it.

Precisely in this very matter in which we are engaged reason becomes so blinded, and the passions preponderate to such a degree, that he who allows himself to be hurried away by them becomes degraded and stupified, and disregards his honour, his property, his health, nay, even his very life,—and, in a passion like this, do you think prudence would advise the desire to be permitted but the execution prohibited ? You unhesitatingly assert that the prohibition which extends to the desire is cruel, without adverting that true harshness is

found in your system alone, for it tantalises a man, and presents to him pure and crystalline waters, but will not allow him to quench his thirst. Reflect maturely on these observations, and you shall find that real harshness is found, not in the Gospel, but in your code ; that in yours, under the appearance of indulgent suavity, a real torture is applied to the heart, while, in that of the Gospel, the peace and tranquility of virtuous souls is secured by prudent and timely severity. The man who knows it is not lawful to indulge even in a bad thought, firmly rejects it the moment it occurs to him, and does not allow passion to blind him ; the man who believes there is no sin but in the execution, endeavours to gratify the inclinations of nature, and deceives himself with the hope that pleasure in the thought or desire cannot lead him to commit the act ; but the moment reason and the will abdicate their sovereignty, even under the express condition they should not be carried beyond the limits of duty, it is impossible for them to restrain the turbulent passions which, emboldened by the first concession, would demand to be completely satisfied.

Between religion and the philosophers who, under different names, attack her, there is this great difference:—the former establishes as a principle the absolute necessity of nipping the passions in the bud, believing it will be so much the more difficult to subject or direct them by how much the more growth they are allowed to make ; whilst the latter hold the most irregular passions are to be allowed a certain expansion, beyond which they must be restrained. And is it not strange that this course is pursued by men who have no means of subduing the heart but sterile discourses, whose impotence is manifested whenever they have to struggle with a passion more or less vehement, while religion, which has so many means of influencing the understanding and the will, and lording it over the entire man, adopts quite a different course ? Religion, founded by God Himself, adheres to a prudent rule, and regards the prevention of the evil as better than its cure, applying the remedy when it is insignificant to avoid doing so when it is great ; but clever mortals, opening the dyke for the waters, allow them to flow freely, determined, when they have reached a certain limit, to cry out to them—“ Stay here, farther you shall not go ! ”

I know not, my esteemed friend, if you be convinced by the reasons I have assigned in defence of the moral code of the Gospel, and against that of the philosophic system. You cannot, however, deny these considerations are not to be

despised, as they are founded in the very nature of man, and on the teaching of daily experience. What we have said of the most turbulent and dangerous passion that afflicts miserable mortals, can be applied to all the rest, though the saying that there is no remedy but in flight is peculiarly verified in it, a sentence profoundly wise and prudent, warning a man of how much importance it is not to lose dominion over himself, because once he has given rein to them, it is very difficult to restrain the passions.

We can apply to the individual what happens in society. If the supreme power, whose duty it is to govern, begins to yield to the exigencies of those who should obey, their demands will daily increase, and its authority will become degraded in proportion as it loses ground, until in the end an anarchy supervenes, or an appeal is made to a violent reaction to recover what was lost, and establish rights which should never have been abdicated. The laws of order have an analogy even in their application to very dissimilar things—it might be said to be the self-same law without other modification but what is indispensably necessary to suit it to the species of subject to be governed by it.

I remarked that what I had said of the voluptuous passion could be applied to the others, and I shall make you feel it by attacking you in the most sensitive part, which is philanthropy; for you, philosophers, cannot bear to have your ardent love for humanity called in question. You constantly extol the precept of universal fraternity, which, according to the religion of Jesus Christ, makes all men members of the same family. From this Commandment comes the prohibition to injure our neighbour; and, according to our principle, not only we cannot injure him, but we cannot even entertain the desire of doing so, and look on it as a sin to simply indulge in a thought of vengeance.

Well, now, if we apply your theory to the present case, we shall have to condemn the Christian code as unduly harsh, and limit ourselves to declaring it unlawful to commit an act that may injure our brethren, but illicit to entertain a thought or desire of doing so. And so your fine fraternity may be expressed thus:—"Fellowmen, injure us not by word or deed, for by doing so you would break through the rules of sound morality, and offend the God who created you, not that you might act to each others prejudice, but that you might live together in peace and harmony. Thus far are you bound by the law; but entering into the sanctuary of your own interior, you are at perfect liberty to desire what evil you

wish to other men, certain that by so doing you are guilty of no fault, for God is not so cruel as to prohibit not only the act but even the thought and desire." Does not the precept of charity—of universal fraternity—look rather curious and strange, if explained in this way? And yet it is thus explained by you, for I have done no more than collect together different parts of your system to render the contrast more striking.

The radical vice of such a system consists in its putting the interior at variance with the exterior; in supposing it right to limit moral obligations to external acts; in establishing a species of civil morality which, in ultimate analysis, is nothing more than a purely human jurisprudence, without other object but to secure public tranquillity. This is the result of your doctrines. And it is no way strange; for what more natural, when God is exiled from the world, and no religion admitted—when the divine influence on the acts of men is ignored, than that they should be considered in the purely external order, and have no importance in the eyes of the philosopher but inasmuch as they are capable of producing some exterior good, or causing some exterior evil. By removing God, or what is the same, by destroying religion, you destroy the interior man, and reduce all morality to a combination of well-calculated utilities.

These consequences may be disagreeable to you, and I have no doubt you will make an effort to reject them; but to avoid disputes, I beseech you to turn back and follow the thread of my argument, convinced that if you do so with impartiality, you must acknowledge my words are not false or exaggerated.

In the meantime, to show how palpable are the errors and the inconveniences of the doctrine you hold with such security, I will make an application of this precept of universal fraternity, not considered in its prohibitive but in its preceptive part. Once admitted the evil of actions is in the external act alone, we must also admit their goodness will be in the exterior also; and so we shall perform a laudable act by doing good to our neighbour, but not by desiring it. But do you know whither this principle leads us? Would you believe it does nothing less than destroy at one fell swoop that universal fraternity so extolled by the philanthropy of philosophers? What is the love which is limited to exterior acts? Is any love true which does not exist in the heart? Is it not this which language indicates, when it distinguishes between beneficence and benevolence—the doing good and the desiring

it? Is not the latter as well as the former a praiseworthy virtue? If a person cannot be beneficent, because he lacks the means, is he not worthy of praise if he be benevolent, that is, if he has the desire of doing the good which it is out of his power to accomplish? If a person does good, does he not desire it before he does it? That is to say, is not the beneficent man benevolent first? And is he not beneficent because he is benevolent? I do not know whether you will look at things from this point of view, but I can say for myself I consider the desire and the act so united, that they appear to me things of the same order, and as if the one were the complement of the other. And, as far as beneficence is concerned, I will go farther, when I represent to myself a man who does good from any motive whatever, but at the same time does not entertain in his heart an affectionate desire, which impels him to act; that is, when I see beneficence without benevolence, either I do not conceive an act of virtue there, or at least, I find it lame and devoid of the beautiful adornments that render it agreeable and enchanting.

Now, my dear friend, you must see the Christian religion is not so far astray in introducing herself into internal acts—in extending her commandments and prohibitions even to the most hidden things we execute in the lowest depths of our conscience; and that to accuse her of harshness in the matter is to upset not only religious morality, but even that taught by the light of reason. Thus are things joined which appeared quite distant; thus are virtues united with an intimacy so close, that whoever dares to deny one finds himself obliged to reject many others, which, perhaps, he respects and venerates with all sincerity and reverence. From these considerations I wish you would draw this consequence—that we should not isolate religious questions too much when we come to examine them, for by doing so we run the risk of mutilating the truth, and a mutilated truth is an error. Infidels and sceptics almost always fall into this mistake: they take up a dogma, a moral precept, a practice or ceremony of religion; they separate it from everything else; they analyze it, pre-scinding from all the relations it has with other dogmas, precepts, practices, or ceremonies; they look at but one side of it, and endeavour to make the ceremony appear ridiculous, the practice irrational, the precept cruel, the dogma absurd. There is no order of truths that will not fall to the ground if examined in this way; because its truths are not considered as they are in themselves, but as the caprice of the philosopher has regulated them in the closet of his mind. In such

a case phantasms are created which do not exist ; the real enemies are avoided, and war made on imaginary ones with whom it is in no way dangerous to contend.

When one has to deal with the most sweet and seducing sentiments, it is not difficult to deceive the incautious by representing to them as an innocent expansion what is in reality a deadly poison. Thus, for example, in the difficulty you raise in your letter, what is more conformable to the instincts of nature, to the softest impulses of the heart, than the doctrine you hold ? "What !" you say, "is it not enough to prohibit the acts which might entail evil results on society, the family, or the individual ; but must you penetrate into the interior of the soul too, and then take delight in tormenting the poor heart by obliging it to abstain from these exhalations, which, rather than crimes, God should regard as the innocent alleviations of nature. If the evil be not consummated, whom does the desire injure ? Is it possible the Creator can take umbrage at the most inoffensive acts of the creature ?" These, my friend, are what are called sentimental strokes, and decisive arguments for candid and ardent souls, anxious to find a doctrine to excuse their weakness, and tone down the austerity of the morality they learned from the catechism. But they are really dangerous sophisms, which do not conduce to the well-being and consolation of those in whose favour they are made, but on the contrary, sadly corrupt and lead them astray. "What !" one might reply, imitating your tone ; "will you be so cruel as to allow the sweet fresh liquid to approach our lips, and not allow us to partake of it ? Are you so cruel as to give passion the reins in the interior, and refuse it a safety-valve in the exterior ? Can you be so cruel as to unchain the tempests in the depth of the heart, kept agitated and tormented by you on all sides, without giving it freedom to alleviate its pains, and, by extending the storm, to make it less intense and grievous ? Oh ! close the door entirely or allow of a remedy ; do not set the interior man at such variance with the exterior—the heart with its works. As you boast of your humanity, endeavour to render your false indulgence less cruel."

As regards the point, whether God can be indignant at the interior acts of the creature, we might say :—"What ! if relations exist between God and man—if the Creator has not abandoned his creature—if he regards it yet as an object of care, is it not clear—is it not evident, that the understanding and the will, that is, what is most precious in man—what renders him capable of knowing and loving his Maker—what

raises him above the brute—what constitutes him king of creation—is not that, we repeat, what should be regarded as the object of the solicitude of the Supreme Ruler ; and should we not feel certain He does not attend to exterior acts, but inasmuch as they come from the sanctuary of the conscience, where he delights to be known, loved, and adored? What is man if we prescind from his interior? What is morality, if not applied to the understanding and will? Is that doctrine well-founded, which mercilessly destroys what is most independent and dignified in man, whilst it boasts of being instinct with the sentiments of morality?”

Be persuaded, my dear friend, that there is no truth or dignity in anything that opposes religion ; and what appears at first sight noble and generous, is base and degrading. And *apropos* of philanthropic sentiments, beware of those sudden inspirations, which may appear to you decisive arguments, but which, when examined at the light of religion, or even sound philosophy, are nothing but unfounded reasonings, or conclusions from unsound principles, conducing to establish the dominion of matter over spirit, and let loose the voluptuous passions on the world.

See if any service can be done you by your fond and affectionate friend

J. B.

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## LETTER OF THE IRISH BISHOPS TO OUR MOST HOLY FATHER, AND REPLY OF HIS HOLINESS.

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BEATISSIME PATER,

Quae adversus Sanctitatem Tuam proxime elapsis diebus a perditis hominibus Romae gesta sunt, maximo dolore et animi indignatione nos omnes Hiberniæ episcopos, et clerum et populum fidelem curae nostrae concreditum, affecerunt. Cum enim ut Beati Petri successorem et infallibilem Christi vicarium Te veneremur, et praecipuo quodam amore prosequamur, fieri non potuit quin acerbissimae nobis essent injuriae Tibi illatae, et omni reprobatione digni isti homines haberentur, qui

adversus Dominum et Christum ejus tumultuantes urbem ipsam Romam, apostolorum principum sanguine consecratam, summorum Pontificum a diebus Sancti Petri sedem et domicilium, totius Christiani populi communem patriam aggressi fuerint, atque expugnaverint, teque insuper omnium catholicorum patrem, et doctorem captivum constituerint; et contra omnia jura divina et humana sacrum tuum principatum et saeculorum diuturnitate firmatum, et ecclesiae libertati servandae omnino necessarium penitus delere conati fuerint.

Haec scelera et sacrilegia adeo atrocita nobis visa sunt, et tanto moerore nos affecerunt, ut vix loqui et doloris et indignationis sensus qui in nobis exurgunt, verbis exprimere possimus. Ne tamen muneri nostro erga Patrem dilectissimum deessemus, pauca haec scribenda existimavimus ut sciat Sanctitas Tua filios tuos ex longinquis regionibus Tecum in dolore tuo condolere. Eodem etiam tempore litteras gregibus nostris dandas decrevimus ut de injuriis quae amantissimo Pontifici et Patri irrogatae sunt, eos certiores faceremus hortaremurque ut piis precibus ad Deum optimum maximum, atque omni alia qua possent ratione, opem Tibi afferrent. Inter sacrificia missae etiam et in omnibus publicis precibus curabimus ut orationes fiant, atque obsecrationes pro incolumitate Tua ad thronum divinae misericordiae perpetuo ascendant.

Vehementer porro optamus ut tempus quam citissime veniat, quo populorum supplicationibus expefactus Deus ad iudicandam causam suam exurgat, coecos tumultus, bella, et secretarum societatum conjurationes comprimat, et scelestos religionis et sedis apostolicae hostes ad nihilum redigat. Laetissimus quidem ille dies illucescet, quo profligatis portis infernorum, nationes Catholicae Te in libertatem vindicabunt, et urbem Romam et totam ditionem pontificiam Tibi et sedi apostolicae restituent, ita ut cum ea qua convenit libertate, res universae ecclesiae administrare, et concilium vaticanum tam sapienter, plaudentibus omnibus Catholicis congregatum, ad felicem terminum perducere possis.

Haec dum in votis nobis sunt, et certa esse eventura confidimus, omnia quae in nostra protestate sunt praestabimus ut iniquis hisce temporibus, quibus sanctissima tua jura audacter, impune et sacrilege impugnantur, fidem, obsequium et venerationem nostram et ecclesiae nostrae Hiberniae erga Te et Sancti Petri cathedram ostendamus et operibus comprobemus.

Denique dolore at amaro luctu obruti ad pedes sanctitatis Tuae provoluti benedictionem pro nobis et omnibus fidelibus



gregibus nostrae curae pastorali commissis humillime obsecramus.

Sanctitatis Tuae,

Obedientissimi et obsequentissimi famuli,

Dublino, die 19 Octobris, 1870.

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| • PAULUS CARD. CULLEN,<br>Archiepus. Dublinensis.        | • DANIEL M'GETTIGAN,<br>Archiepus. Armacanus.         |
| • JOANNES,<br>Archiepus. Tuamensis.                      | • PATRITIUS LEAHY,<br>Archiepus. Casseliensis, &c.    |
| • THOMAS FEENEY,<br>Epus. Alladensis.                    | • E. WALSHE,<br>Epus. Ossoriensis.                    |
| • GULIELMUS DELANY,<br>Epus. Corcagiensis.               | • FRANCISCUS KELLY,<br>Epus. Derriensis.              |
| • GULIELMUS KEANE,<br>Epus. Cloynen.                     | • PATRITIUS DURCAN,<br>Epus. Achadensis.              |
| • DAVID MORIARTY,<br>Epus. Ardferten et Aghadonen.       | • J. P. LEAHY,<br>Epus. Dromorensis.                  |
| • DOMINICUS O'BRIEN,<br>Epus. Waterfordien. et Lismoren. | • JACOBUS WALSHE,<br>Epus. Kildarien. et Leighlien.   |
| • LAURENTIUS GILLOOLY,<br>Epus. Elphinensis.             | • THOMAS FURLONG,<br>Epus. Fernensis.                 |
| JOANNES MACEVILY,<br>Epus. Galviensis.                   | • MICHAEL O'HEA,<br>Epus. Rossen.                     |
| • PATRITIUS DORRIAN,<br>Epus. Dunen. et Connorien.       | • GEORGIUS BUTLER,<br>Epus. Limericensis.             |
| • NICOLAUS CONATY,<br>Epus. Kilmorensis.                 | • THOMAS NULTY,<br>Epus. Midensis.                    |
| • JACOBUS DONNELLY,<br>Epus. Clogheren.                  | • NICOLAUS POWER,<br>Epus. Sareptanus, Coadj. Laonen. |
| • JACOBUS LYNCH,<br>Coad. Epus. Kildar. et Leigh.        | • G. J. WHELAN,<br>Epus. Aureliopolitanus.            |
| • DANIEL MURPHY,<br>Epus. Hobartonensis.                 | • THOMAS GRIMLEY,<br>Vic. Ap. Cap. Bonæ. Spei.        |
| • TIMOTHEUS O'MAHONY,<br>Epus. Armidalensis.             | • PETRUS DAWSON,<br>Vic. Cap. Ardachadensis.          |

DILECTO FILIO NOSTRO PAULO TITULI SANCTI  
PETRI IN MONTE AUREO PRESBYTERO SANC-  
TÆ ROMANÆ ECCLESIAE CARDINALI CULLEN  
ARCHIEPISCOPO DUBLINENSI, CETERISQUE  
VENERABILIBUS FRATRIBUS EPISCOPIS HI-  
BERNIÆ.

Dilecte Fili Noster et Venerabiles Fratres, salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem. Quo vividior semper in hac insula vestra, Dilecte Fili Noster et Venerabiles Fratres, inter ipsas acrumnas religio floruit, quo impensiore studio et obsequio Vos, Clerusque et populus vester prosequuti constanter estis et prosequimini Apostolicam hanc Sedem, eo etiam acerbius afficii debuistis a consummatione sacrilegi illius sceleris, quo Nos, reliqua civilis ditionis Nostræ parte et ipsa principe urbe spoliati, hostili commissi fuimus arbitrio, illaque privati exteriori ministerii libertate, quam supremo muneri Nostro obeundo plane necessariam Ecclesia tota pronunciavit. Silicet indignantes execrari debuistis violatum jus gentium, procucata solemnia fœdera, vim brutam fœdæ conjunctam hypocrisi ad populos decipiendos, vulnus atrox Ecclesiæ in ejus Capite inflictum, immanem injuriam illatam universæ familiæ Catholicæ, religionem, mores, publicam privatamque tranquillitatem summum in discrimen adductos. Et quoniam sincera dilectio sejungi nescit ab opere, consistere nequivistis in hujusmodi indignationis sensibus, sed credito vobis populo perspectum facere voluistis criminis impietatem, ne a veteratorum dissimulatione et fraudibus deciperetur, eumque excitare ad oppressæ Ecclesiæ causam quæ sua quoque est, communi reclamatione, petitionibus, et omni, qua fas est, ratione tuendam atque juvandam. Quæ sane omnia cum de sacrorum jurium agatur et religionis defensione, si juxta leges fiant et moderante ecclesiastica auctoritate, sicuti sincerum religionis amorem præferent et purum divini honoris zelum, sic nequibunt non esse perutilia. Sed acceptissimum omnium habemus, Vos orationem cum piis operibus conjunctam suasisse populo vestro et auribus omnium inculcasse. Utut enim humana ope impetrata, coercerentur malorum effectus, resque materiales restituerentur; cum de bello agatur adversus Deum ubique ferme conflato, cumque e rejectis passim sanæ doctrinæ principii invectaque monstrosa errorum colluvie manaverint ille sacrarum rerum contemptus illud cujusvis auctoritatis odium illa corruptio unde facinora processerunt, quæ lamentamur; parum certe proficeretur nec quidquam

duraturum constitui posset, nisi funditus ipsa malorum radix, quod solius Dei est, extirpetur. Ad ipsum itaque clamare non cessemus, ut exurgat tandem et iudicet causam suam; et qui humanæ pariter et religiosæ societatis est auctor, utrique periclitanti succurrat dispulsisque errorum tenebris et luce veritatis reducta, det gloriam nomini suo, libertatem Ecclesiæ, orbi pacem. Nos gratissimo officii vestris animo copiosa caelestis gratiæ munera vobis, Dilecte Fili Noster et Venerabiles Fratres, Cleroque et populo uniuscujusque vestrum votis omnibus adprecamur; supernique favoris auspicem et præcipuam Nostræ benevolentiae testem Apostolicam Benedictionem universis peramanter impertimus.

Datum Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum die 17, Novembris, anno 1870.

Pontificatus Nostri Anno Vicesimoquinto.

## DOCUMENTS.

I.—SANCTISSIMI DOMINI NOSTRI PII DIVINA PROVIDENTIA PAPÆ IX., EPISTOLA ENCYCLICA AD OMNES PATRIARCHAS PRIMATES, ARCHIEPISCOPOS, EPISCOPOS ALIOSQUE LOCORUM ORDINARIOS GRATIAM ET COMMUNIONEM CUM APOSTOLICA SEDE HABENTES.

PIUS PP. IX.

VENERABILES FRATRES SALUTEM ET APOSTOLICAM BENEDICTIONEM.

**R**ESPICIENTES ea omnia, quae Subalpinum Gubernium pluribus ab annis non intermissis molitionibus gerit ad ever-tendum civilem Principatum, singulari Dei providentia huic Apostolicae Sedi concessum, ut Beati Petri successores in exercitio spiritualis suae jurisdictionis necessaria ac plena libertate et securitate uterentur, fieri non potest, VV. FF., ut in tanta contra Ecclesiam Dei et Sanctam hanc Sedem conspiratione intimo cordis Nostri dolore non moveamur; atque hoc tam luctuoso tempore, quo idem Gubernium sectarum perditionis consilia sequens, sacrilegam almae Urbis Nostrae et reliquarum civitatum, quarum Nobis imperium ex superiori usurpatione supererat, invasionem quam jamdiu meditabatur, contra omne fas vi armisque complevit, dum Nos arcana Dei consilia coram Ipso prostrati humiliter veneramur, illam prophetae vocem usurpare cogimur “ego plorans et oculus meus dedu-

cens aquas, quia longe factus est a me consolator convertens animam meam : facti sunt filii mei perdati quoniam invaluit inimicus."<sup>1</sup>

Satis quidem VV. FF., a Nobis exposita et catholico orbi jamdiu patefacta est nefarii hujus belli historia, idque fecimus pluribus Allocutionibus Nostris, Encyclicis, Brevibusque litteris diverso tempore habitis aut datis, nempe diebus 1 Novemb. an. 1850, 22 Jan. et 26 Julii 1855, 18 et 28 Julii et 26 Sept. 1859, 19 Jan. 1860, ac Apostolicis Litteris 26 Martii 1860, Allocutionibus deinde 28 Sept. 1860, 18 Martii et 30 Sept. 1861 et 20 Sept. 17 Octob. et 14 Novem. 1867. Horum documentorum serie perspectae atque exploratae fiunt gravissimae injuriae a Subalpino Gubernio iam ante ipsam Ecclesiasticae ditionis superioribus annis incoeptam occupationem Supremæ Nostrae et hujus Sanctæ Sedis auctoritati illatæ, tum legibus contra naturale, divinum et ecclesiasticum jus rogatis, tum sacris ministris, religiosis familiis et Episcopis ipsis indignae vexationi subjectis, tum obligatam solemnibus conventionibus cum eadem Apostolica Sede initis fidem infringendo, atque earum inviolabile jus prae fracte denegando vel eo ipso tempore, quo novas Nobiscum tractationes inire velle significabat. Ex iisdem documentis plane liquet, VV. FF., totaque videbit posteritas, quibus artibus et quam callidis ac indignis molitionibus idem Gubernium ad justitiam et sanctitatem jurium hujus Apostolicae Sedis opprimendam pervenerit ; ac simul cognoscet quae curæ Nostræ fuerint in illius audacia, quae augebatur in dies, quantum in Nobis erat compendenda atque in Ecclesiae causa vindicanda. Probe nostis anno 1859 ab ipsa Subalpina potestate praecipuas Aemiliae civitates submissis scriptis, conspiratoribus, armis, pecunia ad perduellionem fuisse excitatas ; nec multo post, comitiis populi indictis, captatisque suffragiis plebiscitum confictum esse, eoque fuco et nomine provincias Nostras in ea regione positas a paterno Nostro imperio, bonis frustra refragantibus, avulsas. Perspectum quoque est, anno deinde consequuto idem Gubernium ut alias hujus S. Sedis provincias in Pisenò, Umbria et Patrimonio sitas in praedam suam converteret, dolosis prae textibus adductis, improvise impetu milites Nostros et voluntariam Catholicae iuventutis manum, quae religionis spiritu et pietate erga communem Parentem adducta ex omni orbe ad defensionem Nostram convolaverat, magno circumvenisse exercitu, eosque tam subitam irruptionem minime suspicantes, impavide tamen pro religione certantes cruento proelio oppressisse. Neminem latet insignis ejusdem Gubernii impudentia et hypocrisis, qua

<sup>1</sup> Jerem. thr. I. 16.

ad minuendam sacrilegae hujus usurpationis invidiam jactare non dubitavit se illas invasisse provincias ut principia morales ordinis ibi restitueret, dum tamen reipsa ubique falsae cujusque doctrinae diffusionem cultumque promovit, ubique cupiditatibus et impietati habenas laxavit, immeritas etiam poenas sumens de Sacris Antistitibus, de Ecclesiasticis cujusque gradus viris, quos in custodiam abripuit et publicis contumeliis vexari permisit, cum interea insectatoribus et iis qui ne Supremi quidem Pontificatus dignitati in persona humilitatis Nostrae parcebant, impune esse pateretur. Constat praeterea, Nos debito officii Nostri munere non solum iteratis semper obstitisse consiliis et postulationibus Nobis oblatis, quibus agebatur ut officium Nostrum turpiter proderemus, vel scilicet juribus et possessionibus Ecclesiae dimissis ac traditis, vel nefaria cum usurpatoribus conciliatione inita; verum etiam Nos iniquis hisce ausibus et facinoribus contra omne humanum et divinum jus perpetratis solemnes protestationes coram Deo et hominibus opposuisse illorumque auctores et fautores Ecclesiasticis censuris obstrictos declarasse et quatenus opus esset iisdem censuris in illos denuo animadvertisse. Denique exploratum est, praedictum Gubernium in sua contumacia suisque machinationibus nihilominus perstitisse, rebellionemque in reliquis Nostris provinciis et in Urbe praesertim promovere immissis perturbatoribus ac omnis generis artibus sine intermissione curavisse. Hisce autem conatibus minime ex sententia procedentibus propter inconcussam Nostrorum militum fidem, Nostrorumque populorum amorem ac studium insigniter et constanter Nobis declaratum, turbulentam demum illam tempestatem in Nos erupisse anno 1867, quum Autumni tempore conversae in Nostros fines et hanc Urbem fuerunt perditissimorum hominum cohortes scelere et furore inflammatae et subsidiis Gubernii ejusdem adjutae, quorum ex numero occulti plures in ipsa hac Urbe pridem conserant; atque ab earum vi crudelitate et armis omnia Nobis Nostrisque dilectissimis subditis acerba et cruenta timenda erant, uti liquido apparuit, nisi Deus misericors earumdem impetus et strenuitate Nostrarum copiarum et valido legionum auxilio ab inclyta natione Gallica Nobis submisso irritos reddidisset.

In tot vero dimicationibus, in tanta periculorum, sollicitudinum, acerbitationum serie maximum Nobis interim Divina Providentia solatium conferebat ex praeclara vestra, VV. FF., vestrorumque Fidelium erga Nos et hanc Apostolicam Sedem pietate ac Studio, quod et insignibus significationibus editis et catholicae charitatis operibus jugiter demonstrastis. Et quamquam gravissima in quibus versabamur discrimina viæ aliquas Nobis inducias relinquerent, nihil tamen unquam, Deo

Nos confortante, curarum remisimus, quae ad temporalem subditorum Nostrorum prosperitatem tuendam pertinebant; ac quae esset apud Nos tranquillitatis et securitatis publicae ratio, quae optimarum quarumcumque disciplinarum et artium conditio, quae populorum Nostrorum erga Nos fides et voluntas omnibus nationibus facile innotuit, ex quibus advenae frequentissimi in hanc Urbem occasione praesertim plurium celebritatum, quas peregrinus, sacrorumque solemnium certatim omni tempore confluxerunt.

Jamvero cum res ita se haberent nostrique populi tranquilla pace fruerentur, Rex Subalpinus ejusque Gubernium capta occasione ingentis inter duas potentissimas Europae nationes flagrantis belli, quarum cum altera pepigerant se inviolatum servaturos praesentem ecclesiasticae ditionis statum, nec a factionis violari passuros, protinus reliquas dominationis Nostrae, terras Sedemque ipsam Nostram invadere et in suam potestatem redigere decreverunt. At quorsum haec hostilis invasio, quatenam causae praeferebantur? Notissima profecto cuique sunt ea quae in Epistola Regis die 8 proxime elapsi Septembris ad Nos data et per ipsius Oratorem ad Nos destinatum Nobis tradita disseruntur, in qua longo fallacique verborum et sententiarum ambitu, ostentatis amantis filii et catholici hominis nominibus causaque obtenta publici ordinis, Pontificatus ipsius et personae Nostrae servandae, illud poscebatur, ne temporalis nostrae potestatis eversionem velut hostile facinus vellemus accipere, atque ultro eadem potestate cederemus, futilibus confisi sponsionibus cum ipso oblati, quibus vota, ut aiebat, populorum Italiae cum supremo spiritualis Romani Pontificis auctoritatis jure et libertate conciliarentur. Nos equidem non potuimus non vehementer mirari, videntes qua ratione vis quae Nobis brevi inferenda erat obtegi et dissimulari vellet, nec potuimus non dolere nimio animo vicem Regis ejusdem qui iniquis consiliis adactus nova in dies Ecclesiae vulnera infligit et hominum magis quam Dei respectu habito non cogitat esse in caelis Regem regum et Dominum dominantium, qui "non subtrahet personam cujusquam, nec verebitur magnitudinem cujusquam quoniam pusillum et magnum ipse fecit, fortioribus autem fortior instat cruciatio."<sup>1</sup> Quod autem attinet ad propositas Nobis postulationes cunctandum Nobis non esse censuimus, quin officii et conscientiae legibus parentes, Praedecessorum Nostrorum exempla sequeremur, ac praesertim fel. rec. Pii VII., cujus invicti animi sensa ab eo prolata in simili prorsus causa, ac Nostra est, hic uti Nobis communia exprimere ac usurpare juvat. "Memineramus cum S. Ambrosio<sup>2</sup> *Nabuth*

<sup>1</sup> Sap. VI. 8 et 9.    <sup>2</sup> De Basil. trad. n. 17.

*Sanctum virum possessorem vineae suae interpellatum petitione regia ut vineam suam daret, ubi rex succisis vitibus olus vile sereret, eundem respondisse: absit ut ego patrum meorum tradam haereditatem.* Multo hinc minus fas esse Nobis judicavimus tam antiquam ac sacram haereditatem (temporale scilicet Sanctae hujus Sedis Dominium non sine evidenti Providentiae divinae consilio a Romanis Pontificibus predecessoribus Nostris tam longa saeculorum serie possessum) tradere, aut vel tacite assentiri ut quis Urbe principe Orbis Catholici potiretur, ubi perturbata destructaque sanctissima regiminis forma, quae a Jesu Christo Ecclesiae Sanctae Suae relicta fuit, atque a Sacris canonibus Spiritu Dei conditis ordinata, in ejus locum sufficeret Codicem non modo sacris Canonibus, sed Evangelicis etiam praeceptis contrarium atque repugnantem, inveheretque, ut assolet, novum hujusmodi rerum ordinem qui ad consociandas confundendasque sectas superstitionesque omnes cum Ecclesia Catholica manifestissime tendit.

*“Nabuth vites suas vel proprio cruore defendit.”*<sup>1</sup> Num poteramus Nos, quidquid tandem eventurum esset Nobis, non jura possessionesque Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae defendere, quibus servandis, quantum in Nobis est, solemnibus jurisjurandi Nos obstrinximus religione? vel non libertatem Apostolicam Sedis cum libertate atque utilitate Ecclesiae universae adeo conjunctam vindicare?

“Ac quam magna revera sit temporalis hujus Principatus congruentia atque necessitas ad asserendum Supremo Ecclesiae Capiti tutum ac liberum exercitum spiritualis illius, quae divinitus Illi toto orbe tradita est, potestatis, ea ipsa, quae nunc eveniunt (etiamsi alia deessent argumenta) nimis jam multa demonstrant.”<sup>2</sup>

His igitur inhaerentes sensibus quos in pluribus Allocutionibus Nostris constanter professi sumus, responsione Nostra ad Regem data, injustas ejus postulationes reprobavimus, ita tamen ut acerbum dolorem Nostrum paternae charitati conjunctum ostenderemus, quae vel ipsos filios rebellem Absalon imitantes nescit a sua sollicitudine remove. Hisce autem litteris nondum ad Regem perlatis, ab ejus interea exercitu pontificiae Nostrae ditionis intactae hactenus et pacificae urbes occupatae fuerunt, praesidiariis militibus, ubi resistere conati fuerant, facile disjectis; ac brevi deinde infaustus ille dies proxime elapsi Septembris vicesimus illuxit, quo hanc Urbem Apostolorum Principis Sedem, Catholicae religionis centrum omniumque genitum perfugium multis armatorum millibus obsessam vidimus, factaque murorum labe et excussorum missilium terrore intra ipsam illato, vi et armis expugnatam deplorare

<sup>1</sup> S. Ambr. *ibid.*    <sup>2</sup> Litt. Apost. 10 Jun. 1809.

debuimus ejus jussu, qui paulo ante filiali in Nos affectu et fideli in religionem animo esse tam insigniter professus fuerat. Quidnam Nobis ac bonis omnibus illo die luctuosius esse potuit? in quo copiis Urbem ingressis; magna factiosorum adventita multitudo repleta Urbe, vidimus statim publici ordinis rationem perturbatam et eversam, vidimus in Nostrae humilitatis persona Supremi ipsius Pontificatus dignitatem et sanctitatem impiis vocibus impetitam, vidimus fidelissimas Nostrorum militum cohortes omni contumeliarum genere affectas, atque effrenem late licentiam ac petulantiam dominari, ubi paulo ante filiorum affectus communis Parentis moerorem relevare cupientium eminebat. Ab eo deinde die ea sub oculis nostris consequuta sunt, quae non sine iusta bonorum omnium indignatione commemorari possunt: nefarii libri mendaciis, turpitudine, impietate referti ad facilem emptionem proponi coepti et passim disseminari; multiplices ephemerides in dies vulgari ad corruptelam mentium et honesti moris ad contemptum et calumniam religionis, ad inflammandam contra Nos et hanc Apostolicam Sedem publicam opinionem spectantes; foedae indignaeque imagines publicari, aliaque hujus generis opera, quibus res personaeque sacrae ludibrio habentur et irrisioni publicae exponuntur; decreti honores et monumenta iis qui iudicio et legibus poenas gravissimorum criminum dederunt; Ecclesiae ministri, in quos, omnis conflatur invidia, plures injuriis lacessiti, ac aliqui etiam proditoris percussione sauciati; nonnullae religiosae domus injustis conquisitionibus subiectae; violatae Nostrae Quirinales domus, atque ex iis ubi Sedem habebat unus e S.R.E. Cardinalibus violento jussu raptim abire coactus, aliique Ecclesiastici viri e familiarium Nostrorum numero ab illarum usu exclusi et molestiis affecti; leges et decreta edita quae libertatem, immunitatem, proprietates et jura Ecclesiae Dei manifeste laedunt ac pessumdant; quae mala gravissima latius etiam nisi Deus propitius avertat, progressura esse dolemus, dum Nos interim ab ullo aliquo remedio afferendo conditionis Nostrae ratione praepediti vehementius in dies admonemur de ea captivitate, in qua sumus ac de defectu plenae illius libertatis, quam Nobis relictam esse in Apostolici Nostri ministerii exercitio Orbi mendacibus verbis ostenditur, et necessariis, quas appellant, cautionibus firmari velle ab intruso Gubernio jactatur.

Neque hic praeterire possumus immane facinus quod vobis profecto innotuit, VV. FF. Perinde enim ac Sedis Apostolicae possessiones et jura tot titulis sacra atque inviolabilia, ac per tot saecula semper explorata et inconcussa habita in controversiam ac disputationem revocari possent, et quasi censurae



gravissimae quibus ipso facto et absque ulla nova declaratione violatores praedictorum jurium et possessionum innodantur, populari rebellione atque audacia vim suam amittere possent ad sacrilegam quam passi sumus expoliationem honestandam, communi naturae ac gentium jure despecto, quaesitus est ille apparatus ac ludicra plebisciti species alias in provinciis Nobis ademptis usurpata; et qui exultare solent in rebus pessimis hac occasione rebellionem et ecclesiasticarum censurarum contemptum, veluti triumphali pompa, per Italicas urbes praeferre non erubuerunt, contra germana sensa longe maximae Italorum partis, quorum religio devotio ac fides erga Nos et Ecclesiam Sanctam multis modis compressa, quominus libere manare possit, impeditur.

Nos interim qui a Deo universae domui Israel regendae et gubernandae praepositi et supremi religionis ac justitiae vindices et Ecclesiae jurium defensores constituti sumus, ne coram Deo et Ecclesia tacuisse ac silentio Nostro tam iniquae rerum perturbationi assensum praestitisse redarguamur, renovantes et confimantes, quae in superius citatis Allocutionibus Encyclicis ac Brevibus litteris alias solemniter declaravimus ac Novissime in protestatione, quam jussu ac nomine Nostro Cardinalis publicis negotiis praepositus ipso vicesimo Septembris die, ad Oratores, Ministros et Negotiorum gestores exterarum nationum apud Nos et hanc S. Sedem commorantes dedit, solemniori quo possumus modo iterum coram Vobis, VV. FF., declaramus, Nostram mentem propositum et voluntatem esse omnia hujus S. Sedis dominia ejusdemque jura integra intacta inviolata retinere atque ad successores Nostros transmittere; quamcumque eorum usurpationem, tam modo quam antea factam, injustam violentam nullam irritamque esse, omniaque perduellium et invasorum acta, sive quae hactenus gesta sunt, sive quae forsitan in posterum gerentur ad praedictam usurpationem quoquo modo confirmandam, a Nobis etiam nunc pro tunc damnari, rescindi cassari et abrogari. Declaramus praeterea et protestamur coram Deo et universo orbe Catholico Nos in ejusmodi captivitate versari, ut supremam Nostram pastorem auctoritatem tuto expedite ac libere minime exercere possimus. Tandem monito illi S. Paulli obtemperantes “Quae participatio injustitiae cum iniquitate? aut quae societas luci ad tenebras? Quae autem conventio Christi ad Belial,”<sup>1</sup> palam aperteque edicimus ac declaramus, Nos memores officii Nostri et sollemnis iurisiurandi quo tenemur nulli unquam conciliationi assentiri vel assensum praestituros quae ullo modo jura Nostra atque adeo Dei et Sanctae Sedis destruat vel

<sup>1</sup> 2 Cor. cap. VI. 14 et 15.

imminuat : itidemque profiteamur Nos paratos quidem divinae gratiae auxilio, gravi Nostra aetate, usque ad fecem pro Christi Ecclesia calicem bibere quem Ipse prior bibere pro eadem dignatus est, nunquam commissuros ut iniquis postulationibus quae Nobis offeruntur adhaereamus atque obsecundemus. Uti enim praedecessor Noster Pius VII. ajebat : “ vim huic summo Sedis Apostolicae imperio affere, temporalem ipsius potestatem a spirituali discernere, Pastoris et Principis munia dissociare, divellere, excindere, nihil aliud est nisi opus Dei pessumdare ac perdere velle, nihil nisi dare operam ut Religio maximum detrimentum capiat, nihil nisi eam efficacissimo spoliare praesidio, ne summus ipsius Rector, Pastor Deique vicarius in Catholicos quoquo terrarum sparsos atque inde auxilium et opem flagitantes, conferre subsidia possit, quae a spirituali Ipsius, per neminem impedienda, petuntur potestate.”<sup>1</sup>

Quoniam vero Nostra monita, expostulationes et protestationes in irritum cesserunt, idcirco auctoritate omnipotentis Dei, SS. Apostolorum Petri et Pauli ac Nostra Vobis, VV. FF., ac per Vos universae Ecclesiae declaramus, eos omnes qualibet dignitate etiam specialissima mentione digna, fulgentes, qui quarumcumque provinciarum Nostrae ditionis atque almae hujus Urbis invasionem, usurpationem, occupationem vel eorem aliqua perpetrarunt, itemque ipsorum mandantes, fautores, adjutores, consiliarios, adhaerentes vel alios quoscumque praedictarum rerum exequutionem quolibet praetextu et quovis modo procurantes vel per seipsos exequentes, majorem excommunicationem aliasque censuras et poenas ecclesiasticas a sacris Canonibus, Apostolicis constitutionibus et generalium Conciliorum, Tridentini praesertim (Sess. 22. c. 11 de Reform.) decretis inflictas incurrisse juxta formam et tenorem expressum in superius commemoratis Apostolicis litteris Nostris die 26 Mart. a. 1860 datis.

Memores vero Nos ejus locum tenere in terris qui venit quaerere et salvum facere quod perierat, nihil magis optamus quam devios filios ad Nos revertentes paterna charitate complecti ; quare levantes manus Nostras in caelum in humilitate cordis Nostri dum Deo, cujus est potius quam Nostra, justissimam causam remittimus et commendamus, Eum per viscera misericordiae suae obsecramus obtestamurque, ut adsit praesenti auxilio Nobis, adsit Ecclesiae suae, ac misericors et propitius efficiat ut hostes Ecclesiae aeternam perniciem quam sibi moliuntur cogitantes, formidandam ejus justitiam ante diem vindictae placare contendant, et mutatis consiliis

<sup>1</sup> Alloc. 1 6 Martii 1868.

Sanctae Matris Ecclesiae gemitus Nostrumque moerorem consolentur.

Quo vero hujusmundi tam insignia beneficia a divina clementia assequamur, Vos enixe ac summopere hortamur, VV. FF., ut una cum Fidelibus cujusque Vestrum curae conceditis, vestras fervidas preces Nostris votis jungatis, atque omnes simul ad thronum gratiae et misericordiae adeuntes Immaculatam Deiparam Virginem Mariam et Beatos Apostolos Petrum et Paullum deprecatores adhibeamus. “Ecclesia Dei ab exortu sui usque ad haec tempora pluries tribulata est, et pluries liberata est. Ipsi vox est : *saepe expugnaverunt me a juventute mea, etenim non potuerunt mihi. Supra dorsum meum fabricaverunt peccatores, prolongaverunt iniquitatem suam.* Nec nunc quoque relinquet Dominus vigam peccatorum super sortem justorum. Non est abbreviata manus Domini, nec facta impotens ad salvandum. Liberabit et hoc tempore absque dubio sponsam suam qui suo sanguine redemit eam, suo spiritu dotavit, donis caelestibus exornavit, ditavit nihilominus et terrenis.”<sup>1</sup>

Interim uberrima caelestium gratiarum munera Vobis, VV. FF., cunctisque Clericis Laicisque Fidelibus cujusque Vestrum vigilantiae commissis a Deo ex animo adprecantes, praecipuae Nostrae ergo vos charitatis pignus Apostolicam Benedictionem Vobis Ipsi eisdemque Dilectis Filiis ex intimo corde depromtam peramanter impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum die 1 Novembris Anno MDCCCLXX.

Pontificatus Nostri Anno Vicesimoquinto.

PIUS PP. IX.

## DECREE PLACING THE WHOLE CHURCH UNDER THE PATRONAGE OF ST. JOSEPH.

### DECRETUM.

#### URBIS ET ORBIS.

Quemadmodum Deus Josephum illum a Jacob Patriarcha progenitum praepositum constituerat universae terrae Aegypti ut populo frumenta servaret, ita temporum plenitudine adventante cum Filium suum Unigenitum mundi Salvatorem in

<sup>1</sup> S. Bern. Ep. 244. ad Conradum Reg.

terram missurus esset alium selegit Josephum, cujus ille primus typum gestaret, quemque fecit Dominum et Principem domus ac possessionis suae, principaliumque thesaurorum suorum custodem elegit. Siquidem desponsatam sibi habuit Immaculatam Virginem Mariam, ex qua de Spiritu Sancto natus est Dominus Noster Jesus Christus, qui apud homines putari dignatus est filius Joseph, illique subditus fuit. Et quem tot reges ac prophetae videre exoptaverant iste Joseph non tantum vidit, sed cum eo conversatus, eumque paterno affectu complexus, deosculatusque est; necnon solertissime enutrivit quem populus fidelis uti panem de coelo descensum sumeret ad vitam aeternam consequendam. Ob sublimem hanc dignitatem quam Deus fidelissimo huic servo suo contulit, semper Beatissimum Josephum post Deiparam Virginem ejus Sponsam Ecclesia summo honore ac laudibus prosecuta est, ejusdemque interventum in rebus anxii imploravit. Verum cum tristissimis hisce temporibus Ecclesia ipsa ab hostibus undique insectata adeo gravioribus opprimatur calamitatibus, ut impii homines portas inferi adversus eam tandem praevalere autumarent, ideo, Venerabiles universi Orbis Catholici Sacrorum Antistites suas ac Christifidelium eorum curae concreditorum preces Summo Pontificio porrexerunt, quibus petebant ut Sanctum Josephum Catholicae Ecclesiae Patronum constituere dignaretur. Deinde cum in Sacra Oecumenica Synodo Vaticana easdem postulationes et vota enixius renovassent, Sanctissimus Dominus Noster PIUS Papa IX. nuperrima ac luctuosa rerum conditione commotus ut potentissimo Sancti Patriarchae Josephi patrocinio Se ac Fideles omnes committeret Sacrorum Antistitum votis satisfacere voluit, eumque CATHOLICAE ECCLESIAE PATRONUM solemniter declaravit; illiusque festum die decimanona Martii occurrens, in posterum sub ritu duplici primae classis, attamen sine octava ratione Quadragesimae, celebrari mandavit. Disposuit insuper ut hac die Deiparae Virgini Immaculae ac castissimi Josephi Sponsae sacra hujusmodi declaratio per praesens Sacrorum Rituum Congregationis Decretum publici juris fierit. Contrariis non obstantibus quibuscumque.

Die VIII. Decembris anni 1870.

C. EPISCOPUS OSTIEN. ET VELITERNEN.

CARD. PATRIZI S. R. C. PRAEF.

Loco \* Sigilli

*D. Bartolini S. R. C. Secretaries.*

## EPISTOLA CIRCULARIS

*Rmc. Domine*

Sanctissimus Dominus Noster PIUS Papa IX. satisfacere volens postulationibus omnium ferme Sacrorum Antistitum in Oecumenica etiam Vaticana Synodo manifestatis Sanctum Patriarcham Josephum Deiparae Virginis Sponsum declaravit Ecclesiae Catholicae Patronum, ut ipsa in misserima hac temporum angustia plurimis exagitata calamitatibus, iilius patrocinio destructis tandem adversitatibus ac erroribus universis secura Deo serviat libertate. Etsi autem Sanctissimus idem Dominus praefati Sancti Josephi natale Festum die XIX. Martii occurrens sub ritu duplici primae classis in posterum celebrari mandaverit, tamem a redintegrando in eodem Festo duplici praecepto sese abstinuit, voluitque ut per praesentes Sacrorum Rituum Congregationis Litteras significaretur Locorum Ordinariis Se libenter eorum votis esse satisfacturum si Ordinarii ipsi inspectis Locorum ac Temporum nec non respectivi Gubernii voluntate ita in Domino expedire judicantes supplicia vota sua huic Sanctae Sedi Apostolicae porrexerint ad redintegrationem in hujusmodi Festo utriusque praecepti.

Interim ut Amplitudo Tua diu felix et incolumis evadat ex animo adprecor.

Ex Secretaria Sacrorum Rituum Congregationis hac die 8 Decembris 1870.

Uti Frater.

C. EP. OSTIEN. ET VELITERNEN.

CARD. PATRIZI S. R. C. PRAEF.

*Dominicus Bartolini S. R. C. Secretarius.*

*Rmo. Domino  
Ordinario*

DECREE OF THE S. CONGREGATION OF RITES  
REGARDING THOSE SAINTS WHOSE MEMORY  
HAS BEEN CHERISHED FROM TIME IMME-  
MORIAL.

---

BERGOMEN.

---

DECRETUM GENERALE.

PRO CULTORIBUS HISTORIAE ECCLESIASTICAE ET SACRAE  
ARCHEOLOGIAE AGENTIBUS, DE SANCTIS, QUI IN  
POSSESSIONE SUNT PUBLICI CULTUS A SANCTA  
SEDE RECOGNITA ET ADPROBATA.

“R. Pater Victor De Buck e Societate Jesu commentarium quoddam de Sancta Eusebia Cive Bergomate Virgine et Martyre in Lucem edidit in volumine duodecimo Actorum Sanctorum Bollandianae Collectionis ad diem 29 Octobris, quo in commentario plura congessit argumenta, quibus ipse martyrium inficiari conatus est, non solum Sanctae ipsius Eusebiae, sed et Sanctorum Domni et Domnionis ac aliorum martyrum Bergomensium. Quum autem praefati Sancti Eusebia Domnus et Domnio inter Patronos minus principales Civitatis recenseantur ac insigni devotionis ac pietatis sensu a concivibus suis honorentur, ad avertendum scandalum, quod praefata opinio inter fideles praesertim Civitatis Bergomae, erit allatura, Rmus. D. Petrus Aloisius Speranza Episcopus Bergomen, supplici dato libello, Sacrorum Rituum Congregationem adiit enixe deprecans, ut hujus negotii examen ipsa susciperet, ac decerneret quid sentiendum esset de hujus Bollandiani Scriptoris commentario. Instante itaque praefato Rmo. Episcopo, Emus. et Rmus. D. Cardinalis Carolus Sacconi hujus Causae Ponens designatus in ordinariis Comitibus hodierna die ad Vaticanum habitis sequens dubium discutiendum proposuit, nimirum “*An Argumenta allata a Patre de Buck probent in casu?*”

“Emi. porro ac Rmi. Patres sacris tuendis Ritibus praepositi, licet prae oculis habuerint summam utilitatem quam Ecclesiae Catholicae attulit magna Bollandiana Collectio adversus heterodoxorum de Cultu Sanctorum commenta; tamen, accuratissime perpensis omnibus Documentis ad Causae hujus elucidationem copiose adductis, hanc edixere sententiam, videlicet “*Argumenta allata a patre De Buck*

*adversus traditionem, quae respicit Sanctos Martyres de quibus agitur, nihil probant.*" Die 20 Augusti 1870.

"Facta autem de praedictis per infrascriptum Sacrae ejusdem Congregationis Secretarium SSmo. Domino Nostro Pio Papae IX. fideli relatione, Sanctitas Sua sententiam Sacrae Congregationis ratam habere ac confirmare dignata est. Mandavit insuper ut admoneantur omnes Cultores studiorum Historiae Ecclesiasticae et Sacrae Archeologiae, *ut quandocumque agitur de Sanctis vel Beatis, qui, approbante Sancta Sede, sunt in possessione publici Cultus Ecclesiastici, caute se gerant, ac prae oculis habeant regulas hac de re traditas a Benedicto XIV. in Litteris Apostolicis de nova Martyrologii Romani Editione n. 2 et 18: De Servorum Dei Beatificatione et Canonizatione Lib. IV. Par. II. Cap. XVII. n. 9 et 10. Ibidem Lib. IV. Part. II. Cap. XIII. n. 7 et 8, ubi agitur de Breviario Romano.* Die 1 Septembris anni ejusdem."

C. Episcopus Portuen. et S. Rufinae

CARD PATRIZI S. R. C. Praefectus

Loco \* Sigilli.

*Dominicus Bartolini S. R. C. Secretarius.*

LETTER OF HIS HOLINESS TO SISTER M. F.  
CLARE, CONGRATULATING HER ON THE  
LIFE OF ST. PATRICK.

DILECTAE IN CHRISTO FILIAE, MARIAE FRANCISCAE CLARAE,  
E SORORIBUS SANCTAE CLARAE.

PIUS PAPA IX.

DILECTA in Christo Filia, Salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem. Gratulamur tibi, Dilecta in Christo Filia, quod prolixum ac difficile opus, cui vix pares esse posse sexus tui vires videbantur, ad exitum perduxeris ea felicitate, quae piorum ac doctorum laudes promeruerit. Nec gaudemus tantum quod per scitam copiosamque lucubrationem hanc gloriam promoveris insignis Hiberniae Apostoli, Sancti Patritii, pietatemque fidelium in eundem succenderis; sed etiam de Ecclesia tota bene merueris. Nam per ipsam descriptionem gestorum tanti viri, largita hominibus a Catholica religione beneficia subieciisti oculis ita, ut in dubium revocari nequeant,

Nec enim sola fidei lux occurrit ab illa allata, ad populum, qui sedebat in tenebris et in umbra mortis, sed feri ac barbari mores ita simul reformati et compositi, ut insula isthaec, veluti in alium conversa, Insula Sanctorum appellari meruerit. Clerus autem ab eodem ubique constitutus, una cum religione ac pietate ita coluit promovitque scientiam, ut dum Europa tota barborum incursu vastabatur, et opprimebatur ignorantiae tenebris, tutum litteris ac disciplinis perfugium exhibuerit, et confluentem undique juventutem sic exceperit et excoluerit, ut complures inde prodierint diversarum nationum apostoli innumerique viri sanctitate et doctrina celeberrimi. Atque tanti viri donum Hibernia debuit huic Apostolicae Sedi; et is non aliam Hibernis doctrinam attulit, quam quae tradebatur ab eadem sede, quaeque jam a christianae religionis exordiis gentes superstitioni erroribusque mancipatis, foedoque voluptatum omnium coeno demersas, erexerat, caritate consociaverat, et ad vitae cultum hominis nobilitate dignum traduxerat. Quae quidem facta cum calumnias ignorantiae, obscurantismi, regressus, quibus passim Ecclesia et sanca haec sedes impetuntur, evidentissime refellant; vita certe Sancti Patritii a te concinnata eo merito draestat, ut hoc beneficium cuique exhibuerit eo praestantius ac validius quod ultra fluat ab ipsa factorum narratione. Cum autem perennitatem fructuum operis Sanctissimi Praesulis demiremur in constantia tuae gentis nulla unquam insectatione, vi, machinatione, calamitate dejecta per tot saecula; non immerito confidimus fore, ut per instauratam nunc a te veterum eventuum ac gloriae memoriam piissimus hic populus studiosius etiam incendi debeat ad preclara majorum suorum vestigia terenda. Hunc certe successum ominamur labori tuo, dum divini favoris auspicem, et paternae, Nostrae benevolentiae pignus, Apostolicam Benedictionem tibi et sororibus tuis peramanter impertimus.

PIUS PP. IX.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum

die 6 Octobris, Ano 1870.

Pontificatus Nostri Anno Vicesimoquinto.



# MONASTICON HIBERNICUM,

OR,

## A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE ANCIENT MONASTERIES OF IRELAND.

[N. B.—The text of the “Monasticon” is taken *verbatim* from Archdall: the notes marked with numbers are added by the Editors.]

### COUNTY OF CORK.\*

1484. In a general chapter of this order, held at Rome the 10th of November, a licence was granted to Maurice Moral, prior provincial, to reform this convent.†

\* *Bourke, p. 87.*

\* The site of the present city of Cork was, in the beginning of the sixth century, a low, marshy tract, through the centre of which flowed the waters of the Lee. When this river overflowed its banks the whole country presented the appearance of an immense lake, which was called in those early times Lough Eirce.

It was at the source of the river Lee, near Lough Allua, that St. Finbarr erected his first cell; and to the present day that district, now situated in the parish of Inchigeelagh, recalls his memory in the classic name of “*Gougane Barra*,” which means “the lonely retreat of St. Finbarr.” Thence, however, he soon removed to the banks of Lough Eirce, and erected there his chief school and monastery, which became so illustrious for its learning and sanctity, that innumerable students and pilgrims flocked to it from every part of our island. “Here in this solitude the saint laid the foundation of his monastic establishment: it grew rapidly, became a crowded city, a school for learning, a college for religion, a receptacle for holy men, a sanctuary for the oppressed, an asylum for the poor, an hospital for the sick.”—(*Half's Ireland, ii., 214.*)

From the peculiarity of the site chosen for the monastery, the city received its name of *Corcach Bascain*, or simply *Corcach*, that is, ‘a marsh.’

Colgan has given a short account of this famous school, and preserved the names of some of the most illustrious saints who flourished there:—“After these things, St. Barra came to a place which in the Irish language is called Loch-Erce, near which he constructed a monastery, to which, as to the abode of wisdom, and sanctuary of all Christian virtues, disciples flowed in crowds from every quarter in so great numbers, through zeal of holiness, that, from the multitude of the monks and cells, it changed that desert, as it were, into a large city: for from that school which he instituted there, numerous men came, remarkable for holiness of life and the praise of learning, amongst whom were conspicuous St. Eulangus or Eulogius, the instructor of St. Barra himself, St. Colman, of Dore Dhunchon, St. Bathinus, St. Nessel, St. Garbhan, son of Findbarr, St. Talmach, St. Finchad of Ross-alithir, St. Lucerus, St. Cumanus, St. Lochinus of Achadh-airaid, St. Carinus, St. Fintanus of Ros-coerach, St. Euhel de Roscoerach, St. Trellanus of Druim-draighniche, St. Coelchuo, St. Mogenna, St. Modimochus, St. Sanctanus, and St. Lugerius, son of Columb. All these, and many others that came from that very celebrated school, by the merits of holiness and virtue, constructed cells in different places, and consecrated themselves and all these to St. Barra, their father and master, and his successors.”—(*Acta Sanctorum, p. 607.*)

The name of St. Findbarr holds a prominent place in the early history of the Irish Church. St. Cuimin of Connor, in his poem on the characteristic virtues of our saints, writes:—

“Fin-Barr, the torch of wisdom, loved  
Humility towards all men;  
He never saw in pressing distress  
Any one whom he would not relieve.”

20th December, 35th King Henry VIII. a grant was made to William Boureman of this monastery and its ap-

In the ancient list of Irish saints, which illustrates their lives by comparison with the saints of other nations, St. Finbarr, who is styled "Bishop of Munster and Connaught," is placed in parallel with St. Augustine, the apostle of England.—(*Liber Hymnorum*, I.A.S., p. 70.)

The martyrology of Donegal marks St. Bairre's festival on the 25th of September. The martyrology of Tallaght on that day gives the feast of *Barrind Corcaige*, but adds, on the 26th of September *vel hic, Barrind Corcaighe*. In the famous Catalogue of the Three Orders of Irish Saints, published by Fleming and Usher, the name of *S. Barrindeus* appears among the saints of the second order. Marianus O'Gorman, in his metrical martyrology, prays:

"May the noble Baire from Corcach  
Be before me to the great land,  
For he is blooming-sweet to the poor."

St. Ængus, in his *Feliré*, also commemorates on the 25th of September:

"The solemnity of the beloved man,  
The festival of Bairre from Corcach."

And the note is added in the *Leabhar Breac*:—"This is the festival of Bairre from Corcach: he was of the race of Brian, son of Eochaidh Muidhmhedhoinn, and it is in Achadh Cill-Clochair, or Drochait, in Aird-Uladh on this day with Bairre." There is evidently an omission in this note, which is thus supplied in the Roman MS. of the *Feliré*:—"Of the race of Brian Mac Eochaidh M. was Bairre of Corcach, and it is in Achadh Cill-Clochair, or at Drochait in Aird-Uladh, that his festival is kept; or it is the feast of Iomchadh that is kept in Cill-Clochair at Ard-Uladh on this day with Bairre."

Two ancient Latin lives of St. Finbarr were published by Mr. Caulfield in 1864. In the Irish life preserved in the Brussels MSS. the virtues of the saint are thus compendiated:—"His humility, his piety, his charity, his abstinence, his prayers by day and by night, won him great privileges: for he was godlike and pure of heart and mind, like Abraham; mild and well-doing, like Moyses; a psalmist, like David; wise, like Solomon; firm in the faith, like Peter; devoted to the truth, like Paul the Apostle; and full of the Holy Spirit, like John the Baptist. He was a lion of strength, and an orchard full of apples of sweetness. When the time of his death arrived, after erecting churches and monasteries to God, and appointing over them bishops, priests, and other degrees, and baptising and blessing districts and people, Barra went to Kill-na-Cluana (*i.e.* Cloyne), and with him went Fiana, at the desire of Cormac and Baoithin, where they consecrated two churches. Then he said, 'It is time for me to quit this corporeal prison, and to go to the heavenly King who is now calling me to Himself.' And then Barra was confessed, and received the Holy Sacrament from the hand of Fiana, and his soul went to heaven, at the cross which is in the middle of the Church of Cloyne; and there came bishops, priests, monks, and disciples, on his death being reported, to honour him. And they took him to Cork, the place of his resurrection, honouring him with psalms and hymns and spiritual songs; and the angels bore his soul with joy unspeakable to heaven, to the company of the patriarchs, prophets, apostles, and disciples of Jesus Christ, and of the Holy Trinity, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost."

We will not attempt to give in detail any sketch of the life of this great saint. A few facts will suffice for our present purpose:—"This most holy and elect of God, and most worthy priest, Barr (it is thus his ancient Latin life begins), was born of the sept called *Ibriuín-Ratha*, of Connaught, whose territory in after times became the Diocese of Enaghduine." He had for his master a religious named *Corporius*, styled in our Irish calendars Mac-Cuirp, who himself had been trained to piety in Rome, in the monastery of St. Gregory the Great. St. Finbarr was remarkable for miracles from his infancy; and it is recorded in his life that, in company with SS. Colgu, Maedhoc, and David, and twelve religious of his own monastery, he made a pilgrimage to Rome. St. Gregory the Great predicted his

purtenances, with three small gardens containing two acres, a water-mill, two stangs of land, a fishing pool, half a salmon-weir, three acres of arable land called the Half Skeagh-

promotion to the episcopate, which was fulfilled on his return to Ireland; and at the same time a fountain of oil, symbolical of the abundance of graces with which his ministry should enrich our Church, sprung forth in that spot, "close to the altar, where a cross was in after times erected, and where the saint's remains were also for a time deposited."—(*Lynch's MS. Hist.*)

Having governed his monastery and see for seventeen years, St. Finbarr was summoned to his heavenly reward, and the 25th of September is marked in all the ancient calendars for his festival. It was at the monastery of Cloyne, fifteen miles from Cork, that St. Finbarr rested in peace; but his remains were translated to his own great monastery, and being deposited for a while beneath the monumental cross at his cathedral church, they were subsequently encased in a silver shrine, and exposed to the veneration of the faithful. They were thus preserved till the year 1089, when, as the Annals of Innisfallen relate, "A fleet, with Dermot O'Brien, devastated Cork, and carried away the relics of Barre from Cill-na-Clerich."

St. Nesson, the immediate successor of St. Finbarr, was also renowned for his sanctity: he died in the year 551. So numerous were the holy men who flourished here, or wished their remains to be interred in the great Sanctuary of Lough-Eirce, that St. Ængus, about the year 800, writes:—"Seventeen holy bishops, and seven hundred favoured servants of God, who rest in Cork with Barri and Nesson, whose names are written in the heavens—all these I invoke unto my aid, through Jesus Christ." And again, he invokes all the saints who, by their prayers and penitential deeds, had sanctified that district:—"Three hundred and fifty holy bishops, three hundred and fifty priests, three hundred and fifty deacons, three hundred and fifty exorcists, three hundred and fifty lectors, three hundred and fifty ostiarii, and all the saints, with the blessing of God, in Loch Eirchi, in the territory of Mus-craighe and Hy-Eachach Cruadha, as is said:

"The protection of Loch Irchi,  
In which is a sweet-toned bell:  
Numerous as leaves upon trees,  
Are the saints who around it dwell.

"All these I invoke to my aid, through Jesus Christ."—(*Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, vol. iii., p. 391.)

Among the sacred treasures of Cork was preserved a copy of the Gospels, transcribed by St. Finbarr, and encased in a precious shrine:—"Evangelium sacris Sancti Barrii digitis exscriptum librum gemmis auroque ornatum."—(*Lynch's MS.*) Towards the close of the 10th century, *Columb Mac Kieregan* sent this relic, borne by two priests, as a protection to Mahoun Mac Kennedy, King of Munster. It was brought back stained with that prince's blood, and our annalists relate that Bishop Cormac, raising his hands to heaven, uttered a prophecy (inserted in the 'Wars of the Danes,' p. 93,) in which, execrating the dread sacrilege which had been perpetrated, he prophetically foretold the future fate of the murderers.

St. Bernard, in his life of St. Malachy, has preserved to us an interesting account of the appointment of a bishop of this see in the year 1140. We will give in full the narrative of this great doctor of the Church:—"About the year 1140 a vacancy occurred in the see of Cork; dissensions followed, each party being desirous of electing one pleasing to themselves, heedless of the choice of God. Malachy hearing of such dissensions, proceeded thither. Having assembled the clergy and people, he restored to union their hearts and their desires, for all agreed to leave the selection of their future bishop to him whose pastoral solicitude extended to that and to all the other churches of Ireland. He then chose for the see, not one of the princes of the land, but one from among the poor, whom he knew to be holy and learned, and one, moreover, who was not a native of that diocese. This person being sought for, was found laid up with illness, and so weak that he was unable to proceed abroad, except when borne on the arms of assistants. Then Malachy said, 'In the name of God I command him to arise: obedience will restore him to health.' What was the poor man now to do? He was anxious to obey, but he was

begge, ten other acres of arable, and twenty acres of arable and twenty of pasture in Galverston; to hold the same in capite for ever, at the annual rent of 6s. 9d. sterling.<sup>ww</sup>

1578. This year, in the month of October, to the great

<sup>ww</sup>*Aud. Gen.*

unprepared to do so; and even were he able to go thither, yet he feared the episcopal ministry. Thus the twofold enemy of sickness and fear of the burden struggled against his desire to obey; nevertheless this was victorious, the hope of salvation coming to its aid. Therefore he makes an effort; he raises himself up; he tries his strength; he finds that his strength has increased. With his material strength his faith also increases, and this, too, becoming more robust, reflects its firmness on his physical powers. And now he arises by himself; he moves about without difficulty; he feels no fatigue in walking. At length, without the help of an assistant, he proceeds, sane and courageous, to Malachy, who placed him in the see, amidst the applause of the clergy and people. Thus was all done in peace: for, seeing the miracle, no one dared to resist the decision of Malachy, and neither did he who was chosen make further opposition, seeing that the will of God was so manifestly made known."—(*Vita S. Malachæ*, cap. viii.)

Lynch, in his MS. History, justly supposes that the holy bishop thus chosen by St. Malachy was *Giolla-Aedha O'Muidhin*, who took part in the Synod of Kells in 1152, and who is celebrated in our Annals as "a man full of the grace of God, the tower of virginity and of wisdom in his time." He was of the *Muintir-aedh*, on the borders of Lough Con, and as he was still living when St. Bernard wrote, his name is not mentioned in the above narrative. He restored the church and rebuilt the monastery which, in after times, was called from him "*Gille-Abbey*." His death is marked in our Annals in the year 1172.

He was succeeded by Bishop Gregory, who governed the see fourteen years. He made a grant of the Church of St. Nessan, in Cork, to the monks of St. Thomas, Dublin, together with its lands, tithes, and other offerings, on condition of the payment of a cask of wine annually. A charter of Dermot, King of Munster, during his episcopate, makes known to us another church of this city, dedicated to St. John the Evangelist. This important document is as follows:—

"Dermot, by favour of Divine Providence, King of Munster, to all the faithful people greeting and peace for ever.

"Being fully persuaded of the fleeting nature of human memory, and of the unstable pomp of a perishable world, we have on that account decreed to record in writing the affectionate zeal with which our father, Cormac of blessed memory, King of Munster, built and confided to the protection of his people the Church of St. John the Apostle and Evangelist, at Cork, for the use of Archbishop Maurice and his successors, and for the pilgrims out of Connaught, the compatriots of St. Barre.

"And now having succeeded to our paternal Kingdom, relying upon the Divine assistance, we have undertaken, for the salvation of our soul, and of the souls of our parents, to defend the said church in such manner as it becomes royal munificence to do, and to re-edify and enlarge the same, in honour of the saints under whose protection the said place is known to be. Be it therefore known to all the faithful, that we do confirm, for all time to come, to the said foundation, all that the said place now justly possesses, either by the paternal donation, or by the grants of other kings; for my glorious father, the King, bestowed upon the said place Lysnoldarra, and Diarmid O'Connor endowed it with Aillina Carrigh.

"And be it known, furthermore, that we have ourselves granted to the said pilgrims the lands of Illa, and by this our charter do confirm the same: and our illustrious son Cormac, at the request of Catholicus, Archbishop of Tuam, has granted in perpetuity to God and to St. John, the lands of Maeldulgi, for the salvation of his soul and of ours, to be enjoyed freely and without molestation, and exempt from all secular services, which grant of said lands we also hereby confirm.

"Now, finally, we do take under our protection the said monastery, with the aforesaid lands, which we exempt from all secular charge, and yield freely and

grief of the Irish inhabitants, the bishops did publicly burn, at the high cross in this town, the image of St. Dominick, which had belonged to this monastery.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>2</sup> *War. Bps. p. 564.*

peaceably to God for all time to come. And lest at any time any one should presume to call in question the truth of those former grants, or of this our present grant, we have authenticated this charter with the impression of our seal, and delivered it, in the presence of fitting witnesses, to the King of Connaught, to be preserved.

"And the following are witnesses, on the part of the clergy and people :—

"CHRISTIAN, Bishop of Lismore, Legate of the Apostolic See.

"DONAT, Archbishop of Cashel.

"GREGORY, Bishop of Cork.

"BRICIUS, Bishop of Limerick.

"BENEDICT, Bishop of Ross.

"MATTHEW, Bishop of Cloyne.

"DONAT, Abbot of Mayo.

"GREGORY, Abbot of Cong.

"EUGENE, Bishop of Ardmore."

Of the old church thus repaired, the steeple is the only part that now remains. A round tower formerly stood in the church-yard, but all traces of it have long since disappeared. A Frenchman, M. De la Boullaye, who travelled in Ireland in 1644, and published an account of his tour, at Paris, in 1653, writes that—"In one of the suburbs of Cork there is an old tower, ten or twelve feet in circumference, and more than one hundred feet high, which they firmly hold to have been built by St. Barre." And speaking of the ruins of Gill-Abbey, he says they are situated at the distance of one mile from Cork, "opposite the well called by the English *Sunday Spring*, to the south side of the sea. . . . Here is a cave, which extends far under the ground, where, they say, St. Patrick resorted often for prayer." This is the cave referred to in our ancient writers as the "*antrum Sancti Finbarri*." The MS. of Dive-Downes, who was Protestant Bishop of Cork towards the close of the 17th century, describes the parish of St. Finbarr as comprising the parishes of St. John, Rinn-Mahon, St. Stephen, St. Nicholas, and St. Mary-de-Narde. He adds :—"There is one mass-house in the parish ; 'tis now ruinous. . . . Colman Sarsfield is Popish priest of this and the united parishes ; he has been here about four or five years. He has a mass-house (the one above referred to) near Red-Abbey. He was bred at Bourdeaux, in France, in the Irish seminary. Sarsfield says Mass twice every Sunday morning ; and the rest of the priests in Ireland, by order from the Pope, have the privilege of saying two Masses in one day, by reason of the great extent of most parishes or unions."

Some of the details of this MS. of Dive-Downes are full of interest, and throw considerable light on the condition of Ireland, and especially of the See of Cork about the year 1700. Thus he tells us that £20 was given at the time for bringing in a Tory. Again, that Teigue Dash was prosecuted for having a harper playing in his house on Sunday,—“In the parish of Ardnageehy, David Terry, Papist, gives the seventh part of his milk to the poor. In Abbeysrowry, the rector or vicar usually demands, besides his burying fees, when the man of the family, or widow, dies worth £5, the sum of 13s. 4d. as a mortuary ; if the man dies worth less than £5, they demand his second-best suit of clothes, or 6s. 8d. in lieu thereof. In Dromdaleague parish, Felix M'Carthy is priest ; he was here before the late troubles. A Protestant school-master complains that Papists teach publick school in this parish. In Caharagh parish 'tis thought that there are forty Papists for one Protestant ; William Guricheen, a very old man, is priest there. In Cannaway parish—no church, no Protestants—there are the ruins of a house in the churchyard ; there is a vault whole ; the priest built an altar in it about a year ago, when some person of note was buried. Denis Sweeney is Popish priest of this parish and Macromp.” Of Durrus, he writes—“St.

This house, which stood in an island called Cross-green, on the south side of the town, is now entirely demolished.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>7</sup>*Smith, vol. 1, p. 388.*

Faughnan is the patron saint of this parish. Not far from Bantry, by the sea-side, are the ruins of an abbey which belonged to the Franciscans. I don't hear that there were any other religious houses besides this in the barony of Beera and Bantry. Humphrey Sullivan is Popish priest of this parish and of Kilcroghan, he has been here about twelve years. All the inhabitants are Papists. No Papists are allowed to live within the walls of Bandon. The Earl of Cork in his leases has obliged all the tenants not to admit Papists. In the parish of Skull, there are about four Protestant families, and about four hundred Papist families. Daniel Carthy is Popish priest of the eastern part of this parish; he has been here ever since before the late troubles. No glebe in this parish, no Registry-book, nor Bible, nor Common Prayer-book. In Kilmoe, there are the ruins of a chapel at the west-end of the town, dedicated to St. Mullagh. The church of Kilmoe is dedicated to St. Briana, *alias* Brandon, whose festival is observed in this parish; there are about nine Protestant families, and two hundred Papist. Teige Coghlen is Popish priest of Kilmoe and of the western part of Skull; he has been here about eight years. A young Irishman, a Papist, teaches school about the middle of the parish. In all the O'Sullivan's country they observe as a holiday 'St. Rooane's Day.' At Kinneigh, a high round tower stands in the south-west corner of the churchyard. 'Tis supposed this church was formerly a cathedral. A stone is in the south-west corner of the church of Kinneigh, counted very sacred, which the Irish solemnly swear upon. The church is accounted by the Irish very sacred. There is a tradition that formerly in this churchyard there was a well that had great medicinal virtues, and that the concourse of people being very chargeable to the inhabitants, they stopped it up. In Murragh, Daniel Hurley, a quiet man, is Popish priest of this and three or four contiguous parishes; there are more Protestants than Papists; there was a registry lately bought, and a Bible, and two Common Prayer-books. In Desertsurgis there are one hundred and fifty families of Protestants; no Popish schoolmaster in this parish; a Bible and Common Prayer-book lately bought. Denis Mahony is Popish priest of this parish."

The County of Cork Grand Jury Presentments, at the close of the 17th century, detail some facts of the deepest interest. In 1687, they present—"That the Protestant clergy, under colour of law, exact from the Roman Catholick subjects several sums of christening, purification, burying, and book money, and sue them in their spiritual courts, and commit them to prison, so dispeopling the country, &c., that therefore, your Lordship would favorably represent the same to the Government, or otherwise make such order that may hinder these inconveniences; and the rather, because the like duties are not demanded in any other Christian country by the clergy, nor from any other but the Roman Catholics." In 1694, they present—"An address to the Judge, complaining of the Popish clergy that come from beyond the sea, and praying for the suppression of Popish schools." In 1696, they state—"That John Mulconry, a Popish priest, and others, are out on their keeping, and cannot be taken by warrant; we, therefore, pray they may be ordered to surrender themselves by a certain day, or that they may be proclaimed rebels and traitors to the Government." In the following year they complain—"That Cornelius Crowley, *alias* Maddery, of Skibbereen, and Owen MacOwen Sullivan, of Kilcaskin parish, and others, all Irish Papists, have taught school, and continue to do so, contrary to the Act." In April, 1698, they present—"That P. Morrough, Titular Vicar-General, and Dr. John Slyne, Titular Bishop (of Cork), remain in this kingdom contrary to the late Act." On 13th of August, 1701, they also complain that—"John Connelly, formerly Vicar of Rosscarbery, still remains in this kingdom contrary to the Act." And on 27th July, 1702, they again present—"That John Slyne, Titular Bishop of Cork, remains still in this kingdom, exercising ecclesiastical jurisdiction contrary to the late Act."

We have said that St. Finbarr first erected his cell on the banks of Lake Allua.

*Augustinian Friary*<sup>1</sup>; a monastery was founded, on the south side of the city, in the reign of King Edward I. for friars following the rule of St. Augustin;<sup>a</sup> some writers give this foundation to Patrick Lord Kingsale, who lived in the reigns of King Henry V. and VI.,<sup>a</sup> and another writer brings the foundation so low as 1472, or 1475.<sup>b</sup>

6th October, 19th of Queen Elizabeth, a grant was made to Cormac M'Teige M'Carthy of this friars and its appurtenances, containing two acres, a church, &c., at the annual rent of £13; and for the other possessions the rent of 16s. 8d. all Irish money.<sup>bb</sup>

Of this building, the steeple, which is 64 feet high, and the walls of the church, still remain; the east window, the only one in the choir, was truly magnificent, and measured 30 feet in height and 15 in breadth; the whole erection was converted into a sugar-house, and is now called the Red Abbey.<sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup>War. mon. <sup>a</sup>Lodge, vol. 4, p. 35. <sup>b</sup>Herrera, quoted by Allemande. <sup>bb</sup>Aud. Gen. <sup>c</sup>Smith, vol. 1, p. 388.

In after times that spot became a favorite resort of Pilgrims. Seven churches were erected there, and it bloomed as a garden of Paradise :—

“There is a green island in lone Gougane Barra,  
Where Allua of songs rushes forth as an arrow;  
In deep-vallied Desmond, a thousand wild fountains  
Come down to that lake from their home in the mountains.  
There grows the wild ash, and a time-stricken willow  
Looks chidingly down on the mirth of the billow,  
As like some gay child, that sad monitor scorning,  
It lightly laughs back to the laugh of the morning;  
And its zone of dark hills—oh! to see them all bright'ning  
When the tempest flings out its red banner of lightning;  
And the waters rush down, 'mid the thunder's deep rattle,  
Like clans from their hills at the voice of the battle;  
And brightly the fire-crested billows are gleaming,  
And wildly, from Mullagh, the eagles are screaming.  
Oh! where is the dwelling in valley or highland  
So meet for a bard as this lone little island.”

At the close of the 17th century, a priest named Denis O'Mahony chose this spot as a penitential retreat, and restored its seven chapels. Opposite the island he placed a small tomb with the inscription—“*Hoc sibi et successoribus in eadem vocatione monumentum imposuit Dominus Doctor Dionysius O'Mahony, Presbyter licet indignus, an. dom., 1700.*”

<sup>1</sup>Augustinian Friary.—Inquisition 31st October, IV. King James, finds that the friars were seized of the third part of a water-mill called the upper mill of Douglas, on the lands of Buelibracky, and the tithes of the mill and the said lands, that William White and John, his son, by writing, dated XIII. Edward IV., granted to the friary a parcel of land in Shandon, near Cork, in breadth between the lands of St. John the Baptist, on the north, and the lands of the said William and John on the south, and in length from the land of the Grey Friars, on the west, to the highway on the east :—

Inquisition 7th October, V. James, finds that the said mill was built by the O'Dalies, and that the said lands of Buelibracky contain, by estimation, two acres, and that the same did belong to the friary.

*Carmelite Friary*; Bourke is the only author who mentions this house for White Friars.

*Nunnery of St. John the Baptist*; William de Barry and John de Barry, supposed to be John Keltagh Barry, and styled the Lord John Barry of Hely, who was basely murdered in the year 1327,<sup>d</sup> did, together with John Fitz-Gilbert, and Philip Fitz-Robert, grant several carucates and parcels of land, tithes, and advowsons of churches, to Agnes de Hereford and other women, to serve God in the habit of nuns, in the house of St. John the Baptist, in St. John's-street, within the suburbs of Cork.<sup>e</sup>

This nunnery, of which there are now no remains, was situated near the present market-house, and the site was accidentally discovered in digging up some old tombs.<sup>f</sup>

*Preceptory*; there was a preceptory of the Knight's Templars in this town, for we find that William le Chaplain was master of Cork about the year 1292.<sup>g</sup>

*Priory of St. Stephen*; An house was founded in the south suburbs of this city for the support of Lepers, and Edward Henry was keeper of it A.D. 1295.<sup>h, i</sup>

1408. November 22nd, Henry IV. granted the custody of this house, then vacant and in his gift, to Henry Fygham, chaplain, for life;<sup>j</sup> and November 22nd, 1419, it was re-granted to another Henry Fygham during life.<sup>k</sup> This priory, when suppressed, was granted to the city of Cork, and about the year 1674, an hospital for poor children, now called the Blue-coat Hospital, was erected on the ancient site.<sup>l</sup>

*Christ Church*; otherwise called the Church of the Holy Trinity.

Inquisition 10th September, XX Queen Elizabeth, finds that a chantry was founded in this church for the support of eight priests; to which, contrary to the statute of mortmain, the following grants were made; by James White, the Church of St. Laurens in this city, with three messuages adjacent thereto, annual value, besides reprises, 3s. 4d.; by James

<sup>d</sup>Lodge, vol. 1, p. 196. <sup>e</sup>Dugdale, vol. 2, p. 1020. <sup>f</sup>Smith, vol. 1, p. 389. <sup>g</sup>King, p. 38. <sup>h</sup>Id. p. 139. <sup>i</sup>Harris's Collect. vol. 4. <sup>j</sup>King, p. 139. <sup>k</sup>Smith, vol. 1, p. 389.

<sup>l</sup>Priory of St. Stephen.—Cormac Mac Dermody Carty and his assigns were entitled when on the road to Cork, that the master of this hospital should, for the space of twenty-four hours, maintain and support all the horsemen and footmen attending the said Cormac, his heirs and assigns, with victuals, and all necessaries, in consideration of which the said master claimed housefoot, and firefoot out of the woods of said Cormac for the support, repairing, and re-edifying of the hospital when necessary. The master was seized of the advowsons Aghnynagh and the rectory of the parish churches of Mucrumphe and Clounadrohide, and the patronage of the parish church of Moyviddy and Kilkollinan.



Milton, a carucate of land near Cork, in the tenure of James Meagh, annual value 6s. ; and by Philip Golde, a college, built of stone, near Christ Church, annual value, besides reprises, 6s.

*St. Peter's* ; The same inquisition finds, that there was a chantry in this church ; to which, contrary to the statute of mortmain, two messuages and a garden, annual value, besides reprises, 6s. 8d., were granted by Robert Golde, for the purpose of finding one priest to say mass.

*Cregan*, see *Timoleague*.

*Cullen* ; In the barony of Duhallow, and five miles and an half south-west of Kanturk ; near this church are some ruins which are said to have been an ancient nunnery.<sup>m</sup>

*Donaghmore* ; In the barony of Muskerry, and six miles north-east of Macroomp. St. Fingene, a disciple of St. Finbarr, was abbot of Domnach mor mitine<sup>n</sup> which, in after ages, became a parish church, and is now called Donaghmore.

*Fermoy* ; A small village on the river Blackwater, in the barony of Clangibbon. An Abbey was founded here under the invocation of the Virgin Mary, for Cistercian Monks, who were brought hither from an abbey on the Suire, in the county of Tipperary ; and a new colony was afterwards introduced from the abbey of Furnes, in Lancashire.<sup>o</sup>

A.D 1226. Patrick, the prior, was made bishop of Cloyne, according to Sir James Ware ; but from the records it appears, that W. then prior of Fermoy, was elected bishop of Cloyne, and received the royal assent.<sup>p</sup>

1248. The abbot was fined in the sum of £10 for divers offences.<sup>q</sup>

1290. Maurice le Fleming made a considerable grant to this abbey.<sup>r</sup>

1301. The abbot Maurice Garton fell from his horse into the river Funcheon, in the neighbourhood of this abbey, and lost his life ;<sup>s</sup> he was succeeded by Henry.<sup>t</sup>

1303. Maurice, Lord Kerry, died in this year ; at which time Thomas, his fifth son, governed the abbies of Fermoy and Odorney.<sup>u</sup>

1311. Dionysius was abbot.<sup>w</sup>

1355. David Rawyr O'Kyff was abbot.<sup>x</sup>

1367. Henry was abbot, and in same year William Fleming was elected, who paid his homage as abbot of Fermoy, to John, bishop of Cloyne, for the lands of Kilconan.<sup>y</sup>

<sup>m</sup>Smith, vol. 1, p. 302. <sup>n</sup>Act. SS. p. 258. <sup>o</sup>War. mon. Pembroke's Ann. and Ann. B.V.M. Dubl. &c. <sup>p</sup>War. Bps. p. 575. <sup>q</sup>King, p. 359. <sup>r</sup>Id. p. 282. <sup>s</sup>Id. p. 358. <sup>t</sup>Id. p. 283. <sup>u</sup>Lodge, vol. 2, p. 103. <sup>w</sup>King, p. 359. <sup>x</sup>Id. p. 282. <sup>y</sup>Id. p. 359.

(To be continued.)

# THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

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FEBRUARY, 1871.

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## IRISH HISTORICAL STUDIES IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

### III.—PATRICK FLEMING, O.S.F.

*Early Life of Fleming;—He enters the Order of St. Francis;—Accompanies F. MacCaghwell to Rome;—His Letters from the Eternal City;—The Lives of Irish Saints, St. Peregrinus, St. Andrew, &c., in the Roman Libraries;—Death of MacCaghwell;—His Memoir, composed by Fleming;—F. Fleming at Ratisbonne;—The Irish Monasteries there;—Various places where Lives or Relics of Irish Saints are preserved on the Continent;—F. Fleming is appointed First Guardian of Prague;—His devotion to St. Columbanus;—His Martyrdom;—The "Collectanea Sacra,"—Notes of Fleming on the "Cambatta" of St. Columbanus: the Saint's Journey to Rome: the Monastery of Bangor, &c.;—The "Three Orders of Irish Saints;"—Great value of the "Collectanea" at the present day.*

PATRICK FLEMING was born at *Bel-atha-Lagain*, in the parish of Clonkeen, county Louth, on the 17th of April, 1599. The ruins of his family mansion are still pointed out, close by the modern Lagan Bridge, near the junction of the three counties of Louth, Meath, and Monaghan. He was connected by birth with the noble houses of Slane<sup>1</sup> and Delvin, but his virtues and learning, still more than his family honours, reflected a bright lustre on his name. From a short biographical notice which was composed by Colgan, and prefixed to Sirinus's edition of the *COLLECTANEA SACRA*, we learn that Fleming received in baptism the name of

<sup>1</sup> See his Genealogical Table in *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, vol. ii., page 254.

Christopher, and that from his infancy he gave proofs of that piety, sedateness, and diligence, which characterized his after years. At the age of thirteen he was sent to the Continent, to preserve him from the danger of proselytism, which was as imminent from the Court of Wards to the children of the Irish nobility, during King James's reign, as it is to the children of our poor from the birds' nests of the present day. The Rev. Christopher Cusack, uncle of Fleming, was at this time administrator of the Irish colleges for the secular clergy in Flanders; and, indeed, these institutions mainly depended on his munificence for their support. Under his guidance Fleming pursued the humanity studies in Douay, and passed thence to the College of St. Anthony at Louvain, where, on the 17th of March, 1617, at the hands of F. Anthony Hickey, he received the habit of St. Francis, and assumed in religion the name of Patrick.

In 1623, Father Fleming, having completed his philosophical and theological course, was chosen by Hugh MacCaghwell, then Definitor-General of the order of St. Francis, and soon after promoted to the Primatial See of Armagh, to be the companion of his journey to Rome. Passing through Paris he contracted a close friendship with Hugh Ward, to whom he promised a zealous and devoted co-operation in searching out and illustrating the lives of the early saints of Ireland, "in the hope," says his biographer, "that by promoting piety towards these holy men, their example might be imitated by our people, and those golden years be renewed amongst us which shed such lustre and glory on our country."

In the last chapter we have seen the letters which were addressed to Ward by Father Patrick Fleming as he journeyed on towards the Eternal City. His subsequent letters from Rome furnish us with additional interesting details regarding his researches in the cause of Irish history. He had passed through Bobbio, and discovered there, with other monuments of our ancient church, the precious fragments of St. Columbanus, which were afterwards published in the *Collectanea Sacra*. These he forwarded without delay to Ward, and on the feast of St. Mary Magdalene (22nd of July), 1623, wrote to him as follows:—

"Write as soon as possible to let me know whether you have received the bundle which I sent you with the Rule of St. Columban, that we may no longer be in anxiety about it. Should you not have received it, I will transcribe these documents again for you. The other works which I saw in Bobbio have not yet come to hand, but there are copies of them here

in Rome, so that Messingham may be sure to have them for an appendix to his work, or they will suffice for a separate special volume, especially as the Lives I sought for, can in part be procured here. Thus, instead of one small volume, I think you may be able to publish two volumes, which will be far more becoming for our island of saints.

"That you might have some idea of the treasure which I hope, with the blessing of God, to send you, I went with Father Wadding (to whom you will return due thanks for all the trouble he has taken with me in this matter) to the library of the Oratorians, where Baronius composed his Annals, and I found there the Life of *St. Peregrinus* in four large manuscript sheets, from which, it appears, that he was a true saint, and a glorious despiser of mundane vanity. I found there, also, the Life of St. Donatus of Fiesole, with a lengthy appendix of a Benedictine monk, named Cajetan, who, amongst other things, proves him to have come from Ireland; the Life of the same saint, which is in the Minerva Library, where, however, it is hard to find anything, as its books are all upside down, states that he was *ex Scotia ubi nullum vivit animal venenosum*, which manifestly refers to Ireland. Some other Lives, as, for instance, of St. Patrick and St. Brendan, I found there also; but you do not require these. There are also some poems on St. Æmilian, but I could not find his Life. I hope, in the course of time, to find much more in this library; and rest assured, I will not be slothful at the work. If I had a Religious to accompany me in the present great heat, I would myself copy the above Lives. Father Hugh MacCaghwell, however, cannot bear the heat at all, and thus I am obliged to defer this toil for the present. There is a pretty full Life of St. Andrew of Fiesole, who is expressly called *Hybernus*, which Father Luke Wadding has promised to translate into Latin for me. I will be able to have, without much trouble, the Life of St. Frigidian, for his congregation is established at Lucca, where he founded a monastery, still so famous throughout Italy, that there are some cardinals connected with it. Our Primate (Peter Lombard) saw this Life, and thinks he has a copy of it among his papers, and promises it to me. There are some persons in this city who celebrate St. Frigidian's office, and I am sure we will find his Acts with some of them.

"Be careful to mark the place and library from which you receive each work, that thus your history may be the more trustworthy, for that is a very important point, as Father Luke Wadding assures me, and hence he constantly marks them in his writings. I have in my possession the commentary of our

Primate, Lombard, on the affairs of Ireland ; but if you except the history of the last centuries, he has scarcely anything that I had not seen before. He is more full, however, than others on the question of the nomenclature, as he illustrates it copiously from Bede and other writers.

"This is the third day that the Cardinals are in conclave for the election of a Pontiff. Pray to God that we may have a Pope who, by word and example, may instruct the fold of Christ."

The many lives of our Irish saints enumerated by Fleming in this letter are all still preserved in the Oratorian Library at the Chiesa Nuova. The most interesting, perhaps, and at the same time the least known, is the life of St. *Pellegrino*, or *Peregrinus*, by which name our countryman is now known among the faithful of Italy. Having made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, he chose for himself a hermitage there in a desert place, and for several years practised in his daily life all the austerities of the early anchorites. In the first Saracen irruptions he was made prisoner, and suffered a great deal. The leader, however, of these marauders was so struck by some miracles which the saint performed, that he restored him to liberty. The holy man then journeyed back to Italy, and chose for himself another hermitage in a mountainous and woody district on the borders of the territory of Lucca, where he soon after passed to a better life. After his death many miracles attested his sanctity. An oratory was erected over his remains, and pilgrims, to the present day, flock thither to invoke his intercession.

The St. Andrew to whom Fleming refers, was a deacon and brother of St. Donatus. A small church dedicated to St. Martin, situated on the declivity of the hill of Fiesole, and on the banks of the Melsola, was repaired by him, and enriched with valuable possessions. His remains are now enshrined under its high altar, and the memory of St. Andrew is cherished with warm devotion by the inhabitants of the surrounding territory.

On the 16th September, 1623, Father Fleming again wrote to Hugh Ward, who had now passed from Paris to Louvain. He had written, he states, five letters since his interview with Ward in Paris, and had as yet received no letter in reply. A note, however, had come to hand from Messingham, to the effect, that his work was hastening to a close, but that he was still ready to fulfil his promise of adding any important documents that might be forwarded to him. "It would grieve me," adds Fleming, "if through your fault this present opportunity should be lost to us, which, perhaps for years, may not occur

again. The present time is specially favourable to us ; for the Sacred Congregation has imposed a precept on Dempster to abstain in future from treating of such historical matters, and whilst this precept lasts it would be important for us to set forth our state of the question ; wherefore, whatever you may have in Louvain send it without delay to Paris to Messingham, and hereafter, if God gives us the means, we ourselves can republish the same documents more elegantly and accurately." The conclusion of this letter is altogether characteristic of the writer :—

"If you are suffering from sickness, as I have heard, you will do well to depute Father Gallagher to maintain correspondence with me till such time as you may be restored to health. In the meantime, invoke our countryman, St. Peregrinus, who, during life, obtained the privilege from God that those who implore his aid for anything conducive to their greater good should obtain the wished-for favour. I pray you, dear father, be firm in your resolve, and be friendly with me. God forbid that you yourself should cease to enjoy the blessings of light, now that you are preparing to restore our saints to that light of which they have been so long deprived."

His next letter is dated the 1st of June, 1624. In the interval, Fleming had been busily engaged in preparing for his public thesis in Rome, and hence had been able to do but little in exploring the libraries of the Eternal City. The first page of this letter is very much effaced ; but from the few sentences that remain, it appears that Ward had been for some time dangerously ill, and hence Fleming now exhorts him to allow no longer any delay in carrying out his holy project in regard to the saints of Ireland. He then continues :

"You ask me to send you all that I have collected here : I would willingly obey, were it not that the thesis which I had to defend in public before several Cardinals occupied all my time. With the blessing of God I will be free from this trouble in fifteen days' time, and then you will know by experience how firm I am in my resolution ; for, as soon as I shall hear that you have printed what I already sent to you, I will transcribe and forward the Lives of St. Frigidian, St. Andrew, St. Brigid, St. Peregrinus, St. Marinus, Bishop ; St. Silas, Bishop ; and also the Life of St. Coemghen, which I procured from the Jesuit Library of Ingolstadt.

"As regards the Irish saints who flourished in Italy, two only remain to be sought for, *i.e.*, St. Donatus, the brother of St. Cathaldus ; and St. Æmilian, whom, however, I know to have been called a Scot. I have already told you what you may expect in the next parcel. I forgot to mention the Bull for the

canonization of St. Virgilius, taken from the *Regesta* of the Roman Pontiffs: it is drawn up in the same style as that published for the canonization of our holy founder St. Francis. From this you will be convinced of my diligence in exploring the records of Rome. But, would to heaven that I were free to pursue these studies. I am now here for a year, or thereabouts, and yet I have only been able to visit four or five libraries in this city. You know how this happens, and hence I need say no more. Nevertheless, my noble Hugh, be not dispirited; we will yet, with the aid of Him who glorifies the saints, do something to add lustre to the saints of Ireland, despite the clamour of those who pursue the vain fictions of their own imaginations.

"One of the librarians in charge of the Vatican Library promised to let me see the catalogue of all the books which have been sent by the Duke of Bavaria to the Sovereign Pontiff: they formed that most celebrated collection which was called the Palatinate Library. I expect to find many treasures there as soon as they are arranged in order. I saw amongst them some noble manuscripts, but I was not able at the time to examine them.

"Rev. Eugene Swiney some time ago wrote to us from Paris, stating that he had discovered the writings of some Irish philosopher, which he is about to publish, and asking me to forward to him the *Homiliae Sancti Columbani*, that both might be published together. It is too bad that we should have all the labour, whilst others of the secular clergy thus bear away all the honor of publishing these homilies, which are more precious than the purest gold. This should undoubtedly annoy us, were it not that we seek to promote the glory of our saints, and not our own glory. The fact is, the homilies have not yet come from Bobbio, but they will be sure to come shortly; for two friars will be sent expressly to bring them to us. In the meantime, therefore, see what can be done with them in Paris, for I will not send them thither till I hear from you. Should I have a moment of time, I will transcribe one of them that I brought with me from Bobbio, together with the Rule of St. Columbanus, which you will shortly see in the pages of Messingham's work.

"Indeed you should not have accepted your present post in Louvain, relinquishing your former important work. Father Gallagher might have been appointed to teach, for it is folly to select him, so unexperienced in such studies, for so important and so urgent a work.

"Lest I should seem to send you an empty letter, I enclose a concise and compendious history of St. Frigidian, and a

similar account of St. Patrick, which contains some particulars either omitted, or not clearly expressed, by Jocelyn. The other fragments which I send are most curious, and to be highly esteemed; and they are the more authoritative as they were written by a holy Martyr. I am sure if you show these things to those who are there with you, they will say they are spurious, so be careful not to cast such pearls before swine. Keep them to yourself, and with the blessing of God we will soon find a place for them. I will omit to mention several fragmentary notes which I have extracted from the Martyrology of Canisius. I have searched in vain for the work of Florus; I pray you to enquire about it from all those who are versed in such matters, and especially from Myraeus, who lives in Brussels. Ask also about the life of St. Livinus, written by Bonifacio, which I know not where to find.

"See then, my dearest Father in Christ and in his saints, what a long letter I have written through my anxiety to converse with you about everything. We may soon be together: for, if God permits, I will proceed to Louvain after the General Chapter, laden with documents. In the meantime, let us pray for one another, that our holy desires may be fulfilled. I now end this homily, for which I have stolen a few hours from my study time. Dear Father, be ever mindful of me,

"Your truly faithful friend,

"FR. PATRICK FLEMING.

"Rome, 21st June, 1624."

On the 27th of July, Father Fleming again wrote to Ward, stating that on the preceding day he had received his letter with exceeding joy. He had also received a letter from Dr. Fleming, Archbishop of Dublin, giving the news that the Religious of Louvain were thinking of publishing the Lives of the Saints of Ireland, and of appointing Father Gallagher to this work. "They do not seem in this (adds Fleming), to have maturely pondered the matter; for this Father, though qualified for the task by his memory, and his style, is deficient in the knowledge of our ancient histories: wherefore I have sought to dissuade them from their choice, and have urged them to leave the whole burden on your own shoulders." Father Fleming subsequently exhorts Ward to begin his series of works, with a treatise *De viris illustribus Hiberniae*, for which abundant materials were at hand: he complains that Messingham had failed in the promise which he had made to them, and, therefore, it now only remained for them to work on without him. "I have sent to you (he thus concludes) some little notes with the nephew of the deceased



Archbishop of Dublin (Dr. Eugene Matthews). I have, at length, received from Bobbio the Homilies of St. Columbanus. But in the middle of my news, I am now obliged to bring my letter to a close. I congratulate you with all my heart, on the many important documents you have found."

The last letter of Father Fleming from Rome, is dated the 24th August, 1624. In it he consoles Ward on his appointment to teach Philosophy, even though this should distract him from the great work on the Saints of Ireland, in which he was engaged: "obedience, he says, is better than sacrifice; our zeal in publishing the Lives of the Saints will not, I trust, be lessened on this account, but will be increased by time, and as our reward we may be enabled to shed greater light on the early monuments of our country." He subsequently adds: "Lay aside then the Annotations, which, perhaps, you contemplate: these require a great deal of leisure, and a good supply of books, both of which are now wanting to you, and undertake rather to translate from the Irish language those Lives of the Saints which you have collected, and add them to the Latin Lives which you already have, and give a compendium of all in one small volume, *De viris illustribus Hiberniae*, giving merely the place of each one's birth, his manner of life, and his death. This may be published at but little expense, and you can promise in it a longer treatise on the Saints of Ireland. This work would cost you little trouble, and you might take for your model the work of Pitseus *De Scriptoribus Angliae*. By doing this you will avoid displeasing Messingham, and besides, the Continental readers seeing reference made to so many saints not named on their calendars, will be the more desirous of having your treatise on the Lives of these Saints.

"All this I already wrote to you and to the Archbishop of Dublin (Dr. Thomas Fleming), but you yourself must judge whether it be possible or not. There are many of our saints about whom so little is known, that they would have no place in the Lives of our Saints; but in such a work as I have mentioned, they could easily be introduced. At all events, rest assured that I will labour here untiringly in extracting from various books everything connected with our saints, which will serve in future time to illustrate their Lives.

"What you write to me about my journey to Louvain (*i.e.*, to visit the different libraries on the way), I fear cannot be accomplished; for where will I find a companion, and how could I intrude myself into houses where I am not invited? There are three Irish Religious here, two in Rome and one in Naples. Write to me by return of post how a companion can

be secured. At all events, by the desire of my Superiors, I will set out for Louvain next Pentecost.

"Messingham has written here to say that you promised to send to him any documents you have, if he wished to publish them. If human glory were our object, we should feel hurt, indeed, that for such a treasure as the Rule of St. Columban, no acknowledgment is made of those who communicated it and discovered it. But have courage, dear Father; I have the Homilies of St. Columbanus, and there are some letters of the same Saint in this city, though it is not easy to procure them. It is said that one who resides in the palace of the Cardinal, to whom my thesis was dedicated, has several works of St. Columbanus. What truth, however, there is in this, you will soon know with certainty.

"I have not yet received the Life of St. Coemghen. St. Fulco is called *Scotus*; but perhaps I may get some details concerning him when I pass through Pavia. Father Edmund MacCaghwell tells me that he saw in Ireland, in Latin, the Life of St. Adamnan, which you say is still preserved (in Irish), and easily met with. I particularly congratulate you on the Acts and the lists of the kings which you have received. Why not give us, in the course of time, a History of the Kings of Ireland, such as other nations have. Leave nothing undone that the Library may be enriched with all books necessary for the work; and make sure to carry out your purpose of sending Brother Clery to Ireland to collect the MSS. there."

It was probably before his departure from Rome that Father Fleming composed a sketch of the Life of Dr. Hugh MacCaghwell, whom he had accompanied to the Eternal City, and who was in the meantime promoted to the Primatial See of Armagh—a dignity which he held only for a few weeks. This work of Fleming was incorporated by Vernulaeus in the elegant panegyric on the deceased Primate, which he delivered at Louvain; and its chief facts are preserved by Lynch in his MS. History of the Bishops of Ireland. As MacCaghwell himself rendered no small service to Irish literature in the beginning of the 17th century, not only by his labours in Louvain, of which we have already spoken, but also by his edition of the works of Duns Scotus, and his vindication of the claim of Ireland to be the birth-place of that great writer, a few passages from the work just cited may not be out of place here, or uninteresting to the reader.

MacCaghwell, in Irish *MacCathmhail*, was born in the county Down, in Ulster, about the year 1571; and in his

youth was sent to the island of Anglesey, to be trained in the higher branches of science. There he shone as the light of the school, honoured by all his companions as a prodigy of genius, and as a guide in every path of virtue. From the school he was summoned by Hugh O'Neil, to be at the same time his counsellor and the tutor of his children. He discharged the duties of this arduous post with such devotedness and diligence, that the great O'Neil presented him with a sword, the highest mark of esteem which the warlike chieftain could then bestow. Towards the close of the century he was sent, together with Henry, the son of Hugh O'Neil, on a mission to the Spanish monarch, to solicit aid in the religious war which the Irish septs were then waging against Elizabeth. This mission was eminently successful; but other thoughts now engaged the mind of MacCaghwell; and laying aside all the hopes and honours which the world presented to him, he enrolled his name at Salamanca among the children of St. Francis. We need not enter into the details of his life in the cloister. Suffice it to say, that his biographer attests that, as heretofore, he surpassed his compeers in human science, so now, among his religious brethren, he, "like an angel," pursued the higher paths of religious perfection. Amongst his penitential exercises, it is specially mentioned that he constantly wore a rough hair-shirt next his flesh, and that he generally protracted his daily fast until sunset. He taught Sacred Theology in Louvain: the same charge was subsequently entrusted to him in Rome, and he discharged its duties with universal applause; and whilst the title of *Professor Emeritus* was awarded to him by his superiors, he became generally designated by his brethren as "*Hugh the Angelic*." Twice he made the journey to the Eternal City on foot, and frequently he, in like manner, visited the houses of the Order in Spain. It is added, that during his stay in Rome he made, once each month, and sometimes more frequently, the pilgrimage of its seven chief basilicas. At the same time he was instrumental in founding the college of his order at St. Isidore's; and he used all his influence with Cardinal Ludovisi to procure a similar college in the Holy City for the aspirants to the ranks of the secular clergy. This latter project, soon after his demise, was realized through the exertions of his friend and associate, Father Luke Wadding; and throughout the whole long era of Ireland's gloom, it continued to confer many blessings on our Church. He also, in opposition to many, who feared lest the appointment of new bishops to the vacant sees in Ireland might reawaken the embers of persecution, procured the appointment of four bishops for our island.

On the death of Peter Lombard, this holy religious, at the urgent request of John O'Neil, Earl of Tyrone, was selected by Urban the Eighth to fill the see of Armagh.<sup>1</sup> In this exalted dignity he pursued unchanged the same practices of a devoted Franciscan, and was a model of observance to all his brethren. He asked and received permission to select any six priests of his order, to bring them with him as companions and fellow labourers in his new mission.

Many other special privileges were also accorded to him, one of which was a plenary indulgence for those who should visit the church of SS. Patrick, Brigid, and Columbkille in Down and Connor. However, he was not destined to revisit the shores of his loved country, for, in the designs of God, his labours already merited their crown. He had already taken his leave of the Holy Father, and received a farewell blessing for his flock; he wished, however, to make, fort he last time, his usual penitential pilgrimage to the seven chief churches of Rome. On the way he was seized with fever, and so violent was the attack that his companions feared he should expire on the road-side. Conveyed back to the convent of Aracoeli, the last benediction for the dying was sent to him by the Pontiff. He bequeathed his cross and ring to Edmund Dungan, Bishop of Down and Connor, who proved himself worthy of this gift by laying down his life for the faith in prison in 1629; and his only request to his Holiness was that none should be chosen as his successor in the see of Armagh, but one whom John O'Neil, the Earl of Tyrone, would nominate. He<sup>2</sup> was interred in the church of St. Isidore, and

<sup>1</sup> From the Consistorial Acts we learn that he was appointed Archbishop of Armagh on the 2nd of April, 1626, and was consecrated on the 7th of the Ides of June, the same year.

<sup>2</sup> The following list of MacCaghwell's works is given by Wadding:—

"Hugo Cavellus, Hibernus Dunensis, vir aequè pius ac doctus, provinciae S. Jacobi, ac caenobii Salmanticensis alumnus, ex primis fundatoribus et directoribus insignis Collegii S. Antonii Lovaniensis Fratrum Minorum Hibernorum, cui multis annis praefuit, et semper usque ad mortem profuit, Sacrae Theologiae quam Lovanii, et in urbe ad insigne Aracoeli caenobium professus est, Lector emeritus, sui ordinis definitor generalis, et demum Archiepiscopus Armacanus, totius Hiberniae primas, disciplinae regularis, uti exactissimus observator, ita etiam perpetuus promotor et fautor. Mirum quantos pro ea retinenda et restituenda subierit labores, toties in Hispaniam et Italiam ex Belgio pedes ad ordinis comitia generalia profectus, a laxioris vitae fautoribus Parisiis, anno millesimo sexcentesimo vigesimo primo multa perpeusus, ad extremum usque vitae discrimen. Neque minus admirandum quatenus inter tot itinerum, negotiorum domusque regendae distractiones debili corporis extenuati constitutione potuerit adeo studiis incumbere, ut summo omnium applausu ediderit:

1. "Scoti Commentarios in quatuor libros sententiarum a se recognitos, cum antiquis editionibus et vetustissimo codice MS. collatos.

2. "Scoti vitam," quam praedictis commentariis praemisit.

3. "Appendicem Diffusam ad questionem primam distinctionis tertiae libri tertii positam in calce ejusdem libri pro asserenda Immaculata Conceptione

an epitaph, with the following inscription, was erected to his memory :—

D. O. M.  
 Illustrissimo et Reverendissimo Domino  
 Fr. Hugoni Cavello,  
 Ordinis minorum strictioris observantiae  
 Lectori, Definitori Generali  
 Archiepiscopo Armacano  
 Primati Hiberniae  
 De patria, religione, litteris benemerito  
 Cujus mortem merita  
 In patriam reditum  
 Mors praevenit  
 Excellentiss. D. Joannes O'Neil Tironiae comes  
 Hunc lapidem poni fecit.  
 Obiit XXII. Septembris, M.D.C.XXVI.  
 Ætatis LV.

But to return to Father Fleming. Whilst journeying from Rome to Louvain, we first meet with him at Ratisbonne, now Regensburg, at the famous Irish monastery of St. Peter, and O'Sheerin informs us that he wrote there a compendium of the ancient chronicle of that monastery. This chronicle is frequently referred to by the various writers of our history in the 17th century, and many passages from it are published by Ward, Lynch, and others. The monastery of St. Peter was founded by St. Marianus, an Irish pilgrim, who, in the year 1067, set out from Ireland with two companions, John and Candidus, with the intention of visiting the sanctuaries

Virginis Mariae"—omnia prodierunt Antwerpiae apud Joannem Keerbergium, anno 1620.

4. "Ejusdem Scoti Commentaria, seu, Reportata Parisiensia."

5. "Questiones quodlibetales," quae simul cum Reportatis prodierunt post ejus mortem.

6. "Quaestiones in Metaphysicam." Venet. an. 1625, apud Marcum Ginaminum.

7. "Quaestiones in libros de anima."

8. "Apologiam apologiae supra dictae pro Scoto scriptae," in qua respondet Nicolao Jansenio Belgae ord. praedicatorum, Abrahami Bzovii partes suscipienti, non sine gravi Scoti et regni Hiberniae injuria. Prodiit Parisiis sub nomine Hugonis Magnesii discipuli Cavelli. Apud Michaellem Sonnum, anno 1623.

9. "Tractatum Parisiis compactum, dum simul cum Benigno Genuensi Ministro Generali ageret de Reformatione magni conventus."

10. "Tractatum alterum Communium argumentorum, &c." Prodierunt simul hi duo tractatus Parisiis, anno 1622.

11. "Speculum Poenitentiae," lingua et charactere Hibernico ab omnibus Europaeis diverso, exaratum; Lovanii in Collegio Fratrum minorum, anno 1628, impressum.

Scribebat Pias Meditationes et Preparatoria praeludia pro morte Christiane obeunda; sed morte praeventus absolvere non potuit."

of Rome. Being kindly received by a religious community at Ratisbonne, they remained some time in that city, copying missals and other sacred books. They found at the monastery called Obermünster a holy Irishman named Murchertach, who was leading a hermit's life, immured in a cell. This recluse exhorted Marianus to abandon his journey to Italy, and to stay where the rising sun should first dawn on him. It was near the church of St. Peter, at the southern gate of Ratisbonne, that he met the rising sun. That church, and the adjacent ground, were soon bestowed upon the Irish pilgrims, and so many were the religious who flocked to this monastery, especially from the province of Ulster, that before the year 1090 it was found necessary to found another monastery to receive them. This was called the monastery of St. James, and became, in the course of years, one of the richest monasteries of Europe. The history of its foundation is one of the most interesting portions of the Ratisbonne Chronicle. From it we learn that Isaac and Gervase, two Irishmen of noble birth, accompanied by two others of the community, were sent by the Abbot of St. Peter's to Ireland to collect funds for the new monastery. They were kindly received by Conchobhar O'Brien, King of Ireland, and being loaded with rich presents, returned to Ratisbonne. With the money thus brought from Ireland, the site for St. James's monastery was purchased on the western side of the city, and the new monastery erected: "Be it known," writes the chronicler, "that neither before nor since was there a monastery equal to this, in the beauty of its towers, columns, and vaultings, erected and completed in so short a time, because the plenteousness of riches and of money bestowed by the king and princes of Ireland was without bound." Soon, however, the treasury of the monks was exhausted; and Christian, now abbot of the monastery of St. James, and descended from the princely family of the MacCarthys, undertook a journey to his native country, Ireland, to seek the aid of King Donnchadh O'Brien. He is said to have been most successful in his mission: he received numerous presents and gifts, but when preparing to return sickened and died, and was buried before St. Patrick's altar in the cathedral of Cashel. The treasure which he collected, was subsequently forwarded to its destination, and with it were laid the foundations of that princely estate with which this famous *monasterium Scottorum* was ever afterwards endowed.

There is one fact connected with the building of the monastery which is characteristic of our Irish pilgrims.<sup>1</sup> "Whilst

<sup>1</sup>Wattenbach, in *Ulster Journal of Arch.*, vol. vii. page 244.

the building of the monastery of St. James was in progress," writes the German narrator, "one of the monks pursued his journey, accompanied only by a boy, till he reached Kiev, then the residence of the King of Russia: here the king and his nobles made him rich presents, so that he loaded several waggons with very valuable furs, to the amount of a hundred silver marks, and arrived at home in safety, accompanied by some merchants of Regensburg. The money obtained by the sale of the furs was turned to account, and with it the buildings belonging to the monastery were erected, and the roof put on the church."

Wadding, in his short notice of the life of Father Fleming, after stating that he was wholly devoted to the saints of Ireland, adds, that for the purpose of illustrating their lives he visited the principal Libraries of Italy, France, Belgium, and Germany.<sup>1</sup> It was probably on the occasion of his present journey that he made this visit, and a short paper, apparently drawn up to serve him as a guide in this literary tour, is happily preserved in the library of St. Isidore's:

"At Verdun, in France, in the monastery of St. Michael, is preserved the Life of St. Malcalinus, Abb., who was Abbot of that monastery.

"In Virssenaken, in the Duchy of Brabant, the Life of St. Himmelin, whose relics are preserved in that city.

"At Fosses, in the Diocese of Namur, the Life of St. Ultan, who died there.

"In the monastery of the town of Bury, in Cornwall, the Life of St. Burienna, Virgin.

"In Brussels, the Life of St. Rumold published by John Domyns.

"At Liessies or Fecau (*Laetius vel Fisiaci*), in Hainaut, the Life of St. Etto, who reposes in the former place.

"In the district of Cumberland, in England, the Life of St. Bees (*S. Begae*), Virgin.

"In the city of Condy, in Hainaut, the Life of St. Wasnulp, who reposes there. He was the brother of St. Etto.

"At Cologne, in the church of St. Chunibert, repose the two brothers Ewald. See the chronicle of Sigebert, at the year 693; and Molanus in his additions to the Roman Martyrology, at 3rd of October.

"At Wansor (*Walciodorum*), in the territory of Liege, the Life of St. Eloquius, Abbot, who reposes there.

"At Vienna, in Austria, is enshrined the body of St. Colman, Martyr.

<sup>1</sup> *Wadding* "Scriptores, Ord. S. Francisci," page 272.

"In the monastery of Brie, near Paris, the Life of Syna, who reposes there.

"At Louvain, the Life of St. Abbuin, Bishop of Fritzlar, who reposes there. He was Bishop in the city of Burbach.

"In the city of Mecklenburg, in the province of the Vandals (near Wismar), the Life of St. Ivan, a Scot, who was Bishop, and suffered martyrdom there, in the year 1067.

"At Malogne (*Maloniae*), near Namur, the Life of St. Bertuin, Abbot, who rests there.

"In the territory of Arles (*in territorio Atrebatensi*), at Albiniacke, the Life of St. Kilian, who rests there. There is a college of Regular Canons there.

"At Cologne, in the monastery of St. Martin, the Life of St. Mimborin, a Scot, who was Abbot of that place.

"At Wurtzburg, in Germany, the Life of St. Machair (*sancti Macarii*), a Scot, who rests there.

"At Pontoise (*Pontisarae*), in Picardy, the Life of St. Sadoch, of whom mention is made in the Life of St. Riquier, in Surius.

"At Ingolstadt, the Fathers of the Society of Jesus have a Life of St. Kevin."

In Louvain, Father Fleming was engaged in the Chair of Philosophy and Theology during the following years, till he was, in 1630, chosen first Superior of the newly established Convent of the Order at Prague. One of his last letters from Louvain is dated 18th February, 1630, and is addressed to Father Robert Rochford (also known as Father Robert a Sancta Brigida), who was then in the College of St. Francis, in Alcala. He invites Father Rochford to hasten his journey to Louvain, where everything was prepared to welcome him. Their present Lecturer of Philosophy, he says, Father Francis Ferrall, had been appointed to the Chair of Theology in the Argentine Province, and, "as for myself," he adds, "if other duties be not assigned to me, I will, at least, devote myself to my '*Columbanus*.'" Saint Columbanus was a favourite saint of Father Fleming, and the fervent Religious seem to have devoted each leisure hour to collect and prepare for the press his hitherto scattered writings.

In 1630, St. Anthony's was found too small for their ever increasing numbers, and Father Malachy Fallon proceeded to the court of Ferdinand II., to pray for the site of a second Convent, "in which the exiled students of the Irish Province might be gathered together to glorify God, and to prepare themselves for the mission in their native land."<sup>1</sup> This prayer was granted, and a site in the city of Prague being

<sup>1</sup> From an original copy of the petition preserved in *Archiv. S. Isidori*.



assigned to them, Father Patrick Fleming was selected to proceed thither as first guardian and founder of the new convent. In the official report of the foundation, sent to Rome by the Superiors in Louvain, Father Fleming is styled "Lector in Sacred Theology, who having completed all his studies in Louvain, subsequently held the post of Lector of Philosophy and Theology there, and, what was of more importance, was at all times remarkable for the lustre of his virtues." Fleming, accompanied by another Irish Franciscan named Father Geraldine, set out on foot for Prague in the beginning of November, 1630, and having overcome a thousand difficulties which such a journey in Germany, especially in the wintry season, presents to a poor Franciscan, arrived at his destination before the close of November, and in the next month the first students were sent thither. Some fragments of Fleming's letters from Prague have fortunately been preserved. On the 12th of April, 1631, he writes to Father Robert Rochford, now Lector of Philosophy at St. Anthony's, Louvain, "There is here the greatest scarcity of books, and hence, too, they are very dear. Only one or two booksellers can be found in the whole of this triple city. One of our greatest difficulties will be to form a library unless we get the books from Frankfort, as, undoubtedly, we will have to do after a time; and, indeed, this will be less expensive than to purchase them either bound or unbound here." On the 7th of June, writing to Father Malachy Fallon, Lector of Theology in Louvain, he gives a few details concerning the new convent:—"We have formed a choir capable of containing thirty Religious, and underneath we have laid out a chapel, opening on the street, where formerly there was a smith's forge."

Writing again to Father Rochford, on the 6th August, 1631, he states that he was to start on the following day for Vienna, to arrange some difficulties that had arisen with the secular authorities regarding his convent. He sent also a copy of the seal of the new Convent, having for its motto, "*Nodus originalis non est in te*," and adds, "these words are attributed to St. Ambrose, and are given by Father Hugh (Mac Caghwell) in his Rosary of the Immaculate Conception, and, therefore, I added them on the seal." Father Fleming continued in Vienna till the middle of October, when he returned to Prague. On the 25th of that month, he writes from his Convent there that for some days they were all in suspense in consequence of the rumours of war. He adds, "we are all well, and when these law-suits and wars will have ceased, we will have many consolations here."

In a second letter of the same day, he writes—"Columbanus is promised to me by the printer for the next Fair-day; be good enough to tell Moretus not to print the Poenitential of St. Cummean till I send him a more correct copy, together with a dedicatory letter to the Abbot of St. Gall's. I have not been able to compose this as yet, owing to the many distractions I have had. Our own workshops are in good order. The Prince de Coravite is our most especial friend. Your Reverence will kindly ask Father Francis Fleming to transcribe for me what Messingham has on the Purgatory of St. Patrick, for I am anxious to print here the Tract of the soldier George, and other visions about it, and to dedicate them to this worthy Prince, who has often spoken to me about that Purgatory, and he is so interested in it, that he would wish to make the journey to Ireland to see the place."

Some further details concerning the Convent of Prague and its devoted superior, are given in the preface of O'Sheerin<sup>1</sup> to the writings of St. Columban. It was on the 2nd of July, 1631, that the Franciscans were publicly inducted to their new establishment in Prague by Cardinal Harrach, Archbishop of Prague and Primate of Bohemia. His Eminence and all the other civil and ecclesiastical authorities of Prague being present, a discourse composed by Father Fleming was delivered with great earnestness and effect by a young Religious, in deacon's orders, named Matthew Hoar,<sup>2</sup> who was destined in a few months to be the companion of Father Fleming in martyrdom. Six friars thenceforward devoted themselves there to the exercises of piety with unremitting fervour. They had to contend against many difficulties, but Father Fleming, to uphold the courage of his companions, continually referred in his discourses "to St. Columbanus, towards whom he cherished a most tender devotion. He set before them the many and almost superhuman difficulties this saint had to encounter, and to secure his patronage and that of their other patron saints, he caused the Litanies of the Blessed Virgin to be recited each day, with prayers to St. Francis, St. Patrick, St. Columbanus, St. Ambrose, St. Catherine, and other saints."

<sup>1</sup> O'Sheerin states that these details were extracted in 1665, by Father Anthony Donnelly, O.S.F. Sac. Theol. Lector Jubilatus, from a work entitled *De incunabulis Collegii Pragensis*, composed by Father Francis Magennis, companion of Father Fleming in his flight, and subsequently guardian of the Franciscan Convent there.

<sup>2</sup> The writer adds, that Fr. Hoare was chosen on this occasion "ob eminentis ingenii judicique acumen, felicis memoriae foecunditatem, dicendique gratiam, cum omnimoda morum honestate conjunctam, coram tot ac tantis Magnatibus fiducialiter declamandam eaque ab ipso adeo proclare, venuste ac plane Angelice, omnium cum stupore, perorata, ut solemnitatem et auditorum devotionem mirum in modum adauxerit."

In the month of October, however, the Elector of Saxony invaded Bohemia, and, after the victory of Leipsic, ravaged the country without opposition. The Lutheran peasantry at the same time formed themselves into armed bands to plunder the Catholic inhabitants and to wreck the religious houses, scattering or murdering the inmates. Being warned of impending danger, Father Fleming, with three companions, resolved on yielding before the storm, and seeking safety in flight, whilst the other two religious were commissioned to remain in Prague, and to continue, if possible, in possession of the monastery. During the Octave of All Saints the fugitives set out on their perilous flight, but had not proceeded very far, when, on the 7th of November, Father Fleming and the Deacon Hoare were overtaken by a band of Lutheran peasants, and barbarously murdered. The remains of these worthy Religious, who thus merited to lay down their lives for Christ, were devoutly translated to the town of Noticium, and interred there under the pulpit in the Franciscan Church.

Before Father Fleming set out for Prague, he consigned his "*Collectanea Sacra*," containing the life and writings of St. Columbanus, and other valuable tracts connected with our early Church, to Moretus, a publisher of Antwerp. The death, however, of the holy martyr prevented its publication, and it was only in the year 1667, that, through the exertions of O'Sheerin, this precious monument of Fleming's learning and industry was printed and preserved to us. In addition to the extant works of St. Columbanus, and the documents connected with the life of that saint, the "*Collectanea Sacra*" presents the Life of St. Comgall, founder of Bangor; the Life of St. Molua, patron of Killaloe and founder of Clonfert-Mulloe, in the Queen's County; the Life of St. Mochaemog (or *Pulcherius*) a companion of St. Columbanus in Bangor, whose feast is kept on the 13th March; also the Penitential Rule of St. Cummean, and other important tracts. One of its most curious fragments is the "Mystical Interpretation of the names which occur in the Genealogy of our Saviour," by St. Aileran, or Aireran, as his name is sometimes written. St. Aileran has received from our Irish writers the epithet of *an Egna*, i.e., "the Wise." He was lecturer in the famous monastery of Clonard; his feast was observed on the 29th December, and his death is marked in the Annals of Ulster and the Four Masters, in the year 674, where he is styled *Aileranus Sapiens*. This "Mystical Interpretation" was known to Ware and Usher, both of whom refer to it in their writings. Centuries earlier it was inserted by Sedulius in his Commentary on St. Matthew, who prefaces it with these words: "Here begins the typical

and figurative signification of the genealogy of Christ, which St. Aileran, the wisest of the Scottish nation, explained." Fleming found an ancient, though imperfect, copy of this Tract in the Library of St. Gall's, and preserved it to us by inserting it in his *Collectanea Sacra*.

Many of the extracts from MS. Lives of our Saints, and the incidental remarks of Fleming himself, are full of the deepest interest. Thus, at page 362, he mentions that the *cambatta*, or staff, of St. Columbanus, which was sent by that holy abbot to his great disciple St. Gall as a token of pardon, was still preserved in the monastery of Fosse, in Rhetia. He adds, that "this *cambatta* is of the wood which is called in the Irish language *cuileann* (i.e. holly), which the Germans call *baxholder*;" and that Stephen White, S.J., was of opinion that this was the very pastoral staff of St. Columbanus, which, perhaps, derived its name *cambatta* from the Celtic word *cam*, which means "crooked." In the same monastery was preserved the portable reliquary of St. Magnus, which he ever carried around his neck, and which contained relics of the Holy Cross, of the Blessed Virgin, of St. Maurice and companions, and of St. Columbanus and St. Gall.

Speaking of the wooden church erected by St. Columbanus, Fleming remarks that this was *more Hibernico*, as is instanced in the church of St. Finan, in Lindisfarne (see *Bede* H. E. lib. 3, chap. 25), and in the oratory of St. Malachy, which, as St. Bernard writes, was formed of planed planks of wood, closely and firmly united together. St. Attala, the disciple of St. Columbanus, erected a large wooden cross before the oratory of his loved master, and many miracles were performed at it through his intercession.

The question has been warmly controverted, did St. Columbanus visit Rome? Fleming adopts the opinion that he did; and he mentions in confirmation of it, that on the ancient monument of the saint in Bobbio, he was represented as kneeling at the feet of the Roman Pontiff, and receiving from his hands the venerable reliquary which had ever since been zealously guarded at that monastery. A very old painting was also preserved there, representing St. Comgall imparting his blessing to St. Columbanus and his twelve companions, when setting out on their distant mission. One of these figures had the inscription, "St. Kilian, companion of St. Columbanus, on his journey to Rome."<sup>1</sup> I may be allowed to add, that other ancient records connected with the monastery of Bobbio, and now preserved in the Barberini Library, Rome, fully confirm this opinion of Father Fleming.

<sup>1</sup>"S. Culianus comes S. Columbani Romam euntis." *Fleming*, page 320.

Speaking of the monastery of Bangor, where St. Columbanus had been trained to piety and science, Father Fleming thus writes : " This seminary, indeed, merited that its site should be marked out by an angelic vision, and be watered into more abundant increase and growth by the grace of the Holy Spirit. . . There still may be seen, on the spot were the Bangor monastery stood, some structures, and vast walls of white stone, and various enclosures, all of which betoken its former grandeur."

In a valuable commentary on the Life of St. Columbanus, Fleming treats of the various persons and places mentioned in the memoir of the Saint by Jonas, as also of the conversion of Ireland, of its ancient name of "Scotia," its fame for sanctity and the glories of the monasteries with which it was enriched. He has another special dissertation on the Rule of St. Columbanus, in which he inserts the Catalogue of the Three Orders of Irish Saints, subsequently published by Usher. Fleming tells us that his text of this famous Catalogue was taken from "a very ancient and accurate Life of St. Patrick," and that he had also another copy of it, made by Father Matthews, Provincial of the Order of St. Francis, in the year 1626, from two MS. volumes of the ancient Life of St. Finnian, one of which was in Usher's Library, and the other in the monastery of the Island of All Saints in Lough Ree. There are some important variations between Usher's and Fleming's text of this Catalogue, and Dr. O'Connor, in his *Rer. Hib. Scriptores* (vol. II., page 162), and the most learned of our later writers, give the preference to Fleming's text. I am sure no apology is needed for inserting in full this most important fragment from our ancient church:—

"Here begins the Catalogue of the orders of Saints in Ireland, according to the various periods.

"The *first order* of saints was in the time of Patrick; and then they were all Bishops, illustrious and holy, and full of the Holy Ghost, four hundred and fifty in number; the founders of Churches, worshipping the one head, Christ, and following the one leader, Patrick, hav-

"Incipit Catalogus ordinum Sanctorum in Hibernia secundum divisa tempora.

"*Primus ordo* Sanctorum erat in tempore Patricii; et tunc erant Episcopi omnes clari et Sancti, et Spiritu Sancto pleni, quadringenti quinquaginta<sup>1</sup> numero, Ecclesiarum fundatores, unum caput Christum colentes, et unum ducem Patricium sequentes,<sup>2</sup> unam tonsuram habentes, et

<sup>1</sup> Usher's text has—"cccl. numero."—(Usher's *Works*, vol. vi., p. 478.)

<sup>2</sup> Usher has "Unum caput Christum et unum ducem Patricium habebant."

ing the one tonsure and one liturgy of the Mass, and they kept one Easter, viz., after the vernal equinox, and what was excommunicated by one church was excommunicated by all; they did not reject the ministrations and society of women, because, founded on the rock Christ, they feared not the blast of temptation. This order of saints continued throughout four reigns, that is, from the time of Laoghaire the son of Niall, who reigned thirty-seven years, and of Oilíoll, surnamed Molt, who reigned thirty years, and of Lugadh, who reigned seven years; and this order of saints continued down to the latter days of Tuathal, who was surnamed Moelgarbh, and they all continued holy Bishops.

"But the *second order* of saints was as follows. For in this second order there were few Bishops and many Priests, in number three hundred, worshipping the one head, the Lord; they had different forms of Liturgy and different rules of life, and they celebrated the one Easter on the fourteenth moon. And they made an uniform tonsure, viz., from ear to ear. They also shunned the society and ministrations of women, and they excluded them from their monasteries. This order also lasted for four reigns, that is from the latter days

unam celebrationem Missæ et unum Pascha, scilicet post æquinoctium vernale, celebrabant, et quod excommunicatum esset ab una Ecclesia omnes excommunicabant, mulierum administrationem et consortia non respuebant, quia super petram Christum fundati, ventum tentationis non timebant. Hic ordo Sanctorum per quaterna duravit regna, hoc est, a tempore Leogarii filii Neill qui regnavit xxxvii. annis, et Alildi cognomento Molt, qui xxx. annis regnavit, et Lugadii qui vii. annis regnavit; et hic ordo Sanctorum usque ad tempora extrema Tuathalii, cognomento Moelgarbh duravit; et Sancti Episcopi omnes permanserunt.<sup>1</sup>

"*Secundus* vero ordo Sanctorum talis erat. In hoc enim secundo ordine pauci erant Episcopi et multi Presbyteri, numero trecenti, unum caput Dominum colentes, diversos celebrandi ritus habebant et diversas regulas vivendi, et unum Pascha xiv. luna celebrabant. Et hi uniformem tonsuram scilicet ab aure usque ad aurem faciebant. Mulierum quoque consortia, ac administrationem fugiebant atque a monasteriis suis eas excludebant. Hic ordo per quaterna adhuc regna duravit, scilicet ab extremis Tuathalii cognomento Moelgarbh temporibus, et xxx. annos, quibus

<sup>1</sup> Usher has the additional sentence—"Hi omnes episcopi de Romanis et Francis et Britonibus et Scotis, exorti sunt."

of Tuathal Moelgarbh, and during the thirty years that Diarmait MacKervail reigned and throughout the time of the two grandsons of Muiredach, who reigned for seven years, and throughout the time of Aedh son of Ainmire, who reigned for thirty years. They received a form of Liturgy of the Mass from the holy men of Britain, viz., from St. David, and from St. Gildas, and from St. Docus. And their names are these, viz., Finnian, Enda, Colman, Congall, Aedh, Kieran, Columba, Brendan, Bricquinus, Cainnech, Coemgen, Laisrean, Laisre, Lugeus, Barrinde, and many others who were of the second order of saints.

"The *third order* of saints was as follows: for, they were holy Priests, and a few Bishops, in number one hundred, who dwelt in desert places. These lived on herbs and water and the alms of the faithful, and despised all earthly things, and wholly avoided all murmuring and detraction. They had different rules and different forms of Liturgy, and also a different tonsure, for some wore the crown and others the hair, and they had a different Paschal solemnity, for some celebrated it on the four-

Dermitius MacKearvail re-  
navit, et pro tempore, quo duo  
neportes Muredachi qui vii.  
annis regnaverunt, et pro tem-  
pore quo Aidus filius Anmirei  
qui xxx. annis regnavit. Hi  
ritum celebrandi Missamac-  
ceperunt a sanctis viris de  
Britannia, scilicet a S. David,  
et a S. Gilda, et a S. Doco.  
Et horum nomina sunt hi (sic)  
scilicet Finnianus, Endeus,  
Colmanus, Congallus, Æde-  
us, Queranus, Columba, Bran-  
danus, Bricquinus, Cainnechus,  
Caimginus Lasreanus, Lasre-  
us, Lugeus, Barrideus,<sup>1</sup> et alii  
multi qui erant de secundo  
gradu sanctorum.

"*Tertius ordo* Sanctorum  
erat talis; erant enim Presby-  
teri Sancti et pauci Episcopi  
numero centum, qui in locis  
desertis habitabant. Hi oleri-  
bus et aquâ et eleemosynis  
fidelium vivebant et omnia  
terrena contemnebant et om-  
nem susurrationem et de-  
tractionem penitus evitabant.  
Hi diversas regulas et varios  
celebrandi ritus habebant et  
diversam etiam tonsuram;  
aliqui enim habebant coronam,  
aliqui caesariem, et hi diver-  
sam solemnitatem paschalem  
habebant; alii enim xiv. luna,  
alii XIII.<sup>2</sup> celebrabant. Hic

<sup>1</sup> The names as given by Usher are: "Duo Finiani, duo Brendani, Jairlathe a Tuama, Congallus, Coemgenus Ciaranus, Columba, Cainecus, Eogenius Mac-Laisreus, Lugeus, Ludeus, Moditeus, Cormacus, Colmanus, Nesanus Laisreanus, Barrindeus, Coemanus, Ceranus, Comanus, et alii multi." He adds, in parenthesis, as given by some other MS., "*Endeus, Aedeus, Byrchinus.*"

<sup>2</sup> Usher has, "*alii enim resurrectionem xiv. luna vel xvi. cum duris intentionibus celebrabant,*" without any second member of the sentence.

teenth moon, others on the thirteenth. This order continued throughout four reigns, that is, during the time of Aedh Allain, who reigned for only three years, and during the time of Domhnall, who reigned for thirty years, and during the times of Moelcoba, and during the time of Aedh Slaine. And this order continued till that great mortality. These are their names :—Petran, bishop ; Ultan, bishop ; Colman, bishop ; Aedan, bishop ; Lomnan, bishop ; Senach, bishop. All these and many others were bishops. But the priests were these, viz.—Fechin, the priest, Airendan, Faillan, Cummian, Colman, Ernan, Cronan, and many other priests.

“It is to be remarked that the first order was thrice holy ; the second order, holy in the second degree ; and the third order, holy. The first order glows like the sun with the fervor of charity, the second is pale like the moon, the third shines like the aurora. The Blessed Patrick, taught by a divine revelation, foreknew these three orders, when in that prophetic vision he saw all Ireland filled with a glowing fire ; then only the mountains seemed to burn ; and afterwards he saw lights only burning in the valleys.”

ordo per quatuor regna duravit, hoc est, pro tempore Aidi Allain, qui tribus annis tantum regnavit et pro tempore Domhnalli qui xxx. annis regnavit et per tempora Moelcavae<sup>1</sup> et pro tempore Aidi Slane. Et hic ordo usque ad mortalitatem illam magnam duravit. Quorum nomina sunt hi, Petranus Episcopus, Ultanus Episcopus, Colmanus Episcopus,<sup>2</sup> Aedanus Episcopus, Lomnannus<sup>3</sup> Episcopus, Senochus Episcopus. Hi Episcopi omnes et alii plures. Hi vero presbyteri : Fechinus Presbyter, Airendanus, Faillanus, Cummenianus,<sup>4</sup> Colmanus, Ernanus, Cronanus et alii presbyteri plures.

“Nota quod primus ordo erat Sanctus Sanctissimus, secundus sanctior, et tertius Sanctus. Primus<sup>5</sup> sicut sol in fervore claritatis, calescit, secundus sicut luna pallescit, tertius sicut aurasplendescit. Hos tres ordines B. Patricius superno oraculo edoctus intellexit, cum in visione illa prophetica vidit totam Hiberniam flamma ignis repletam, deinde montes tantum ardere, postea lucernas ardere in vallibus conspexit.”

<sup>1</sup> Usher has “*filiorum Mailcobi*,” which is correct.

<sup>2</sup> Usher's text adds, “*Murgus Episcopus*.”

<sup>3</sup> Usher has, “*Lomanus Ep., Senachus Ep.*”

<sup>4</sup> Usher—instead of Cumenianus—has “*Comanus, Comianus*.”

<sup>5</sup> Instead of this concluding sentence, Usher's text has—“Primus sicut sol ardescit, secundus sicut luna, tertius sicut stellae.”



The "Collectanea Sacra" is a quarto volume of 480 pages, and its usual marketable price is fully proportionate to its worth. At Heber's sale it sold for £40; and in 1849, a copy was marked in Thorpe's London Catalogue for £31 10s. A few years ago, one of the Oxford Colleges secured the work for £22, and another copy was purchased by the late Protestant Primate of Armagh for £20. The splendid copy bequeathed with so many other valuable books to the R.I.A. by William Elliott Hudson, Esq., was purchased by him for £24. A copy which belonged to the Rev. Charles O'Connor, was purchased at the sale of the Stowe collection by the late Dr. Todd, at whose demise it was again sold, in November, 1869, for £75. It is to be desired that a book so valuable and so much sought for should be republished, and thus made accessible to the students of our antiquities, most of whom are at present practically excluded from the use of it.

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## LETTERS OF BALMEZ.

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### XIII.—HUMILITY.

MY ESTEEMED FRIEND—I find it is useless to attempt to confine you to a connected discussion on the dogmas of religion, and the principles on which they rest, for, faithful to your system of observing no system, and inviolably observing the rule of your method, which is to observe none, you skip like a butterfly from flower to flower; so that when one believes you absorbed in some capital question, and decided on prolonging the attack commenced on some point of the walls of the Holy City, you suddenly raise the siege, sit down in some other quarter, and there threaten to open a new breach, expecting me to fly to the defence of the point menaced, but only to find you directing your steps to some other place, uselessly fatiguing me without obtaining the result I desired. No; I made a mistake when I said I was uselessly fatigued; for though it is true I have not been able, up to the present, to withdraw you from your error, because you have ever refused to subject yourself to the trouble of a discussion sustained with due order and connexion, yet I flatter myself with having succeeded in removing some of

the prejudices which obstructed your advance in the road to faith, hoping that some day, with your understanding illuminated by superior inspirations, and your heart moved by the grace of the Lord, you may resolve to seriously pursue it, and burst the bonds that detain you, and so escape from your present unhappy state, in which I hope the hour of death shall not find you.

Apologising for this preamble, which you may regard as inopportune, but which I consider a salutary inopportunity, I come now to answer the difficulties you propose to me on one of the virtues most extolled by the Christian religion. I am very glad we have escaped from the disputes which were the subject of the last letter; for though it treated of a very transcendent and highly important matter, the subject was of a nature so delicate and fragile, that it was necessary to measure one's words, and go in search of expressions, which, while permitting the truth to appear, might closely veil whatever could offend decency and the delicate considerations due to modesty. But humility is a subject on which we can talk without periphrasis, there being no danger of making the blood rise to the cheek by an unmeasured word. You are somewhat Voltarian when speaking of this virtue, and ironically apply to it the epithet *sublime*, which Christians are fond of calling it. You appear to have formed very mistaken notions about the nature of humility, for you go so far as to assure me that no matter how you might desire it you could not possibly be humble after the fashion mystic works require, simply because you do not think it possible to deceive oneself, and all the efforts to do so would be in vain. I almost laughed when I found you imagined you had proposed an unanswerable difficulty to me when you said you could never persuade yourself you are the most stupid among men, for you meet many who evidently do not possess the knowledge, be it little or great, which your education and instruction procured for you; or that you are the most perverse of mortals, for you do not rob, assassinate, nor commit other acts with which some men stain their hands; and, nevertheless, you say, if we accept the doctrine of mystics, this is the perfection of humility, which the most distinguished saints and those most advanced in this virtue, have attained. I do not wonder you feel no inclination to run out on the streets and feign madness, that you might be despised, and so have an opportunity of practising humility; but what I do wonder at is, that you should consider such arguments invincible, and, proclaiming your victory beforehand, intimate that one must either swallow

the absurdities resulting from these maxims and examples, or condemn the lives of great saints, and cast the works of the most famous mystics into the fire. I think the dilemma is not so perfect as to leave no means of escape. I rather believe it will neither be necessary to devour the absurdities nor engage in the repugnant occupation of Don Quixote's housekeeper and the village priest.

I think you, who are so noble-hearted, cannot be at variance with St. Teresa of Jesus, to whom, though you regard her as a visionary, you cannot deny the eulogy so well deserved by her eminent virtues, her pure soul, her good heart, her clear and penetrating talent, and her pen, as amiable as sublime. You know this saint had some experience in the Christian virtues, and from all she had meditated and read, and consulted besides with wise men, should know in what humility consisted, and how this virtue was understood and explained in the bosom of the Catholic Church. And do you believe the saint thought that, to be humble, she should begin by deceiving herself? I would wager anything you could not guess the definition she gives of humility—the admirable definition, which, I might say, appears selected on purpose to answer your difficulty. The saint relates that she did not comprehend why humility was so agreeable to God; and thinking on the matter one day, she found it was so, because *humility is truth*. You see there is no talk here of deceit, and humility, so far from urging us to it, dissipates it; for its most solid merit, the very title on which it is agreeable to God, is its truth.

I shall explain in a few words that beautiful sentence of St. Teresa of Jesus; and I shall require no more than this luminous observation of our saint's to make you comprehend what humility is, in its relations with ourselves, with God, and with our neighbour.

Is it opposed to the virtue of humility that we should know the good qualities, natural or supernatural, with which God has favoured us? No; on the contrary, read all the works of scholastic and mystic theologians, and you shall find that they all agree that this virtue is not opposed to any such knowledge. If a man constantly experiences that he comprehends with great facility whatever he hears or reads, that it is enough for him to fix his attention on the most abstruse questions to make them appear clear and simple, there is no inconvenience in the world in his being inwardly convinced that God has bestowed this great favour on him; nay, more, it is impossible for him not to entertain this conviction, which has for its object a fact ever present to his mind, and of

which his conscience assures him, or rather a series of acts, that continually accompany his existence, and constitute his intellectual life—that intimate life, of which we are as certain as of the existence of our body. Can you imagine St. Thomas was persuaded he was as ignorant as the lay brothers of his convent? Was it possible for St. Augustine to believe he knew as little of the science of religion as the lowest of the people to whom he was explaining it? Shall we say St. Jerome, who had such a profound knowledge of the learned languages, and of all the other things necessary for the correct interpretation of the Sacred Scriptures, believed in his heart he knew Greek and Hebrew but tolerably, and that the investigations with which he ascended to the sources of erudition were totally fruitless. No; Christians utter no such absurdities. A virtue so solid, so beautiful, so agreeable to the eyes of God, cannot require of us any such extravagances; it cannot require us to shut our eyes to what is clearer than the light of day.

Real humility brings with it the clear knowledge of what we are, without adding or subtracting anything. If a person have wisdom, he can be interiorly aware of it; but he should at the same time confess he has received it from God, and that to him is due all the honour and glory. He should also acknowledge that this wisdom, though it raises his understanding above that of the ignorant, or of those less wise than himself, leaves him, nevertheless, very inferior to other wise men, who are far before him in comprehensiveness and profoundness. He should also consider that this wisdom gives him no right to despise any one; for, as he has it by a special beneficence of God, so might others have possessed it, if the Creator had deigned to bestow it on them. He should remember that this privilege does not exempt him from the weakness and miseries to which humanity is subject, and by how much the more the favours are with which God has distinguished him—by how much the more capable his understanding may be of knowing good and evil, by so much the more strict shall be the account he must render to God, who has so made him the object of his bountiful munificence. If a person have virtues, there is no inconvenience in his knowing it, but he should acknowledge they are due to particular graces from heaven; if he does not commit the evil acts with which other men stain themselves, it is because God holds him by the hand; if he does good and avoids evil by means of grace, this grace has been given by God; if, from his very disposition, he is inclined to certain virtuous acts, and has a horror of the contrary vices, this disposition has also come to

him from God : in a word, he has motives to be content, but not to become proud, on the supposition that he would be unjust in attributing to himself what does not belong to him, and defrauding God of the glory that is rightly His.

Listen to that great saint, to the man who soared so high in all Christian virtues, especially in humility—to St. Francis de Sales ; and see how he not only agrees that it is lawful to know the perfections we possess, but also permitted and often salutary, to fix our attention on them, and stop to consider them at leisure :—

“ But, Philothea, you will desire me to lead you forward in humility, what I have said on it up to this appearing rather like wisdom than humility. Forward, then, I go. There are many who do not like, or do not presume to think on and consider, the graces and favours God has bestowed on them, fearing they might fall into vain glory or complacency, but in this they are undoubtedly deceived ; for as the great Angelical Doctor says, the true means of coming to the love of God is the consideration of his favours, as by how much the more we consider them, by so much the more we shall love Him ; and as particular favours move us more than general ones, so they should be more attentively considered. It is certain nothing can humble us so much before the mercy of God, as the multitude of His benefits ; nor can anything humble us so much before His justice as the multitude of our transgressions. We should consider what He has done for us, as well as what we have done against Him ; and as we often consider our sins, so let us often consider his graces. There is no fear that the knowledge of what He has given us shall make us vain, so that we attend to this truth, that whatever good is in us is not ours. Tell me, do mules cease to be dull and peevish beasts because they are loaded with the precious wares and odours of princes ? What good have we that we have not received ? And if we have received it, why do we glory ? (1 *Cor.* iv. 7). On the contrary, the lively consideration of the favours received makes us humble, because knowledge engenders gratitude ; but if, on beholding the beneficence God has employed towards us, any sort of vanity should come to disquiet us, it will be an infallible remedy to recur to the consideration of our ingratitude, our imperfections, and our miseries. If we consider what we did when God was not with us, we shall see that what we do when He accompanies us, does not spring from our own industry. We shall be truly glad, and shall rejoice because we have some good ; but we shall glorify God above as the author of it. Thus the Blessed Virgin confessed that God did

great things in her ; but this was to humble herself and exalt God :—‘ My soul,’ she says, ‘ doth magnify the Lord, because He hath done great things in me’ ” (*Luke i., 46, 49*).—*St. Francis de Sales Introd. to a Devout Life, part 3rd, chap. 5.*

There could be no more conclusive testimony in favour of the doctrine I was explaining. You see there is no talk of deceiving oneself, but simply of knowing things as they are. “ Then,” you will object, “ how is it great saints say roundly they are the greatest sinners in the world, that they are unworthy the earth should sustain them, and are the most ungrateful among men ?” Understand the true sense of these words ; recollect they are accompanied by a sentiment of profound compunction ; that they are pronounced in moments in which the soul annihilates itself in presence of its Creator ; and you shall see they are susceptible of a very rational interpretation. I shall simplify it by an example. When St. Teresa of Jesus said she was the greatest sinner on earth, can we imagine she believed she was guilty of the crimes of other women, when she knew well the purity of her body and soul, and the ineffable favours with which God had enriched her ? Clearly we cannot. Nay more ; can we suppose she believed she had one single mortal sin on her soul ? Certainly not, for otherwise she would not have dared to receive the august Sacrament of the Altar, which she nevertheless received so frequently, and with such ecstasies of gratitude and love. Well now : the saint was not ignorant that in the world there were many persons guilty of grievous and very grievous sins in the sight of God ; for she herself was the first to deplore it, and to pray heaven to look on those wretches with eyes of mercy ; and therefore, when she said she was the greatest sinner on earth, she could not understand it in the rigorous sense in which you appear desirous of interpreting it. What then did it signify ? Here it is, very simply. Let us assist at one of the scenes represented in her mind, and we shall perfectly comprehend the sense of the words which are a stumbling block to you. Placed in the presence of God, with lively faith, with ardent charity, with a contrite and humble heart, she examines the hidden folds of her conscience, and observes, now and then, some slight imperfections as yet unconsumed by the fire of divine love ; and she also recollects times past, when, notwithstanding that she was very virtuous, she had not fully entered on the sublime path which led her to that height of sanctity which constituted her an angel on earth. The light faults into which she had fallen, her want of promptness in following the inspirations of heaven, occur to her ; and comparing all with

the natural and supernatural favours heaped on her by God, and measuring it with her lively faith, her ineffable charity, and that intimate presence of God, which raised her above this mortal life and placed her in superior regions, she sees in all its blackness, the foulness of even venial sins ; she considers the ingratitude of which she was guilty by not attending at once, with much more ardour than she did, to the calls of the Lord ; and then comparing the sanctity of her soul with the divine sanctity, her ingratitude with the favours of God, her love with the love manifested for her by God, she annihilates herself in presence of the Most High—she loses sight of all the good she possesses, and with her eyes fixed on her weakness and misery alone, she exclaims she is the greatest sinner among women, the most ungrateful among God's creatures. Do you find anything irrational or false in this ? Can you presume to condemn the expansion of an humble heart, which, annihilated in the presence of the Lord, acknowledges its defects, and in its lively consideration of them exclaims they are the greatest sins of the world ? Do you not discover in this the expression of an ardent charity rather than words of deceit ?

I may tell you, Christian humility is most suited for forming true philosophers, if true philosophy consists in making us see things as they are in themselves, without adding or subtracting anything. Humility does not cramp us, for it does not prohibit the knowledge of the good qualities we may possess : it only obliges us to recollect we have received them from God ; and this recollection, far from depressing our mind, encourages it : far from debilitating our strength, increases it ; because, by keeping the source from which all good has come to us ever present to our mind, we know that by recurring to the same spring with lively faith and rectitude of intention, copious floods shall flow again to satisfy all our necessities. Humility lets us know the good we possess, but does not allow us to forget our evils, our weaknesses, and our miseries : it allows us to know the grandeur, the dignity of our nature, and the favours of grace ; but it does not permit us to exaggerate, nor allow us to attribute to ourselves what we do not possess ; or if we possess it, to forget from whom we have received it. Humility, then, inspires us, with regard to God, with acknowledgment and gratitude, and makes us feel our nothingness in presence of the Infinite Being.

With respect to our neighbours, humility does not allow us to exalt ourselves above them by aiming at any pre-eminence which does not belong to us. It renders us affable in our

daily intercourse with them, for it makes us feel our own weaknesses, and, consequently, tolerant of those to others; and by excluding envy from the heart, which always accompanies pride, it compels us to respect merit wherever we meet it, and frankly acknowledge it by offering it due homage, without dreading its prejudicial effect on our own glory.

As I have just pronounced the word *glory*, I would like to know whether you take it ill that humility does not allow us to take pleasure in the praises of men, but inspires us with sentiments superior to that smoke which turns the heads of so many. If you do—and I have no doubt of it—a single reflection will suffice to convince you of your error. Do you think everything is good which makes man great? I believe you will not hesitate to say yes. Very well; the world regards him as a hero, who, after performing actions worthy of praise, pays no attention to it, but despises it, and on feeling the fragrant aroma, passes quietly on, his head full of elevated thoughts, his heart swollen with generous sentiments. The world then does justice to the despisers of human vanity—that is, to those who practise acts of true humility: do not be less just than the world. Do you want a counter-proof of this? Here it is: those who are not humble seek after praise; and do you know what they acquire as soon as their eagerness becomes apparent? Ridicule and mockery. When we wish to appear well in the eyes of the world, if we are not humble, we pretend to be so, and exteriorly allow it to be understood we make no account of praise, and if offered to us, we resist it, and say it is undeserved. See, my esteemed friend, how wise, how noble, how sublime is the Christian religion, for in the very virtue which apparently brings so much debasement with it, is concealed the means of acquiring solid glory even among men, who offer it willingly to whoever deserves, but does not seek it, but ridicule and despise him who solicits it. Such is the state of things, that pride itself, to quench its thirst of glory, is compelled to deny itself, and assume the mantle of humility. And thus is verified, even on earth, that sentence of the Sacred Scripture:—"He who exalts himself shall be humbled, and he who humbles himself shall be exalted."

But enough to-day on humility. I think you are now convinced, that to be truly humble, conformably to the spirit of the Christian religion, you do not require to run through the streets as a madman, or to look on yourself as deserving imprisonment or the block, or to think your acquaintance with the sciences or literature is as contracted as that of those who do not know how to read. If at any time you meet in the lives



of the saints some fact you cannot explain by the foregoing rules, remember we have no difficulty in saying there are many things rather to be admired than imitated ; and besides, you should not attempt to judge by mundane considerations what marches by paths unknown to the generality of men. These are what we call mysteries and prodigies of grace, and what you, philosophers, will regard as the excitement and exaggeration of religious feeling

I remain your ever fond and affectionate friend,

J. B.

### THE "LEABHAR NA-HUIDHRI."

THE Royal Irish Academy has rendered good service to the cause of Celtic Literature by publishing, in a style that approaches as near as possible to fac-simile, the oldest of the now extant "Ancient Books of Erin," written in the native language. This volume has long been known to Irish scholars as the LEABHAR NA-HUIDHRI, *i.e.*, "The Book of the Dun Cow," although it only borrowed this designation from another far more ancient MS. of Clonmacnoise, from which the greater part of its contents were copied: for it is related in the Life of St. Kieran of Clonmacnoise, that, when he left his father's house to pursue the paths of a religious life in the solitude of the cloister, he was followed by a pet dun cow, the hide of which was subsequently used by that Saint and the Religious of the Monastery when recording the early history and traditions of our country.

The present MS., called "Leabhar na-Huidhri," as appears from a memorandum inserted at page 37, was written by Maelmuire, the son of Ceilechar, who was the son of Conn-na-mbocht, *i.e.*, "Con of the Poor," a surname given to him on account of his boundless charities. This remarkable man possessed a rich patrimony in Ulster, but, renouncing the world, retired to the hallowed precincts of Clonmacnoise, and there spent his life in deeds of devotion and charity. He died in the year 1031, and his sons and grandsons are famed in our annals for the high literary eminence they attained in the schools of that great monastery.

The following is the entry at page 37, to which we have referred :—"Pray for Maelmuire, the son of Ceilechar, that is, the son of the son of Conn-na-mbocht, who wrote and collected this book from various books. Pray for Domnall, the son of Muirchertach, son of Domnall, son of Tadhg, son

of Brian, son of Aidrias, son of Brian Luighnech, son of Toirdealbach Mor O'Conor. It was this Domnall that directed the renewal of the name of the person who wrote this beautiful book, by Sigráid O'Cuirrindin; and is it not as well for us to leave our blessing with the owner of this book as to send it to him by the mouth of another person. And it is a week from this day to Easter Saturday, and a week from yesterday to the Friday of the Crucifixion, and there will be two golden Fridays on that Friday, that is—the Friday of the Festival of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and the Friday of the Crucifixion, and this is greatly wondered at by some learned persons." All the data here given accord with the vigil of Palm Sunday in 1345, on which day the decaying name of the original writer was happily restored by Sigráid O'Cuirrindin, who, as we learn from the Annals of the Four Masters, was a learned poet of Breffny, and died in the year 1347.

Of Maelduire (whose name literally means *devoted to the Blessed Virgin Mary*), the compiler and scribe of the valuable MS. of which we treat, nothing more is known than what is thus briefly registered in the Annals of the Four Masters: "In the year 1106, Maelduire, son of the son of Conn-nambocht, was killed in the middle of the Daimhliag of Cluain-micnois, by a party of robbers."

In compiling this work he availed himself of other books now lost, besides the ancient *Leabhar na-Huidhri* already referred to. Thus some of his tracts are cited from "The Yellow Book of Slane," "The Books of Eochad O'Flannagan," "The Books of Monaster," "The Books of Drom Sneachta," "The *Leabhar Gearr*, or the Short Book," "The Yellow Book," and Nennius. The contents, as they now stand, are for the most part historical and romantic tales, with a few very valuable religious tracts. It is to be lamented, however, that the greater part of the original MS. has long since been lost, and the fragment that now remains to us consists of only sixty-seven folios.

In a philological point of view the present publication is invaluable, as some of its poems are reckoned among the most ancient compositions in the Celtic language, which even in the 12th century required glosses and explanatory notes to render them intelligible to Irish readers. Some of the romantic tales are also important as detailing to us the daily life and usages of our fathers long before the light of Christian faith shone upon the nation. They chiefly regard Cuchulain, and the celebrated palace called the "Royal Branch," which was the chief monarch's residence in the royal Emania till that city was destroyed by the Collas, three chieftains of the Heremonian race, one hundred years before the mission of

St. Patrick to our island. Cuchulain was a native prince of Ulster, and inheritor of the districts of Cuailgne and Muirthenme, lying between the present town of Dundalk and Drogheda, and comprising the greater part of the present county Louth. His chief residence was *Dun-delga*, the modern Dundalk. He was also one of the most distinguished of that band of Ulster heroes, who, by our ancient writers, were styled "the champions of the Royal Branch," and as such he was entitled to reside in the chief monarch's palace. In the famous poem called *Tain-bo-cuailgne*, i. e., "the Cattle-spoil of Cuailgne," the following description is given of the war chariot of Cuchulain:—"Then the valiant champion mounted his armed battle-chariot, with its thin swords, with its hooks and hard spikes, with its champion-slaying spears, with its opening machinery, with its galling sharp nails, which were disposed on the axles, and straps, and shafts, and ropes of that chariot. Such was that chariot, with its narrow dry entrance to its body, high-mounted, straight-shouldered, champion-like, in which would fit the arms of seven chiefs; with the fleetness of the swallow, or of the wind, or of a fox coursing over the plain. That chariot was yoked upon two fleet, bounding, furious steeds, with small heads, small tufts, small legs, sagacious, broad-hoofed, red-breasted, switch-tailed, streaked, easy yoked, easy of motion, under the splendid timbers of the car." The great value of such a chariot appears from a subsequent passage, in which Meave, Queen of Connaught, offers as a prize a chariot *worth four times seven cumhals*, i. e., worth eighty-four cows. Of the same queen it is also added, that when setting out on her expedition to plunder the herds of Cuailgne she had nine chariots appropriated to herself alone—"two chariots before her, and two chariots after her, and two chariots at each side, and her own chariot in the middle of them. And the reason that Meave went forth in this order was, that the sods thrown up by the hoofs of the horses, and the foam of their bridle-bits, and the dust of the great army, should not tarnish the queen's golden diadem." (*Leabhar na-Huidhri*, p. 55, seqq.)

It is principally, however, with the religious tracts of the *Leabhar na-Huidhri* that we are interested, and we are happy to be able to enrich our pages with a few extracts from them. At page 5, commences the historical introduction to the famous elegy of the poet Dallan Forgaill on the death of St. Columbkille, known as the *Amhra Coluimcille*, which was composed before the close of the sixth century. The following is a brief account of the origin of this poem:—

About A.D. 575, a dispute arose between Aedh, son of Ainmire, King of Ireland, and Aedan, son of Galbran, King

of the Scottish Dalriads, on the question to which of them the Dalriads of Scotland should be subject. To arrange this and other matters of controversy, a convention of the states of Ireland was held at *Druim-ceta*, in the diocese of Derry, to which the king of the Scottish Dalriads was invited. He accordingly came to the convention, and St. Columba also hastened to it from his great monastery in Iona. The matter in dispute between the two kings was referred to the arbitration of a wise and holy man of the Dalriads of Ireland, by name Colman, son of Comgellan; and he decided that the valour and military prowess of the Dalriads should be always with the men of Ireland in their hostings and warlike expeditions, but that their rents and tributes should be with the men of Alba, or Scotland. Another weighty matter to be arranged at their meeting was the case of the poets and literary men of Ireland, who at this time had become so numerous and burdensome that many of the chiefs were anxious to banish them altogether out of the country. St. Columba, however, himself skilled in poetry, pleaded in their favour, and it was agreed that for three years they should continue to be maintained, but with the condition that the hitherto extravagant number of their attendants should be reduced to a certain standard. These and other matters having been arranged, all the poets who had assembled in the vicinity of the place of meeting, came in a body to the presence of Columba, and sang a laudatory poem which they had composed for him, set to a peculiarly noble and melodious air. Among the rest came the chief poet of Ireland, Dallan Forgaill, *i. e.*, "the blind Forgaill," who repeated the introduction to a poem he was about to extemporize on the spot in praise of Columba; but the saint prevented him, saying, that such elegies should not be composed till after death. He, however, promised the poet to make his death known to him no matter when or where it should happen; and he also promised him, in reward of his piety, that his sight should be restored to him whilst composing this poem, all which was verified at the death of Columbkille.

At page 17 there is a curious tract, but imperfect, describing the condition of Enoch and Elias in heaven, and their future conflict with Antichrist, which will precede the day of judgment. Two other more perfect copies of it are preserved in Trinity College Library, numbered H. 2. 16. and H. 2. 18., in which it receives the title: "The Two Sorrows of the Kingdom of Heaven." Its language is very ancient, and brings us back, at least, two or three centuries before the *Leabhar na-Huidhri* was compiled. It thus begins imperfectly in the *Leabhar na-Huidhri*:—" . . . Elias, so that he is

beneath the Tree of Life in Paradise, and a Gospel in his hand for preaching to those birds. There the birds go till they are eating the berries of the tree. Large berries, indeed, are these. They are sweeter than all honey, and they are more intoxicating than all wine. They then continue to eat the berries. After that Elias opens the Gospel; at this the birds press their wings to themselves and their feet, without moving wing or foot until the preaching is ended. It is on the day of judgment that he preaches to them—that is, all that will be given of punishment to the souls of men on the day of judgment, namely, the four rivers around Mount Zion shall be a-burning the souls for ten thousand years, and ten hundred years in each thousand. That is a long trial to any one who shall have sins; it is good, however, to anyone who shall have a good-deserving at last, even in that day, though it were no more than that. It were good that no one should sleep on the meditation of this while he is alive. In addition (he preaches), the coming of Christ with the nine orders of heaven, and with the men of earth, all that have been born, and shall be born till judgment, and the family of hell. It is how, again, the same Jesus Christ will come to them—that is, his red cross upon his shoulders, to avenge his crucifixion upon the wicked, and to protect the just from the mouth of Satan. Immense is the host that will be there. It is in the presence of this host every one shall declare his works, both good and bad; each one in his turn shall declare unasked what his eyes have seen, and what his lips and tongue have spoken, and what his hands have done, and what his feet have gone over. Christ, the Son of God, and the angels of heaven, and the men of earth, and the men of hell, listening to each one till he has finished his declaration, his guardian demon reminding him of every evil he had done; for he will be continually on his left hand a-watching him; but his guardian angel on his right hand reminding him of whatever he had done of good."

At page 34 a tract begins, entitled, *Scela na Esergi*—i.e. "Tidings of the Resurrection." The following passages will give an idea of this work:—

"Let every one bear in mind that judgment will come. It is then all men shall arise through the proclamation of the Son of God. In that day, that is, in the day of judgment, heaven and earth shall be confounded, and all the creatures that are in them: they shall be dissolved, and shall melt with the heat of the fire of judgment: but all these shall be put into a form which will be more beautiful and more lovely by far than the form in which they were, after their being burned

and their being purified through the fire of judgment. It is then that fire of the day of judgment shall possess vigour and strength like unto the fire into which were put the three children by order of Nebuchadonosor. That fire burned not the holy children, but it burned the impious servants who were around the furnace of fire. It is in that manner the glowing fire of judgment shall burn all the sinners and all the impious, but shall do no harm to the bodies of the righteous; for that fire shall be like a soothing drop to the saints, but it shall burn the sinners. . . .

"Now, it is asked, which is the particular place from which the resurrection of each one shall be. Even from their graves for a certainty, after the example of the body of the Lord, which arose from its own tomb. That portion, however, who have been devoured by beasts, and who have been dispersed in different places, these shall arise according to the will of the Lord, who shall gather them and renew them, from the place which he wishes; yet it seems more likely in this case that it is there they shall arise, where they were drowned and where they were dispersed, for that is what is regarded as their tomb. . . .

"The Church, however, holds the opinion that the bodies of the holy martyrs shall, after resurrection, bear the marks of the wounds which they suffered for Christ, without having any defect or diminution of figure or beauty, for the manifestation of their victory and their triumph, and also for the manifestation of the great reward to which they are entitled from the Lord for their martyrdom; according to that example of the body of the Lord, which bears in it, after resurrection, the marks of the wounds which he suffered from Jews, for the manifestation of his perfect submission to the Heavenly Father, and also for an increase of pain and punishment to the Jews, from whom he suffered these wounds."

Another tract, in some respects similar to the preceding one, is given at page 31. It is headed: "*Scela lai Bratha*," i.e. 'tidings of the Judgment Day,' and is described by Eugene Curry as "a very interesting ancient sermon on the day of Judgment." We give the following passages from this valuable Tract, the more interesting as few Sermons of our ancient Church have been preserved to us:—

"May God bless the hearers. Let every one of you separately give his mind, and his contemplation fervently to the truths of the day of judgment, that is, how the Lord will give welcome to the saints and to the just to the possession of the heavenly kingdom; how on the other hand he will

give condemnation to the sinners and to the unjust when banishing them into hell. Jesus Christ, the Son of the living God, the Saviour of the whole world, one of the three persons of the noble Deity, who is co-eternal and co-powerful with the Father and the Holy Ghost, it is he who spoke these truths a little while before his suffering, in order to declare the glory he shall have himself on the day of judgment with his saints and with his just, and to strengthen his apostles and his disciples, so that sadness should not seize upon them for his suffering; for he knew that the time of his suffering was drawing nigh.

"Matthew, son of Alpheus, a Hebrew sage, one of the twelve men whom Jesus chose into his communion, one of the four men who wrote the Dominical Gospel—it is he who wrote and furnished these truths of the day of judgment, as he heard them from the lips of his Master, that is, Jesus, so that he left them in remembrance with the Church, and spoke in the following manner: 'When the Son of God and of man in one person will come with honour and with dignity, and all his angels with him, he will then sit on his royal chair and on the seat of his dignity, and then all men will be gathered into his presence, and he will then make a separation and a check of them afterwards.'

"It is certain also that four divisions will be made of the human race in the day of judgment. One division of them indeed will be made to submit to judgment, and after their being judged they will go to pain and punishment. It is to these the Lord will say this terrible saying when banishing them from him: 'Depart from me, O cursed, into the everlasting fire which has been prepared for the Devil and his wicked family.' Those are they who fulfil not in act the good they promise with their lips. The name of this class is in the Scriptures *mali non valde*, that is, bad, whose evil is not intense.

"There is another division of them that will not be made to submit to judgment, but will go at once without any judgment at all to hell, and will be pained there for ever and ever, without the mercy of God to relieve them (for they impose neither restraint, nor law, nor rule on the commission of their sin and their vices here, but every bad thing they are most capable of, it is that they do): the name of that division is *mali valde*, that is, the worst of the human race.

"Another division of them will be made to submit to judgment, and after their judgment will go to reward. Those are they who through compunction of heart do fervent penance here, and correct their previous evils through virtues and good works, and also give alms of food and lodging to the poor in

the name of the Lord, so that these cover the sins which they committed before, and that the Lord does not remember to them beyond the evils they committed here. It is to these the Lord will say in the day of judgment, while calling them to him into heaven: "Come ye now, O blessed, to the possession of the heavenly kingdom." The name again of this division in the sacred Scriptures is, *boni non valde*, that is, good whose good is not intense.

"Another division of them that are not made to submit to judgment, but will go at once, without being judged at all, to heaven and a glorious reward—it is those that think it not enough of good to fulfil what the divine Scripture enjoins on them to do, but abound through their virtues and their own benevolence, and until they do more of good than is enjoined upon them in the divine commandments. It is to these Jesus promises and prophesies this great good which is related in the Gospel, so that he says to them when seeing them coming towards them in the great convention of the day of judgment: 'Since ye have forsaken,' says Jesus, 'every good thing ye had in the world for the sake of my familyship and companionship, come ye now to me, that ye may be with me on twelve thrones, without undergoing judgment.'"

The chief monster of hell, and its abode, are thus described:—"A hundred necks on it, and a hundred heads on each neck, and five hundred teeth in each head. A hundred hands on it, and a hundred palms on each hand, and a hundred nails on each palm—a place in which existence will be without companions or friends, in thirst, in hunger, in great cold, in great heat, and in the want of every goodness, and in the completion of every evil; in the disunited union of demons and of the family of hell. There will also be there woe and shouting, crying and complaints, groaning and anguish on every mouth; and cursing without ceasing from the sinners on their tempter, that is, on the Devil, for it is he that brings them to suffer punishment—every evil they committed through his temptation: and cursing from him on his children around him, that is, on the sinners, for his own pain is the greater for every evil they committed through his persuasion to them while persuading them of every evil. Very terrible, however, and ugly is the prison which the Lord made for the Devil and his demons, that is, hell. Low and deep is its position, for though a mill-stone were dropped into the mouth of hell, not more than at the end of a thousand years would it have reached its bottom. The journey of a soul, too, after leaving its body is for a space of thirty years from its top to its bottom, as is the opinion of some."



"In one word, were a person sent into seven ages, and that a thousand years were in each age of them, not more than the one twenty-first part of the ills of hell could he relate. These, however, are the chief informations regarding hell and its pains. No joy upon earth is it, though the chief sovereignty of the world were in the possession of him to whom is to be as an habitation that habitation, and to whom will be destined the residence of that prison. The saints, however, and the just, who fulfilled the commandments of the Lord and his doctrine, will be invited with great dignity, with honour, with reverence into the everlasting life on the right of God for ever and ever; that is, the band of meekness and of gentleness, of charity and of mercy, and of every other benevolence; the band of virginity and of penance, and widows faithful to God."

"Ineffable, however, is the extent and the breadth of the heavenly kingdom; for the bird of quickest flight in the world could not arrive at the circumference of heaven from the beginning of the world to its end. Immense also is the fertility and the brightness, the beauty and the firmness of that city; its ease and its great sweetness, its position, its splendour, its smoothness, and its gleaming; its purity, its lovingness; its whiteness, its melodiousness, its sanctity, its saint-purity, its loveliness, its gentleness, its height, its splendour, its dignity, its reverence, its full peace, its full union. Now, no creature is able to relate the hundredth part of the goodness of that city, but only it is better to relate this small portion of it than to be silent. Blessed, however, is he who will be with good deserving and with good works, and who will be brought to the possession of that city in the day of judgment, for he will be for ever without end or limit in the union of the church of heaven and of earth, in the union of noble fathers (patriarchs) and of prophets, of the Apostles and disciples of Jesus Christ; of the saints and holy virgins of the world; of the angels and archangels of the Lord, in the union which is nobler than all union, in the union of the holy, noble Trinity, of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost."

There is only one other tract to which, for the present, we need call attention. It is the "Vision of St. Adamnan," (p. 27.), in which the writer vividly describes the joys of heaven and the pains of hell, as seen in vision by St. Adamnan, and as described by that saint in his sermons to the faithful. It thus begins:—

"The Lord of the elements is noble and is admirable, and his strength and his power are great and are wonderful. He

is gentle and he is mild, he is merciful and he is charitable ; for he unites in heaven, to himself, the flock of charity and of mercy, of gentleness and forbearance ; but he brings and prostrates into hell the impious, unprofitable congregation of the sons of malediction ; for he prepares the various secrets and rewards of heaven for the blessed, but brings a multitude of various pains to the sons of death.

"Now there are many of the saints and of the just of the Lord of the elements, and of the apostles and disciples of Jesus Christ, to whom were manifested the mysteries and secrets of the kingdom of heaven after that manner, and the all-glorious rewards of the just, and also to whom were manifested the various pains of hell, together with the beings that are in them. To Peter the apostle, indeed, was manifested the four-cornered vessel which was let down from heaven, and four ropes out of it. Sweeter to listen to it than to all music. Paul the apostle, too, was taken up to the third heaven, so that he heard the unspeakable words of the angels, and the admirable conversation of the family of heaven. Further, also, on the day of the death of Mary all the apostles were brought so that they witnessed the miserable pains and punishments of the unhappy when the Lord enjoined upon the angels of the west to open the earth before the apostles, that they might view and contemplate hell with its many pains, according as he himself had promised this to them a long time before his passion. And lastly to Adamnan ua Thinne, the chief sage of the west of the world, was revealed what is related here when his soul went forth from his body on the festival of John the Baptist, and when it was brought to heaven with the angels of heaven, and to hell with its vile host.

"Now, when the soul went out from the body, her guardian angel while she was in the flesh, immediately appeared to her, and led her with him firstly, to view the kingdom of heaven. And the first land to which they came is the land of the saints. A land rich and bright then is that land. Various and wonderful assemblies are there with *casulas* of white linen about them, and fine white *cucullas* over their heads. The saints of the east of the world are in their assembly apart in the east of the land of the saints : the saints of the west of the world again in the west of the same land ; the saints of the north of the world again, and of the south of it, in their two very large assemblies, south and north.

"There is also a circle of fire about that land, quite all round, and every one (goes) into it and out of it, and it does no harm. Meantime the twelve apostles and Mary the perfect virgin are in her assembly apart about the powerful

Lord : patriarchs and prophets, and the disciples of Jesus are near the apostles. There are also other holy virgins to the right of Mary, and but a short space between them ; children and young persons about them on every side, and the music of the birds of the family of heaven delighting them. Bright troops of the angel guardians of the souls are attending and ministering among those assemblies in the presence of the king continually.

"Now such of the people of the world as reach not that city from their life, and to whom is destined its possession after the trial of judgment, it is where they throng unsteadily and restlessly, in forts and in hills, in morasses and in caverns, their habitations until the day of judgment comes for them. And it is thus these hosts and assemblies are, namely, the guardian angel of every individual soul among them, serving and ministering to it.

"When now the guardian angel had manifested to the soul of Adamnan these visions of the kingdom of heaven, and the first adventures of every soul after leaving its body, he led it with him afterwards to visit hell beneath, with the multitude of its pains and its tortures, and its punishments. The first region they came to is a dark, black region, and it bare, burned, and no pain in it at all. On the further side by it, is a valley full of fire, and an immense flame in it, so that it passes over its borders on every side ; its lower part is black, its middle and upper part red. There are eight monsters there, their eyes like masses of fire. There is also an immense bridge over the valley ; it extends from one brink to the other. Its middle part is high, but its two extremities low. Three hosts are attempting to pass it, and it is not all that get quite through. For one host of them the bridge is wide from beginning to end, so that they pass quite safe without fear and without terror over the fiery valley. Another host also is trying it ; it is narrow for them at first, but wide finally, so that in consequence they pass, after great danger, over the same valley. As for the last host, however, the bridge is wide for them at first, narrow and confined finally, so that they drop from the middle of it into the same dangerous valley into the throats of the eight fiery monsters which keep their residence in the valley. The class for whom that way was easy are the virgins, devout penitents, red martyrs devoted to God. The party, again, for whom the way was confined at first, and for whom afterwards it became finally wide, are, the throng who are by compulsion pressed into doing the will of God, and afterwards turn from their compulsion to pleasure in serving God. They, however, to whom

the bridge was wide at first, and to whom it was confined finally, are the sinners who listen to the teaching of the word of God, and after hearing it do not fulfil it. . . . .

"This, therefore, is the teaching which Adamnan was wont to use towards the multitudes thenceforth while he lived. It is it also he kept proclaiming in the great convention of the men of Erin, when the law of Adamnan was imposed upon the Goedhels, and when the women were freed by Adamnan and by Finnachta Fledach, king of Erin, and by the chiefs of Erin besides. The first announcement, also, which Patric, the son of Calpuirn, was wont to make, is to relate the rewards of heaven and the pains of hell to those persons who used to believe in the Lord through his teaching, and who, at the promulgation of the gospel, used to commit their soul-friendship to him. It is also the teaching which Peter and Paul and the rest of the Apostles most frequently practised, that is to relate pains and rewards which were manifested to them after the same manner. It is it, also, Sylvester, Pope of Rome, employed towards Constantine, son of Helen, monarch of the world, in the great convention, when he bestowed Rome on Paul and on Peter. It is thus, also, Fabian, the successor of Peter, employed towards Gordian, king of the Romans, when he believed in the Lord, and when many thousands more believed at that time. This is the first king of the Romans who believed in the Saviour Jesus Christ."

There is one special feature of these extracts to which, before concluding, we wish to call the attention of the reader: it is, that like every other document handed down to us from the early ages of Celtic piety, they contribute to establish in the clearest manner the oneness of faith of the Catholic Church of the present day with the ancient Church of our fathers. Thus, they teach us that virginity was esteemed a holy state, meriting for "the virgin-saints" a particular rank in proximity with the all-perfect Queen of Virgins in the heavenly kingdom. Again, they prove how fully the Catholic doctrine of the angels-guardian was cherished by our ancient pastors and people, and it is clearly taught that this guardianship over each one's soul does not cease till the irrevocable sentence has been pronounced by the divine Judge, decreeing eternal life or eternal torments. At the same time they also show that for some imperfect souls there is a temporary punishment after death, a punishment, however, which, after a time, will be exchanged for the enjoyments of Paradise. Such was the teaching of St. Adamnan, St. Columbkille, and the other great fathers of the Irish church—such still is the faith that quickens the heart of their spiritual children.

## DOCUMENT.

## ADDRESS OF THE CLERGY AND PEOPLE OF ST. LOUIS, UNITED STATES, TO ARCHBISHOP KENRICK, AND THE REPLY OF HIS GRACE.

"MOST REVEREND AND MOST BELOVED FATHER—

"May it please your Grace—We, your children of the clergy and laity of this diocese, full of joy and gratitude to God, on beholding you again in your old and honoured place at the head of this Christian family, gather round you in filial love and reverence, to offer to you our most earnest and heart-felt welcome.

"But we are not here to-day merely to comply with a custom however venerable, or to perform certain formalities however appropriate. No ; our presence in such numbers has a significance which we desire to be distinctly understood. It is the heartfelt expression of our unbounded confidence in your Grace as a father and spiritual guide, whom we love and trust, and of our deep veneration for you as a prelate of whom we are justly proud. We wish this also to be an occasion of testifying to you our sincere gratitude for the years of labour you have spent in our service, and for the great blessings conferred upon us during that time, by your most wise and active administration. Ingrates indeed should we be if twenty-nine years of disinterested devotion to our welfare could be by us forgotten or unappreciated. Time has but served to intensify our devotion to you, for each year brought forth new proofs of your self-sacrificing zeal for our interests. We have seen you during these long years, leading a life of apostolic poverty in order to afford the more to the poor and suffering of your flock. We have seen you founding and fostering vast religious and charitable institutions—the special glory of your episcopate—until now we behold within their walls more than four hundred Religious of various orders employed in maintaining over three thousand inmates, including widows, orphans, foundlings, penitent women, the sick, the aged and the insane. Within sight of this very edifice is one such institution that has within its precincts nearly three hundred inmates. Your words and example enkindled the flame of charity in the breasts of others, who came forward to aid you in these noble works. Under your auspices we have seen numerous churches, which never would have been erected without your generous aid, and splendid educational institutions arise and flourish, until now we behold St. Louis unsurpassed in these particulars by any of her sister cities in this Union.

"Pardon us if we pain your modesty by reference to these meritorious works. But if we were silent, these monuments themselves must speak aloud. For now, as you re-enter your city comforted and beautified by them, these 'works praise you in the gates,' and you have to permit your children, within as well as without their walls, to fulfil the words of Scripture, and 'rise up and call you blessed.'

"And, independently of all your Grace has done for churches and charitable and educational institutions, we come to speak our gratitude for the exalted position which your personal character and official action as our representative has given to religion in this city.

"We can never forget your dignified firmness on many an important and trying occasion. When political storms raged around your flock, you were ever found the fearless shepherd of your people. We have never known you to yield one iota of principle to the most pressing demands of temporary expediency. You have ever held and acted out the true doctrine, that in permanent institutions, such as the Catholic Church is by excellence, that any timid sacrifice of principle, though it may afford safety for the time to individuals, must finally prove prejudicial to the general interests of the entire body. Hence, during the test-oath agitation and persecution, when you beheld your priests and Sisters of Charity and of St. Joseph arrested and imprisoned, and still more persecution threatened, if you did not succumb, you, Most Rev. Father, were found alone amongst the presiding churchmen of this state, in boldly denouncing the iniquitous enactments against the Christian liberty of the people, and denouncing it with a courage, a dignity, and a promptitude worthy the character of Thomas à Becket.

"These, and innumerable other benefits, we shall never forget; and, on a great public occasion like the present, so rarely afforded us, their remembrance wells up from the grateful hearts of your children, and we cannot but speak 'the things we have seen and heard,' even though we feel you would much prefer our silence.

"We need not say how earnestly we watched your course, as far as we could ascertain it, in that great assembly of your peers—the Council of the Vatican. We knew enough of your character to feel unlimited confidence that there, as here, you would be influenced by the ruling purpose of your life, the glory of God, and of His spouse, the Catholic Church. Though we beheld you stand with the minority, we saw around you great and holy men, who shared your sentiments, and many of whom looked up to you for counsel. We felt,

in the reported words of the Sovereign Pontiff to a French prelate, who shared your Grace's views, that you were bound to act according to your convictions and your conscience, until a new reason should arise to influence both—namely, the supreme deciding voice of church authority, which, to the Catholic, is the commanding voice of God.

"We know, from the reiterated teaching of the same Pontiff, that the Catholic Church is the guardian, not the destroyer, of the dignity of the human reason, and that she asks it to pay 'the homage of the understanding' to God alone. Far dearer to you and to every true man, than was Isaac to Abraham, is that reason, the distinguishing gift of the Supreme Being that elevates man above the brute creation. This reason can never be offered up except on 'the mountain of God,' and in obedience to the divine behest most certainly ascertained. And even then, like the only son of the patriarch, it is offered, but never slain, for God preserves it by affording the very highest rational arguments, founded on His own divine veracity, and thus reason triumphs in her own submission to essential truth. Thus we behold in act that wonderful principle of Catholic unity, that perfect compatibility of intellectual liberty, with simple docile obedience, which can exist in an infallible church alone. With heartfelt gratitude we hail your submission to this church authority. By us it was of course expected, for we knew too well that your great learning and exalted position had in nothing diminished your humility. By those outside the Church who know you personally, or by character, this submission must be productive of most serious thoughts and salutary effect. No man has ever dared to accuse you of moral cowardice. No one can think that, after having sacrificed personal interests, and perhaps somewhat pained life-long friends by your course, after a life, too, of such unswerving adherence to principle, that now, in the evening of your days, you would belie the record of that life by submission from any other motive than the deep conviction that God speaks through His church; and it is man's greatest glory to obey her voice. Here must thinking men behold the secret of Catholic unity—the principle of ecclesiastical authority and the conserving power of the everlasting church. Finally, most beloved and venerated Father, we, in the name of 150,000 Catholics of your diocese, in the name of the poor and helpless whom you have succoured—in the name of the priests and people, we beg for them and ourselves your paternal blessing, and wish you many years of health, and peace, and prosperity."

## REPLY OF HIS GRACE THE ARCHBISHOP.

"Words would be insufficient to express my feelings of thankfulness at the sentiments which have been uttered in the address just now read. I shall say nothing of that part of the address which refers to me personally. 'Praise not a man during life,' says the Scriptures. Death, and death only, puts the seal on his character, and every human praise given to his actions is necessarily incomplete without the approval of God, the judge of the secrets of the heart. With regard to that portion of the address that refers to my course in the Vatican Council, I will state briefly the motives of my action, and the motive of my entire and unreserved submission to the definition emanating from that authority. Up to the very period of the assembling of that council I had held as a theological opinion what that council has decreed to be an article of Christian faith; and yet I was opposed—most strongly opposed to the definition. I knew that the misconceptions of its real character would be an obstacle in the way of the diffusion of Catholic truth—at least I thought so. I feared that in certain parts of Europe, especially, such a definition might lead to the danger of schism in the church, and on more closely examining the question itself, in its intrinsic evidence, I was not convinced of the conclusiveness of the arguments by which it was sustained, or its compatibility with certain well ascertained facts of ecclesiastical history, which rose up strongly before my mind. These were the motives of my opposition; the motive of my submission is simply and singly, the authority of the Catholic Church. That submission is a most reasonable obedience, because of the necessity of obeying and following the authority established by God; and having the guarantee of our Divine Saviour's perpetual assistance is in itself evidence that cannot be gainsayed, by any who profess to recognize Jesus Christ as his Saviour and his God. Simply and singly on that authority I yield obedience, full and unreserved submission to the definition, concerning the character of which there can be no doubt, as it has emanated from the council and was subsequently accepted by the greater part even of those who were in the minority on that occasion. In yielding this submission, I say to the church in the words of Peter and of Paul: 'To whom, O Holy Mother, shall we go, but to thee? thou hast the words of eternal life, and we have believed and have known that thou art the pillar and the ground of truth.'"



# MONASTICON HIBERNICUM, OR, A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE ANCIENT MONASTERIES OF IRELAND.

[N.B.—The text of the “Monasticon” is taken *verbatim* from Archdall: the notes marked with numbers are added by the Editors.]

## COUNTY OF CORK.

1480. The abbot Nicholas O’Henesa was made bishop of Waterford in this year.\*

26th June, 33rd Queen Elizabeth, a grant was made to Sir Richard Greneville, Knt., and his heirs, of this monastery,

\**War, Bps.*, p. 536.

*Fermoy*; The ancient name of the place now called Fermoy was Magh Meine, and thus it was called till the siege of Drom Damhghaire, which is recorded to have taken place about the year of our Lord 220. Munster was at that time invaded by Cormac Mac Airt, who, full of confidence in his Druids and in the valour of his troops, encamped at Drom Damhghaire, in the S.E. of the County Limerick, since called Cnoc Longa (Knocklong), *i.e.* hill of the encampment. In this emergency a famous Druid, named Mogh Ruth, hastened from his residence in Oilean Dairbre, now the Island of Valencia, to the aid of the Munster army, and through his skill and bravery a brilliant victory was achieved. The troops of the monarch, adds the ancient tale, were pursued by the men of Munster, led by their Druid, Mogh Ruth, in his chariot drawn by wild oxen, till driven beyond the borders of the province, and into Magh Raighne, in Ossory. The men of Munster now returned home in triumph, after having repulsed the invader, and called a convocation of the states and people of the provinces to give thanks to their friend and deliverer, Mogh Ruth, after which they unanimously agreed to give and confirm to him and his descendants for ever the possession of the plain and country then called Magh Meine (or the mineral plain) in reward for his great services.

Magh Meine was thus handed over to Mogh Ruth, and hence it was called Fearn Moga, or the land of Muga, as written in some old MSS. His tribe and family, who settled down in this territory, took the tribe name of Fer Mugai, *i.e.* the men of Mugai, anglicised Fermoy; and the race of Mogh Ruth continue to inhabit there even to this day, in the families of O’Dugan, O’Cronin, and others in that and the neighbouring districts. The following extract from an ancient tract further illustrates its names:—

“They then sent for the clay of Comlehaille Meic Con, *i.e.* the Caile (or land) of Mene, son of Erc, son of Deaghaidh, which is called Fir Mulghe, *i.e.* Fermoy, to-day. The reason it is called Caile Meic N-Eirc is because his sons dwelt there, namely, Mene, son of Erc, and Uatha, son of Erc, and Ailbhe, son of Erc. Another name for it was Fir Muighe Mene, so called because of the abundance of the minerals contained in the mountains around it, and because there are minerals in all the fields around it also. Another name for it was Corr Chaille Meic Con, because it was the patrimony of the Clann Daiirine, and it is in it Rossach-na-Righ is, *i.e.* Ross-na-Righ, the ancient burial place of the kings of Munster, and it is there Mac Con was till the time of the battle of Ceann Abrath.” (See *Forbas Drom Damhghaire. Book of Lismore, and O’Curry’s Copy. C.M.D.*, p. 42, and *O’Curry’s Lectures on Manuscript Materials of Irish History*, pp. 171-2, and *Second Series*, vol. i., pp. 212, 278, &c., &c.)

The hitherto unpublished tract on the Topography of Fermoy, in the same old MS., is interesting, as preserving the names and boundaries of the political and ecclesiastical sub-denominations of this district, and the names of many of the old

containing three acres, with the appurtenances, and a parcel of land of the following denominations: Garricula, Ardevallegge, Aghavanister, Kilcroige, Coulevalinter, Venosige, Kilvalinter, Venosige, Forraghmore, Downbahenie, Kilcoman,

ecclesiastical foundations of the place, with special references to the most remarkable families, civil and ecclesiastical, of ancient Fermoy. It runs thus:—

“Crichadh-an-Chaille<sup>1</sup> of valour,  
Is there one of you to tell [its history]  
It was given to the son of Sonax [*i.e.* Mogh Ruth]  
For his having relieved the Forbas, &c., &c.”

“This country was in two Triuchs<sup>2</sup> before it was given to Mogh Ruth, and there were eight Tuaths in each Triuch, and the line of demarcation between those two Triuchs was, namely, the course of Glaisse Muilinn. Mairteil<sup>3</sup> in Sliabh Cain,<sup>4</sup> and Loch Luinge<sup>5</sup> on the Machaire, and Gleann na n-Dibergachael on Moin Mor,<sup>6</sup> and when being given to Mogh Ruth they were made into one Triuch, in order to lessen the [political] influence of the race of Mogh Ruth after him, and securities for preserving that freedom to him, Mogh Corb,<sup>7</sup> son of Cormac Cas, and his descendants after him; and after that it was arranged into ten Tuaths, eight Tuaths to constitute the [political extent of the] country, and two Tuaths as border lands.<sup>8</sup>

“The first Tuath of these that is mentioned is the Eoganacht of Gleann Omnach (now Glanworth), for it is the noblest of them, because it is one of the free Tuaths of Cashel, with its border Tuaths, and Hi Ingair, which is called Magh Fece, is the noblest Baile of that Tuath, and Ceapach Inghin Ferchair is opposite it on the other side; and Gleann Caintinn, out of which are Hi Caimh (*i.e.* O’Keeffe) and Hi Digi; and Corr Tuath, out of which are Hei Finghin; and Lisleithisel, and Daire Hi Tnuthghaile; Cathair Droinne,<sup>9</sup> out of which are Hi

<sup>1</sup> Crichadh an Chaille, one of the ancient names of the place now called Fermoy.

<sup>2</sup> Triuch—an ancient sub-denomination of land, supposed by some to be represented by the modern barony; but the two Triuchs mentioned here comprised the baronies of Fermoy, Condon, and Clongibbon. Tuath, an ancient political sub-denomination of land. See W. K. Sullivan’s Introduction to O’Curry’s Lect., Vol. i. <sup>3</sup> Glaisse Muilinn Mairtel, *i.e.* the stream of Martel’s [or Mortar] mill, which flows southward through the glen called Leaba Molaga [or St. Molaga’s bed] into the river Fuinshion, north-west of Marshalstown, now called Abham Carraig na m-Brointe [or the river of the rock of the Querns]; others suppose this to be the Sheep River to the west of the above mentioned stream. <sup>4</sup> Sliabh Cain, *i.e.* the range of mountains extending from the Galtees westward to Buttevant. <sup>5</sup> Loch Luinge—Probably the lake from which Baile an Locha, south of Mitchelstown, has its name. The boundary line between the baronies of Fermoy and Clangibbon passes through this townland, which is marked on Petty’s Map of the County of Cork as Baile de Locha. <sup>6</sup> Moin Mor—This place probably comprised the greater part (if not the whole) of the present Nagle Mountains, and the coarse land on the northern and southern slopes of this range. This appears from the fact that the monastery of Baile na Mona, situate four miles south of Mallow, on the road to Cork, was in Moin Mor, and the glen called Gleann-na n-Dibergachael was, in all probability, to the east of, or somewhere about, Ballyhooley.

<sup>7</sup> Mogh Corb, son of Cormac Cas—There is evidently a mistake in our text here; Mogh Corb was son of Oiliall Olum, not of Cormac Cas. He is mentioned in the Annals of the Four Masters, at the year A.D. 195, as one of the seven sons of Oiliall Olum, who were slain in the battle of Magh-Muchruimhe by Mac Con and his forces. Cormac Cas was second son of Oiliall Olum, and ancestor of the Dal-g-Cas tribes of Munster. <sup>8</sup> Two Tuaths of border land—These were the two Tuaths of [Dirainn or] mountain land surrounding Fermoy on the north and east sides, namely, Hi Rossa and Hi Cuccraidhe Sleibhe. <sup>9</sup> Cathair Droime, now Caher Droinge, situate about midway between Mitchelstown and Kilworth. The site of

lying south of the Blackwater, Ballymabene, Graneshagh, Ballinegehie, Corrowharden, Carrigincroughere, and Glasi-ganish, containing by estimation five hundred and fifty acres, at the £15 18s. 4d., Irish money.<sup>22</sup>

<sup>22</sup> *Aud. Gen.*

Annratham (*i.e.* O'Hanrahan), DunMaelclaigh, *i.e.* the chief fortress of the Eoganacht; and Achad Loischi,<sup>10</sup> out of which are Hi Lachtnain,<sup>11</sup> Hi Dubhthaigh, Hi Leannain, and Hi Draighnein (*i.e.* O'Drennan, or O'Drynan), *i.e.* Ceall Ghallan;<sup>12</sup> and Moin Banba, out of which are Hi Daronaigh and Lis na Caille, out of which are Hi Dubhghaille and Hi Cleirigh; and Rath Mor, out of which are Hi Darnain; Leath Baile Hi Conchobhair, for O'Conchobhair was chief of Hi Inghaire, *i.e.* of Magh Feige, and the [sub] denominations of this place are—Dun Loibinn, *i.e.* Teach an Turtain, and Cluain Dallain,<sup>13</sup> and Moin Luachra, and Ceall Garbhain; and its boundaries are the line of road which leads from Airgeatland<sup>14</sup> to Cnocan Dun Martain, and which passes down through that place to Abhann Mor, and the ditch west of Gort an Grain extending by Gort Droma Airthir to Leiscnen, along the course of Abhan Mor, and Hi Dallain; are the hereditary occupiers of Cluain Dallain and of Moin Luachra and of Gort an Grain, the church of Eoganacht Gleann Ommach is the principal church and a third of the land of Brigh-Gobban belongs to that Tuath, *i.e.* Carrac-Cormaic and Ceall-Danain, Cul Domhnann, Cluain Locha, Cluain Lena, Cluain Cairbreach, Ceall-Bracain, Coirrlis Da Conall, Craes Cru, Tipra-Gruagain, Tulach Aedha, Ard Catha, Cainn-Innse and Dun Draighnein to the east of Aith Lis Ceindfaelaidh.

"Since the two Tuaths of O'Cuain, namely Hi Maille Machaire, 'and Hi Ingardail' were united into one Tuath, the chief Baile of Hi Ingardail, *i.e.* Conbaid (hound drowning), because Finn's hounds were drowned there, and out of this place came Hi Buadhaigh. The Martra, *i.e.* Ath Ubhla, out of which are Hi Aichir, Ceall Achid, out of which are Hi Lomthuile. The Creg, out of which are Hi Riagain, Leitir, out of which are Hi Corcraín. The Reclis, out of which are Maeilluagh, Cill Conaim is the chieftain of Hi Cain, and before they were united into one Tuath O'Riagain was of Hi Ingardail.

"Hi Maille Machaire, *i.e.* Leac Glas and Cul Baedain out of which are Hi Taimhainigh and Hi Fogartaigh, Leathnocht, in which are twelve tribe names, viz.: O'Conbhaidhe from Cathair Meic Maille, Hi Gormachain, from Lis Dormchada, Hi Uallachain, from Cuirr Hi Uallachain, Hi Lachtnain from Fidirus; Meic Cuirc, from Cill Feichin, Hi Ceithernaighe, from Cnocan Tulaird, Hi Caelbheannaighe, from Cuirr Hi Cacilbheannaighe, Hi Cuicneachain, from Greallach, Hi Cuicneachain, Cill Cromglaise, out of which are Hi Cuain, Laiche Hi Fiaich, out of which are Hi Finneachta; Ard Fleada, out of which are Hi Finneachta; Ard Fleada, out of which are Hi Cinnfhaelaidh, Manann, out of which are Hi Britain, Garran O'Ceamaighe, out of which are Hi Ciannaighe. Cill Cruimtir, is the Church of this Tuath.

"And one third of Termun Brigh Gobun, belongs to Hi Cain, *i.e.*, the two Ceannacans and Cul Lugdach. Moin Mucrinde, Ceall Droma, the Marbhthir, the Lianans, Cnocan Hi Chroinghilla and Beallach na Ros.

"Tuath O'Cuscraidhe, *i.e.* Liathmuine and Cul na n-Aracul, out of which are Hi Lighda Cluain Meic Carthaínd, out of which are Hi Artuir, Lis an Cnuic, out of which are Hi Donnchada, Cill Mochuille, out of which are Hi Beachagain,

this Cathair [or fortress] is now marked by the ruins of an old castle, which commands a good view of the country many miles around, and which is marked on the Ordnance Map of the County of Cork, sheet 19. <sup>10</sup> Achadh Loischi, now St. Nathalis, north of Glanworth. <sup>11</sup> Hi Lachtnain, now O'Lachtnan, sometimes written O'Laughnane, and Laughnane. <sup>12</sup> Ceall Gallain—The old church which gives name to the parish of Kill Gullain, north-west of Mitchelstown. See Ordnance Map of County Cork. <sup>13</sup> Cluain Dallain, now Claidillane, east of the town of Fermoy. <sup>14</sup> Airgeatland, now Araglin.

The church of the abbey, now the parish church, was a mean Gothic building.<sup>a</sup>

*Glandy*, is said to be in the diocese of Cork, where the abbey of the Vale of God was built, and which abbey, continues our author, was a daughter of the abbey of Jerpoint, in county of Kilkenny.<sup>b</sup>

*Glanore, or Glanworth*,<sup>bb</sup> has its situation on the river Funcheon, in the barony of Fermoy. The family of Roche founded a monastery here in the year 1227,<sup>c</sup> for friars of the order of St. Dominick;<sup>d</sup> but Bourke says, this foundation (dedicated to the Holy Cross) was at some later period.<sup>e</sup>

*Grange*; formerly called Grany, is seated on the river Bride, in the barony of Muskerry, and a mile east of Kilcrea.

<sup>a</sup>*Tourthrough Ireland*, p. 131. <sup>b</sup>*Allemande*. <sup>bb</sup>*i.e. The Golden Vale*. <sup>c</sup>*Smith*, vol. 1., p. 351. <sup>d</sup>*War. Mon.* <sup>e</sup>*Bourke*, p. 334.

Hi Dunadhaighe, Hi Riagain, Daire Faible, out of which are Hi Adnachain, Loch Arda O'Cullin, out of which are Hi Cuinn Leath, Baile, Hi Finn, out of which are Hi Finn, and its other half Bally, the Arda in Terman, Brigh Ghobunn, Liagan Lig Uanach, out of which are Hi Ithfearnan, Durmach, out of which are Hi Dunadaighe, and the church of this Tuath is Ath Cros Molaga, out of which are Hi Corrcrain, Hi Ceamsain, Hi Aengnsa, Hi Muircheartaigh, and Hi Duibheidigh, and a third of Termann Brugh Ghobunn belongs to this Tuath, *i.e.* the Baile of Brigh Ghobunn itself, Cluain Aei, Carraic on Fúrnaidhe Garran Hi Adhnachain, Baile Hi Mhasilmordha, Baile Hi Chuind, Cnocan Muighe Ginne, Cluain Garbhain, Cul Aithlis Cindfhaclaidh Gort na Fuinnisíon, Cill Seanaidhe and they are the family names which belong to this church, *i.e.* O'Macmorda are its Comarbs, and O'Finghin, its Aisdre O'Brian, O'Deargain O'Mulalaidh, O'Flannagain and Meic Breathnuighe and .Hi Artuir, are the chieftains of this Tuath.

"Tuath O'Conail, from Gleann Cubhra to Lebglaise and Hi Dubhlaidh are the chieftains of that Tuath, and Liattruim, from Airgeadlóm, eastward to Lebglaise, is the patrimony of O'Dubhlaidhe, and that is O'Naibelain, Baile Idir da Abhainn, *i.e.* Ard Meic Cuillair, and Uamh Croine, and from that eastward to Dun O n-Gennti these are one Baile, and out of it are Hi Aengusa Magh Drisen, on the south side of the river and on the north, these are one Baile, and out of it are Hi Manog, Feic-Beg is a half Baile, out of it are Hi Riain and Hi Feargusa, Rath Siadhail and the Corran are its other half Baile, and out of it are Hi Cuain, Cill Uird is the church of this Tuath, and out of it are Hi Mongain and Hi Cuillinnain and Hi Brocain.

"Hi Cuscraidh Sleibhte is the border land of this Tuath we have mentioned, *i.e.* Cill Mithne Gort Aicde, Maelrach, Lurga, Daire Leith Re Meic Meada, Gleann Domhainn, Ceapachna Fian, Gort Ruadh, Ceapach Hi Meadhra Daire Leathan; Eidhnen Molaga, with its Terman, is the church of this Tuath; and the Comarb of that church is Mag Floinn, and the clerk of its crozier is O'Coscrain.

"The most noble of the Tuaths of the other half of that country is Tuath Muighe Tinn in which Cathair Dubhaghain is, out of which are Hi Dubhaghain, and the breadth of this Tuath is from the middle of Relig na m-hanleagh eastward to Abhann na Carcrach. Hi Daerghala are its hereditary people, Maistre-Meic na gamhnaighe. Daire Hi Diarmata, *i.e.*, Hi Diarmada and Hi Cochlain are its hereditary occupiers. Dun Tulcha Cill Curnain; Croch, out of which are Hi Dathail of Croch, Ard Ceanannais and Dun ar aill are one Baile, and out of it are Hi Faclain and Hi Uirisi. Cill Fada is the burial cemetery of that Tuath, and it was Mac Con Gairbh, *i.e.*, Mac Coemoc, that consecrated that church. Hi Maeil Bile are its Comarbs. Hi Amhradha and Hi Labhra and Hi Eirc are its hereditary people, and the Hi Duibh, of Trochmael, were chiefs over them.

From Colgan we learn, that St. Cera, who died A.D. 679, built a nunnery at Kilcrea,<sup>†</sup> but in the records it is said to be at Grany.<sup>‡</sup>

<sup>†</sup>*Act. SS. p. 15.* <sup>‡</sup>*Smith, Vol. 1, p. 211.*

“ I have another Tuath yet to describe, *i.e.* Madh O'Cathail, *i.e.* Messignighe and Carraigh Leme-Laeghaire, out of these are Hi Domh-naill, chiefs of Magh Cill Cuile, out of which are Hi Fearghala; Baile Hi Fiachain, out of which are Hi Fiachin Cluain Caisil and Daire na Teide, the chief Baile of Hi Annadha, out of which are Hi Annadha, Garran O'n-Gnima; Cuil-Baile Hi Einn, out of which are Hi Finn, Claen Uir is their burying place. The Comarbsp of that church is the hereditary privilege of the Hi Annadha, and Hi Cennagain are its Mac Cleircach; the Hi Brain from Clettigh are in this Trian, and the Meic Cairtin, and they are of the people of Rathán, and this Trian is the hereditary lordship of Hi Domhnaile (O'Donnell), and he is also entitled to the other two Trians when they have not a chief of themselves.

“ The third Trian of them which I have not described, *i.e.*, Magh Nale, with its subdenominations, out of which are Hi gormain; the Brugh and Flaithneim, out of which are Hi Ardghala; Tulach-Finnleithid, out of which are Hi Cuilean; Magh Lis an Ibhair, out of which are Hi Donnagain; Baile Hi Mulghuala, out of which are Hi Macilghnala, and out of it also are hi Macilmuala; Cil O'n-Gerbhinnain, out of which are Hi n-Geibennain and Hi Claen. Claenuir is the burial place of those two [families] and of O n-Gormain; and Rathán is the burial place of all the other families of this Trian after them, and the Meic Finnen are the Comarbs of Rathán. The other family names are Hi Crainchi, Hi Conaill, Hi Conaic, Hi Brain Meic Coirtein, and O'Hardgala is the hereditary chief of this Tuath.

“ Hi Bece Abha, *i.e.* Dun Cruadha, out of which are I Laeghnire; the Rindi, around the river, out of which are Hi Cairbre and Hi Cathail, Cill Laisre, at both sides, out of which are Hi Cleirigh; Moin Ainmneat both sides, out of which are Hi Eogum; Ath an Crainn, at both sides, out of which are Hi Buachalla; Cill Cuain, out of which are Hi Fiadhain [or Uan], and Hi Lacghaire are their chieftains.

“ The other half of that Tuath is Hi Bece upper, *i.e.*, Sonnach Gobann and Cluain Lochluinn near Abha Bec east and west, out of which are Hi Gobunn; Baile Hi Grigin, on the same river, out of which are Igrigin; Gleann Tuircin to the west and east on the river; Daire Hi Ceinneidigh, out of which are Hi Ceinneidigh, Ceall Ossain Luimneach Beg, extending west of Taedan, and from that eastward to Lochluingi, with its other patronymics. O'Gobunn is hereditary chief over them, and he is entitled to the other half of Ibh Bece when there is not a chief of the Ui Lacghaire. Cill Commuir is the burial place of Hi Bece on either side, and Hi Dathail are comarbs of that church, and Hi Cochlain are its Mac Cleireachs.

“ Tuath O'Fiannaidh, from Baile Hi Gormain, west to the road in Druim Raite, and to Ath na Ceoll, and from Abhan mor to the limit of Magh Finne, and the chief of that Tuath is Mæg Fiannadhnighe, and its patronymics are Hi Etromain, and Hi Annratham, and Hi Fireidhin, and Hi Brain Fhinn, and Hi Dubhain. Cill Cluaise is the burial place of that Tuath.

“ Tuath O'n-Dunnin, and its length is from the summit of Sliabh Cain to Each-lascaib Molaga, and its breadth is from Glaise Muibim Mairteil to Bearn Mic Imhair, O'Lannain is chief of this Tuath; Hi Cineadha, and Hi Leansain, and Hi Dungasa, and Hi Dungaile are its patronymics, and Cill Maincheas is their burial place.

“ The border land of one half [side] of that country is Rossach na Righ and Cathair-Gobhunn, and Cluas Droighe, and the Carcuir, and the burial place of this Tuath is Cill Colmain Grec, and its proper name is Hi Rossa, and its length is from the summit of Sliabh Cain to Abha Beag et reliqua.”

(To be continued.)

# THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

MARCH, 1871.

## OLD CASTLEKNOCK. AN HISTORICAL SKETCH.

“Hail to thy pile, more honoured in thy fall  
Than modern mansions in their pillar’d state :  
Proudly majestic frowns thy massive wall,  
Scowling defiance on the blasts of fate.”—BYRON.

THE fortress of Castleknock, situate about four miles west of Dublin, is, in many respects, one of the most interesting ruins in this part of the country. The name Cnucha frequently occurs in our ancient annals. It is described as a hill near the Liffey, in the territory of Magh-Breagh,<sup>1</sup> and all our antiquarians are now agreed that this place, so famous in former days, is no other than Caislean-Cnucha, now Castleknock.<sup>2</sup>

According to the Four Masters, a battle was fought at Castleknock by King Conmael at so remote a period as 400 years before Christ. We know nothing of the particulars of this event ; it is simply recorded under the date A.M. 3579.

Another battle, much more remarkable, was fought at Castleknock in the second century, a long account of which is given in an ancient Irish poem, entitled “The Battle of Cnucha,” which is preserved in some old and valuable manuscripts of the R.I.A. The Book of Ballymote also makes mention of this battle. From these it appears that at Castleknock, in the second century, was fought a memorable engagement, when Cumhal, or Coohal, father of the celebrated Fin-mac-Coohal, contending for the crown of Leinster, was aided

<sup>1</sup> Magh-Breagh, the ancient inheritance of the monarchs, included the northern part of the county Dublin, and the county Meath. From its great fertility it was called “the land of the *beautiful face*.” Tara and Cnucha were in Magh-Breagh.

<sup>2</sup> See Four Masters, vol. I., 325 and 597.

by Mogh Neid or Eogan More, King of Munster; whilst on the other side were arrayed Conn of the Hundred Battles, Goll, leader of the renowned Clanna Morna, and a number of other heroes remarkable in the legendary history of Ireland. The great event of the day was the death of Coohal; it decided the fate of the battle in favour of his great rival, Conn. He fell by the spear of the valiant Goll, son of Morni, and, for centuries after, the death of Coohal furnished the favourite theme of the bards—

“Coohal of the Hosts was slain  
Upon the ensanguin'd field,  
By Morni's son, who ne'er in vain  
Upraised the golden shield.”<sup>1</sup>

The large green mound which stands at a little distance from the present castle is supposed to be the tomb of Coohal, and the hill upon which stand the venerable ruins of the Castle, so famous in later history, was probably occupied at this time by a rath, or fort, such as has been often described in books of Irish antiquities.<sup>2</sup> From the above facts it would seem that Castleknock was a place of celebrity before the light of Christianity appeared amongst us, and that it was cotemporary with the ancient Tara and Emania. Often, may we suppose, did the chieftains set out from the old fort to join the Taltine games, and take part in the festivities of ancient Temora; often did they listen to the Seanachies as they recounted the exploits of that bloody day, and mourn over the death of Coohal, the father of Finn, the father of Ossian, the father of Osgar, who fell by the hand of Carbre. These memories throw a halo of antiquity round our ancient history. They were days of rough chivalry, but brighter days were yet to come. The Lord looked down upon this Isle, and saw here men of unselfish hearts—men who required but a noble cause to achieve noble deeds; and He blessed the land, and it fructified, and its fruits were scattered over the nations.

Years rolled by, and things went on in the old way in old Erin, till the arrival of our national Apostle. There is a tradition which connects his name with Castleknock, which it may be interesting here to mention. Whilst sojourning in Dublin,

<sup>1</sup> See Miss Brooke's *Relics of Ancient Irish Poetry*. Keating, in describing the actions of Lugaith-mac-Con, A.D. 182, refers to another very ancient poem, which begins with these words:—

“Cnucha cnoc os cion Liffe.”  
Cnucha's hill o'er Liffey's stream.

<sup>2</sup> Both these hills are within the demesne of St. Vincent's College.

he visited, they say, the old fort, and there preached to the prince and his people; but the prince, Morinus by name, slept during the discourse, and dying soon after, they attributed his death to a curse which they supposed the saint must have pronounced, that as he preferred to sleep rather than listen to the word of God, he might never rise from that sleep till the day of judgment. So they took him and carried him fast asleep as he was and laid him in the cave beneath the hill, where, say they, he has little chance of waking till the time appointed by the holy man.<sup>1</sup> Whatever we may think of some of the circumstances of the story, the fact of his visit is supported by grave authority. St. Evin, bishop of Ross, in Ferns, who lived towards the close of the sixth century, relates that St. Patrick visited Castleknock, with the hope of converting Morinus, or, as Colgan reads it, Fullenus, but the prince refused to see him, and sent him word that he was going to sleep.<sup>2</sup> What success the Saint had amongst the inhabitants of the district, we are not told; probably, like the people of Dublin, they embraced the faith about that time.

After this followed three centuries, the brightest in our history. Every ship that left our shores carried with her the learned and holy from the Island of Saints, to preach the faith in distant lands, whilst Saxons, Gauls, Italians, Egyptians, and Greeks, thronged to our schools.<sup>3</sup> These were the days of Bancor and Clonard, Armagh and Lismore, when the sons of Erin taught and preached in sunny Italy, and on the banks of the Rhine, and kings longed to lay their bones amongst the saints of Iona. During this period our modern historians take little notice of princes or heroes, for the glory of the lance was eclipsed by the glory of the cross, and the achievements of the warrior forgotten for the triumphs of the missionary. Still, the chieftains were to the good, and one of them, Congalach by name, seems to have been remarkable amongst the princes of his time. Four of our ancient annalists record his death.

"In the year 726," say the Four Masters, "died Congalach of Cnucha." In the old translation of the annals of Clon-

<sup>1</sup> According to tradition there is a cave beneath the hill, which communicates with the Liffey, about a quarter of a mile distant.

A well in the Phoenix Park, on the road leading to Knockmaroon, is called St. Patrick's well. Pilgrims formerly resorted thereto.

<sup>2</sup> See Lynch's *Life of St. Patrick*.

<sup>3</sup> St. Aengus, in his Martyrology, amongst the saints who lived and died in Erin, enumerates Gauls, Italians, and Egyptians. There is sometimes mention of Greeks in our ancient annals; there was a Greek Church in Meath, and the Irish missionaries on the Continent were so famous for their knowledge of Greek, that Ledwidge thinks it a proof that Ireland received the faith from the East.



macnoise, he is called "Konolagh of Castleknock."<sup>1</sup> In the Annals of Ulster we read—"Congalach Cnucho moritur;" and in the Annals of Tigernach—"Congalach Cnuchaensis moritur." We know nothing respecting Congalach, but that he died at his fort, Cnucha, towards the beginning of the eighth century.

During these early centuries, the Irish princes exhibit a strange contrast of deep religious feeling and strong warlike propensities. Sometimes we find them waging a fierce war against their neighbours, and at other times seeking to atone for the slaughter of the battlefield by donations to the monasteries, and contributions to the support of the strangers. Yet they did good service in the end. When the Northmen landed on our shores, they found there no despicable foe, but men like themselves, of daring courage and ever ready for battle. For two hundred years the strife continued with various success; sometimes victors and sometimes vanquished, the old inhabitants still held out, while the land was laid waste with a long and weary war. During this period, Castleknock continued a royal residence, and Niall,<sup>2</sup> monarch of Ireland, and one of the greatest princes of his time, dwelt there. This king revived the Taltine games, which had been for some time discontinued, and checked the power of the Danes. Unlike most of his cotemporaries, he never sullied his glory by alliances with the enemies of his country, and was slain in a great battle near Rathfarnham, where the Danish generals, Imar and Sitric, defeated the Irish, leaving the monarch Niall and many of the princes and people, dead upon the field.<sup>3</sup> This battle, which was long remembered by the people, was fought on the 17th of October, A.D. 917. An ancient poem, composed on the occasion, is preserved in the Annals of the Four Masters, from which the following is an extract :—

"This is a pity, O beloved Magh Breagh,  
Country of the beautiful face;  
Thou hast parted with thy lordly king;  
Thou has lost Niall, the wounding hero;

<sup>1</sup> See the MS. translation of the Annals of Clonmacnoise, made by Connel Mageoghegan more than two hundred years ago, and at present preserved in Trinity College, Dublin.

<sup>2</sup> Surnamed Glundubh. From him the ancient and royal family of the Hy Neills of Ulster derive their pedigree.

<sup>3</sup> "Celedabhaill, confessor of Niall, was he who had requested Niall to come to this battle, and it was he that gave the Viaticum to Niall."—*Annals of Four Masters*.

Where is the chief of the western world?  
 Where the sun of every clash of arms?  
 The place of great *Niall of Cnucha*<sup>1</sup>  
 Has been changed; O, ye wretches!"

Thus died, at a premature age, one of the greatest of the monarchs of Erin. Niall, however, did not die without a successor. His son, Murkertach, afterwards Roydamna, or heir-apparent, inherited the virtues and valour of his father. He is described by historians as one of the greatest heroes and most spotless characters in Irish history, and spent his youth, in all probability, at the residence of his royal father, "green-banked Cnucha." Murkertach defeated the Northmen in many battles, "and died, as for the greater part of his life he had lived, in fierce conflict with the Danes, leaving, as a poet of that day strongly expressed it, *all his countrymen orphans*."<sup>2</sup>

It was, probably, on the death of Niall that Castleknock became a Danish stronghold, for that it was once in the hands of these invaders, seems generally admitted. Moreover, the two last lines of the stanza quoted above, seem to refer to this change and the Danes who caused it. It was a great change. The sign of salvation was replaced by the raven standard, and that spot believed to have been hallowed by the footsteps of the blessed Patrick, was profaned by the rites of Woden. But the day of retribution quickly came. The monarch Brian appeared at the head of the national forces, and crushed the power of the invader for ever, A.D. 1014.

The tempest from the north had now passed by, but the effects remained. That Church of Ireland, once the fairest olive in the garden of the Lord, stood broken and dismantled, a leafless, though not a lifeless stock. The churches were levelled, the people ignorant, and the monasteries, once busy with the hum of many nations, were silent and in ruins. Zealous workmen came into the field and wrought hard; the devoted monks gathered round the desecrated shrine, and again peopled the deserted cloisters. But the time was short till another hurricane burst upon the land. A band of adventurers landed on our coast, and their ranks were quickly filled by traitor princes (1169). There was then no Brian, no Malachy, no Murkertach the Roydamna, to train the men and lead the troops to battle; but the people came forth a motley

<sup>1</sup> Tara was deserted in the sixth century, in consequence of a curse pronounced upon it by an abbot of a neighbouring monastery, for a murder committed by the order of the monarch. From that time the monarchs had no fixed residence.

<sup>2</sup> "From that day no monarch sat on Tara."

<sup>3</sup> Moore, vol. ii., 79.

group, more like an army in rout than soldiers prepared for war. Well may we apply to this period what the chronicler wrote of another time. "Without law to guide her, with rulers treacherous, false, and factious, the realm of Erin hath sunk into darkness." There was, however, one effort made to save the country. The great St. Laurence went around, and at length succeeded in bringing many of the princes to unite for the safety of their native land. A large army was collected, and the command given to Roderic O'Connor, monarch of Ireland.

The hopes of the nation beat high as the national army advanced. Dublin was besieged in form, and when Roderic had appointed to each of the princes his respective position, he took up his residence at Castleknock (1171).<sup>1</sup>

There he held his court, and consulted with the prelates and princes, and there did the good St. Laurence often raise his voice to urge more vigorous counsels. But when hope shone brightest, sudden disaster fell upon them. Strongbow and his followers, reduced to extremity, resolved to make one desperate effort. They sallied out from the gates, routed the troops under Roderick, and spread such panic through the entire army, that they retired in despair from the city.<sup>2</sup>

After the departure of Roderic, Strongbow remained in quiet possession of Dublin and the surrounding district, and for greater security placed his trusty friend Hugh Tyrrell in Castleknock. At that time the old fort underwent many changes. Tyrrell strengthened his fortress with all the improvements of modern warfare, and in a short time the Norman castle stood aloft in grim defiance, with its heavy battlements and deep double ditch. The battering ram could not approach it, and the missiles thrown against it fell harmless to the ground "as hailstones from the rounded shield."

The Baron of Castleknock had now completed his castle, and obtained peaceful possession of his wide domains, but his warlike spirit was not at rest. Philip of Worcester, the Lord-Deputy, was about to set out on a plundering expedition, and Tyrrell, ever ready for adventures, joined the party. They arrived at Armagh about mid-lent, "and for three days,"

<sup>1</sup> Leland, book i., c. 2., Haverty.

At this time the Governor of Dublin was Hasculf, the Dane, says Cambrensis; but the Danes were no longer the enemies of the Irish, but obedient subjects and faithful allies.

It is stated by some that when Roderic O'Connor arrived at Dublin, Castleknock was occupied by a Danish garrison, which willingly entered his service.

<sup>2</sup> This attack was directed against Finglas, where the principal stores were collected, and thence continued along the line to Castleknock. Maurice Regan, who was interpreter to M'Murrough, expressly states in his "Fragment" that Roderic resided at Castleknock.

says Geraldus Cambrensis, "Philip of Worcester and Hugh Tyrrell, his fellow scraper, plundered the town and priests of Armagh, and Tyrrell, among the other spoils which he took, had a great brewing furnace or pan which served the whole house, for which his doing the priests cursed him." On arriving at Down, Tyrrell collected his booty into one house, but at night the premises took fire, and all the spoils, with the horses which carried them, were burned. This was regarded by Tyrrell as a judgment on his sacrilegious conduct, and next day he sent back to the priests of Armagh their brewing vessel, and so returned to Castleknock down-hearted and empty-handed, without even the great pan which he hoped to place among the trophies of the castle.

But the lords of Castleknock were not always enemies; they soon became thoroughly Irish, and loved the land of their birth as though it were the land of their fathers; the wandering minstrel was ever welcome to their hospitable halls, and when night set in and the wind howled among the battlements, and whistled through the rude casement, the light was placed in the window as in days of yore, a welcome beacon to the benighted traveller.<sup>1</sup>

Amongst the lords of Castleknock there was one more godly-given than his fellows, and he, Lord Richard, to the greater glory of God, and his servant Brigid, founded a monastery hard by the Castle, and brought thereto the friars of St. Austin. There, in the silent chapel, was he often seen at the hour of prayer, and there too the garrison of the Castle attended on Sabbath and festive days.<sup>2</sup>

Thus things went smoothly on, though the land was sorely rent with wars and civil strife, till the Bruces advanced on Dublin (1316).

A short time before, Edward Bruce had been crowned King of Ireland at Dundalk, and thinking the time had come for

<sup>1</sup> The famous window of Castleknock was considered by English writers as one of the great curiosities of Ireland. Holinshed, who wrote in 1580, while the Castle was yet flourishing, thus describes it :—

"There is in Castleknock, a village not far from Dublin, a window not glazed or latized, but open; and let the weather be stormie and the wind bluster boisterouslie on everie side of the house, and yet place a candle there and it will burn as quietlie as if no puff of wind blew. This maie be tried at this daie, who so shall be willing to put it in practice."

<sup>2</sup> The Abbey of St. Brigid was founded where the Protestant church now stands, by Richard Tyrrell, A.D. 1184, and continued to flourish till the suppression of the monasteries, when it was demolished, and a Protestant church built on the site. In ancient times Castleknock furnished two canons to the Cathedral of St. Patrick, and even still, though that venerable Cathedral and its revenues are usurped by others, two Prebends of St. Patrick's derive their titles from *Castrum Noc ex parte diaconi, et Castrum Noc ex parte praeceptoris*.

A well in the town of Castleknock is called "Tipper Bride"—Brigid's Well.

the expulsion of the English, he invited his brother Robert to his assistance. The King of Scotland landed in Ireland with a select body of troops, and, being joined by his brother, marched to besiege Dublin with 20,000 men. The first exploit on approaching the city was the taking of Castleknock.<sup>1</sup> It could not be expected that the old fortress, long deemed impregnable, could long hold out against the hero of Bannockburn. Bruce entered, making Hugh Tyrrell prisoner, and fixed there his head-quarters.

It was now believed that the liberation of Ireland was at hand. There was feasting and rejoicing in the Castle. The Irish and Scottish chieftains met at the same board, and plaids and bonnets mingled with garments of saffron hue.<sup>2</sup> But joy quickly gave place to gloom. Bruce soon perceived that Dublin was fully prepared for a siege, and well provided with provisions from the sea. Moreover, the ardour of the citizens caused him to relinquish all hope. After remaining a few days in the Castle, he released Tyrrell on payment of a ransom, and retired from the city.<sup>3</sup> But he had scarcely commenced his march, when he seemed to repent of his resolution, and halted again at Leixlip. After a short delay he recommenced his march towards the south, and soon after left Ireland, leaving his brother to continue the war.

For three hundred years after the departure of Bruce, the old Castle rested in peace, though few besides were at peace in Erin.

At length stormy times came. When the English Parliament proclaimed war upon King Charles, the Irish adhered to the Stuarts, and the lords of Castleknock joining the national movement, planted the royal standard upon their battlements. From that day their doom was fixed.

General Monk marched from Dublin with a strong force and siege train, and sat down before the castle (1642). Things were there in the same state as in the days of the first Tyrrells. The lofty walls, the deep-set windows, the rooms within low and dimly lighted, and the heavy oak benches around, more like machines of war than articles of luxury. But the garrison was too weak for the defence. A heavy cannonade commenced, and when the walls were shaken to their foundations, and eighty of the defenders had fallen, the

<sup>1</sup> Moore, vol. iii., 62., Haverty.

<sup>2</sup> "The use of this colour in their garments, continued to be a favourite fashion with the Irish down to so late a period as the reign of Henry VIII., when it was, like all other things Irish, made punishable by law."—*Moore*, vol. ii., 80.

<sup>3</sup> It is not certain how long Bruce remained at Castleknock. Camden says he arrived there on the eve of St. Matthias' day (February 24th), and left after the festival.

signal was given and the place taken by assault. The garrison had acted bravely, but compassion was far from the hearts of the Republicans. The survivors were tried by court-martial, found guilty of fighting against the state, and hanged from those walls they had so bravely defended. Monk, on returning to Dublin, left a strong force in the Castle, for, though much shattered, it was still a position of considerable importance. But its days were numbered. Owen Roe O'Neill marched towards Dublin (1647), and finding Castleknock in the hands of the English, determined to dislodge them. An effort was made to avert the blow. Colonel Trevor appeared at the head of a body of cavalry, but these were quickly routed, and O'Neill commenced another siege.

This was too much for the veteran fortress, already tottering to its fall; it surrendered, and breathed its last in the hands of the Irish hero.

A few years later (1649), the Duke of Ormond, when threatening to attack Dublin, encamped at Castleknock; and this is the last military reminiscence of ancient Cnucha.

Not long after, it was, by order of Government, entirely dismantled; but it seemed like disturbing the rest of "the mighty dead," for life had long since departed.

Since then, it has, like many other national monuments, slept in oblivion. It is now a silent ruin.

"Still we prefer thee to the gilded domes,  
Or gew-gaw grottoes of the vainly great;  
Still linger 'mid thy damp and mossy tombs,  
Nor breathe a murmur 'gainst the will of fate"—BYRON.

The position of the castle is commanding, and its two deep ditches,<sup>1</sup> and the ruins of its massive walls, bespeak its former strength. The Castle itself is thickly clad with ivy, and the entire hill covered with large and spreading trees. The whole is now reserved ground, enclosed with a strong fence. The solemn gloom of the place, its dark winding walks, and the profound silence that reigns around, make it a delightful solitude. The green plot of ground enclosed within the old walls is used as a burial place for the priests of St. Vincent de Paul, and many zealous missionaries, cut off in the bloom of life, are there interred. It was a happy thought. That spot, purpled with the blood of many a hero, and containing within its bosom the relics of the "departed brave," is now a con-

<sup>1</sup> These ditches are very formidable, being in some places thirty feet deep. In them fragments of human bones and cannon balls have been found from time to time. Some of these are preserved in the Museum of St. Vincent's College.

secrated cemetery. Here rest side by side the soldier and the priest of Erin. The one fought for Ireland's temporal interests, the other for her spiritual welfare.

"Now rest they both beneath this verdant sod,  
And ever joyous may they rest with God."

## APPENDIX, No. 1.

### "COURAGEOUS CONDUCT OF AN IRISH LADY AT THE TAKING OF CASTLEKNOCK."

A small pamphlet entitled "*Courageuse Resolution d'une dame Irlandaise à la prise de Chateau-knock*," was lately found by accident in the *Bibliothèque Imperiale* of Paris.

It occupies only six pages 12mo., and seems to have been a letter written by an Irish officer to some friends in France, very soon after the event took place. It was found at the time so interesting that it was immediately published and circulated through Paris. No name is given, but its date is 1642. It is entered in the *Bibliothèque Imperiale*, 8vo. No. 955, A.a. It thus commences:—

"The Earl of Ormond, a Protestant, went forth from the city of Dublin on the 28th of last month at the head of 4,000 foot and 500 horse towards the county Meath.

"The next day he besieged with his army Castleknock, belonging to the Lady de Lacy, aunt of the Earl of Fingal. The husband of this lady was engaged in the army of the Catholics of Ireland. He left his wife in the Castle to keep it with fifty men only, being well assured that her courage was above her sex, in which he was not deceived; for this lady, by the orders which she gave, caused 400 soldiers of the besiegers to be slain during the four days the siege lasted, and the number of dead would have been greater still, had not the ammunition failed, which this lady having perceived, she caused to be put in one heap all her clothes, money, jewels, and precious moveables, in a word, all that was found of any value within the enclosure of the Castle; she then set fire thereto, so that there should remain no booty for the enemy. She also rendered useless all the arms which were in the place, having caused them to be broken, with the exception of those with which her soldiers were equipped, and in the light of the fire she harangued her soldiers thus:—

"My faithful servants, you can well judge by the action I am

after performing, what hope there is of favour from our enemies, and how little clemency I expect at their hands. I tell you, moreover, that you should not expect quarter from them, but remember the sentence which says, 'let the vanquished hope for nothing from their enemies.' Take courage, then, and combat to death for the faith of your Redeemer; you can never find a more glorious end, and the sooner to find it, go valiantly to attack the enemy of the Cross, lest, being made prisoners, any of you should, by bad treatment or the violence of torments, fail in the good resolution you have taken of dying to-day for the Catholic Faith; in which I desire to set you the example by marching at your head.'

"This done, the besieged set fire to the Castle, and went down, sword in hand, with such resolution that, after a great carnage of their enemies, all that went forth remained dead on the field, with the exception of the lady, who was made prisoner by the Earl of Ormond.

"After this the Earl sent to Dublin for reinforcements, and pursued his march."

Thus terminates this interesting narrative. After this follow a few pages regarding the march of Ormond and the sanguinary nature of the war in which they were engaged.

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No. 2.

In the year 1861, an ancient Cromlech, or Druid's altar, was discovered in the interior of the old Castle when digging the grave of the Rev. Thomas Plunket.

The workmen, coming on a large flat stone, found it too heavy to remove, and immediately commenced to break it. They succeeded after great difficulty, but on detaching a portion, they found, to their surprise, an empty space beneath, and a human skeleton lying at full length.

The head and larger bones were almost perfect, and with them were small heaps of dry, whitish dust. The men not understanding the nature of their discovery, placed the bones a little aside, and continued their work.

It was not till the grave was filled up, and it was too late to remedy the evil, that the whole matter came to light.

From the description given by different persons who were present, there is no doubt that the discovered grave was one of those ancient Cromlechs, or altar tombs, which were used as burial places for kings or notables during the Pagan times.

The skeleton in this case was so old that the admission of air caused a portion of the bones to fall into dust; this



accounts for the small heaps of whitish dust which were found with the larger bones.

It is to be regretted that the Superiors of the College were not made aware of the fact before the tomb was destroyed; the monument could then have been removed, and erected within the enclosure of the Castle, and the bones placed in an urn beneath. Such a reminiscence of the Pagan times would have been a highly interesting object. It is now, however, lost beyond recovery, but the bones still lie in their long resting place.

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No. 3.

THE LADY OF THE CASTLE; OR THE STORY OF  
EIBHLEEN O'BRINN.

Of all the facts connected with the history of Castleknock, there is none that has attracted more interest—at least, amongst a certain class—than the story of Eibhleen O'Brinn. Dr. Burton, in his History of the Royal Hospital, Kilmainham, has developed it into a tale of considerable length, and an anonymous writer in the *Nation* has commemorated the event in not ungraceful verse. The facts are as follows:—

In the early part of the 16th century, Hugh Tyrrell, the last of the name, ruled in Castleknock. During his absence, his brother Roger, by his violence and licentiousness, made the old castle the terror of the neighbourhood, and a "stronghold of iniquity." One summer's evening, Roger carried off Eibhleen, the fair daughter of O'Brinn, or O'Byrne, a Wicklow chieftain, who dwelt on a hill to the west of the neighbouring town of Chapelizod, and confined her in the turret of the castle. At dead of night, the maiden heard steps ascending the stone staircase that led to her apartment, and fearing the worst, opened a vein in her neck, by means of her breast-pin, and bled to death. Next morning the fact was divulged, and great indignation was expressed against Tyrrell. Turlogh O'Brinn had taken refuge in the pale from the horrors of war, and hoped to bring up his family in peace, under the protection of the viceroy. The affliction which now befel this peaceful chieftain, excited universal sympathy. At this time, the site of the Royal Hospital, Kilmainham, was occupied by the Knights of St. John, and one of them, who, as procurator of the house, had become acquainted with the family of O'Brinn, resolved that so public a scandal should not pass unpunished. He consequently assembled

his retainers, and marched towards Castleknock. Tyrrell finding he was to be attacked, declared that he would not take refuge behind his ramparts, but would meet his enemy in the open field. A bloody battle ensued, in which Tyrrell was slain. His tragical end was considered a just punishment for his many crimes; but the death of the maiden was long regretted by the people, and often in the winter's evenings, when the rustics gathered round the blazing hearth, many a tear was shed over the sorrows of O'Brinn, and the fate of his daughter Eibhleen.

It was long a popular belief, that, at the hour of midnight, a female figure, robed in white, might be seen moving slowly round the castle. This, they said, was Eibhleen, and they called her "The Lady of the Castle."

"When distant chimes sound midnight hour,  
The spirit pure is seen;  
And moving round the lonely tower,  
Looks bright as moonlight beam.  
And as the moonbeams tint the walls,  
And light the turret's crest,  
"Twas hence," she says, "my spirit fled,  
'Tis here my bones find rest.  
And here I wander, year by year,  
For such my lot has been,  
But soon at end my penance drear,  
I'll rest in joy unseen."

Her act of suicide, though wholly unjustifiable, was believed to have been palliated by ignorance, and in making the rounds of the castle, she was supposed to be completing her purgatory.

The Lady of the Castle has not been seen since the Congregation of St. Vincent got possession of Castleknock; the priests, they say, must have "laid the spirit."

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#### No. 4.

It is remarkable that in all the wars of Ireland, most of the high families in the barony of Castleknock were engaged on the side of the patriots, and were consequently involved in the general confiscations. After the insurrection of 1641, three thousand acres of land were confiscated in this barony alone. Amongst the families dispossessed were the Luttrells. They had dwelt in their noble demesne of Luttrellstown (now

Woodlands, the property of Lord Annaly), for over four hundred years, but were obliged to leave all, and take the road to Connaught, for not being able to prove "constant good affection." The scenes of woe which were witnessed at that time can be better imagined than described. Ancient and opulent families, whose fathers had taken part in the festivities of the old castle, were forced to abandon their ancestral homes, amid the wailing of women and children, and receive in exchange miserable hovels in the wildest districts of Connaught, where most of them died of misery and want.<sup>1</sup>

Some of these families, however, as the Luttrells and Hoares, regained their property at the Restoration.

## LETTERS OF BALMEZ.

### XIV.—THE VICIOUS—THE LUKEWARM—ARGUMENTS AGAINST RELIGION.

MY ESTEEMED FRIEND,—I am almost inclined to believe you begin to feel uneasy in your religious scepticism, for you are apparently ashamed of it, and feel, although you do not like to confess it, in quite a different state from many others whom, with good intention no doubt, but yet most unjustly, you accuse of similar ideas. I could scarcely believe that the conduct of many Christians should appear to you so strange as to make you suppose that they either hypocritically pretend to be addicted to religion, or else profess without understanding a single word of it. You say you cannot understand how, when religion teaches doctrines so sublime, transcendental, and even terrible, men can be found, who, though convinced of their truth, either practically contradict or make little or no use of them. You can conceive the religion of a St. Jerome, of a St. Peter of Alcantara, or of a St. John of the Cross—men profoundly penetrated with the idea of the nothingness of the world, of the importance of eternity, and, consequently, disengaged from the things of earth, dead to all that surrounds them, and only intent on the glory of God and the salvation of their own and their neighbours' souls; but you do not comprehend the religion of the vicious—of men convinced of the eternity of the pains of hell, and yet labouring as it were to plunge themselves into them; or of others, who, though

<sup>1</sup> See Prendergast's Cromwellian Settlement.

not sunk in vice, allow their days to pass with indifference, regardless of what may occur after death; nor even of those who, though they may practise virtue, do it with great tepidity, without showing they are continually possessed of the idea that in a short time they must meet either a happiness without end, or torments which shall endure for all eternity. All this appears to scandalize you, and contribute to keep you away from religion; if we confine ourselves to this view there is no medium between scepticism and the life of an anchorite.

The reflection occurs to me that it is very curious to note the variety and contradiction of the arguments with which Sceptics and Indifferentists attack religion, and how discontented they ever appear when dealing with her. Is there any one truly Christian and very devout, who passes whole days in prayer and penance; looks on the things of the world as fleeting and worthless; shows himself profoundly convinced of the nothingness of earth, and by his words and actions clearly proves that God and eternity never depart from his thoughts? Well, then, it is said, religion is essentially a crammer, that it compresses the ideas, crushes the heart, makes men misanthropes and inutilizes them, and consequently is only fit for monks and nuns. We are even sometimes prudently advised that we should endeavour to display religion under a more jovial and affable aspect, and thereby prevent many from abandoning her who would otherwise feel inclined to follow her but cannot consent to become sad and taciturn, and go about through streets and churches with eyes cast down and bended heads. And if, on the other hand, there be others who, though profoundly religious and penetrated with the terrible truths of faith, and addicted, perhaps, to the practice of austere virtues, yet display a serene and joyful countenance, and converse in the most affable and agreeable manner, without indicating by word or act that the thought of hell ever enters their mind; their conduct is immediately criticised and condemned, and those who a little before were the object of mockery and contempt for their austerity of manner, are now quoted as examples to be followed, so that whether religion weeps or laughs you complain; and if she be calm and serene, you accuse her of indifference. It is well to note these most unreasonable contradictions, which are incurred either from want of meditation or an inclination to make charges against religion.

But let us come to the principal point of your objection, and see if it can be answered satisfactorily. How is it possible for a man of religious convictions to be vicious? This, if I am not mistaken, is the principal difficulty you present; and you must allow me to tell you, with all frankness, that the

man who seriously proposes such an objection displays very little knowledge of the human heart. The life of the greater part of men is a web of those contradictions you are unable to explain. If we were to allow any importance to this difficulty, we should require all men to regulate their conduct by their convictions and live in strict conformity with them. But when and where has such proceeding existed? Do we not daily find it verified that man, even prescinding from religious ideas, sees the good, approves of it, and yet does evil? *Video meliora, proboque, pejora autem sequor.* We do not the good we love, but the evil we abhor:—*Non quod volo bonum hoc ago, sed quod odi malum illud facio.* We talk with a gambler, and the conversation turnson his ruling vice; well, a preacher in the pulpit will not express himself with more energy against the evils which spring from play. "What a dreadful passion," you shall hear him say; "ever restlessness, ever uneasiness and distress, ever uncertainty and anxiety. Now swimming in abundance, not knowing what to do with your money; a moment after all is lost and you must borrow from your friends, or mortgage an estate, or part with a piece of furniture, or have recourse to some other disastrous expedient to supply a small sum at least with which to try your fortune again. If you lose, you feel yourself in a state of desperation; if you win, you find yourself forced to witness the desperation of others; to suffocate the sentiments of compassion that spring up in your breast, and mask and cover them with smart sayings and jokes. What cruel moments are yours on emerging from the play-house, when you recollect you have, perhaps, wrought the misfortune of your family, and think you went with the hope of improving your position, but now find yourself sunk in the narrowest poverty. It is impossible to conceive how men abandon themselves to such a detestable vice. The gambler is a madman, who is constantly pursuing an illusion, though convinced it is an illusion and nothing more, proved to him a thousand times by his own experience and what he has witnessed in others. In a young man, on entering the world for the first time, a slip in this direction is perhaps not very culpable; but in a man of some experience, the vice has no excuse." My dear friend, have you heard that moralist so judicious, so severe, so inexorable with gamblers? Well, you may find, he has scarcely concluded his pious discourse, perhaps while perorating, he hurriedly pulls out his watch, or asks the bystanders what o'clock it is, and do you know why? It is because the hour of meeting is at hand, the table is waiting, the cloth is spread, his companions have already taken their respective

seats, and are shuffling the cards impatiently, and cursing the lazy laggard ; and his poor heart jumps with joy when he thinks that in a few moments he will begin operations, and the heaps of money will go whirling rapidly around, now before one, now another, soon a third, until in the end, at a late hour of the night, the game concludes, and the moralist of course is the conqueror in anticipation, and completely revenged for his misfortunes of yesterday. All this he hopes ; and as soon as he finishes his sermon, he rises, takes his hat, and goes off, annoyed with himself for his want of punctuality. What do you think of such a contradiction ? Oh ! I may be told the man is a hypocrite, and said what he did not think. It is false : he spoke with the most profound conviction, and if the bystanders were not gamblers, they were incapable of conceiving all the liveliness with which he felt what he expressed. In proof of this, suppose he has a son, a younger brother, a friend, any person at all in whom he takes an interest : he will advise him not to play, and will do so with all the truth of his heart. If he have authority, he will prohibit it with severity ; if not, he will beseech him with all earnestness, and if he can speak with entire frankness, will exclaim with accents of sorrow : " Believe a man of experience : this vice has made and is making my misfortune, woe to me ! and I always fear it will bring me to perdition ! " The unfortunate wretch is not ignorant of the evil he does himself, he is aware of his rashness—his madness ; he upbraids himself with it a thousand times, as well in his moments of calm and of sound sense, as in those of fury and desperation ; but he has not sufficient strength of mind to resist the impulse of an inclination rooted and strengthened by habit, and conform his actions to his words and profound convictions.

Do you wish for another example ? It would be easy to quote them *ad infinitum*. There is a man of respectable fortune, and stainless reputation, who enjoys in the bosom of his family all the happiness he can desire. His enlightenment, his morality, and even his polite and polished education, make him contemplate with grief the disorders he sees in others. He cannot conceive how they can consent to sacrifice their property to an incontinent passion, stain their honour for it, and make themselves the object of the contempt and ridicule of all who know them. However, after some time, an occasion, a frequent conversation, has involved him in a dangerous friendship ; and property, character, health, even life itself—he sacrifices all to his idol. Has he lost, for all that, his former convictions ? Is his change of conduct the effect of a change of ideas ? Nothing of the sort ; he thinks

as formerly, he has not departed a little from his primitive convictions, but has only laid them aside. To his relatives and friends who admonish him, who remind him of his own words, who use the same arguments with him as he used with others, who exhort him to take the counsels which a little while ago he was accustomed to give—to all he answers :—“Yes, true; you are right—immediately—in time—but——.”

That is to say, there is no want of light in his understanding, but there is disorder in his heart. He is sure the gilded cup contains poison, but in his feverish ardour he raises it to his lips, with the risk—the certainty of perishing. Go through all the vices, fix your attention on all the passions, and you shall discover this contradiction of which I speak. Few, very few are ignorant of the evil and harm they entail on themselves by their conduct, and yet how difficult the amendment. ? From this you can see it is no way strange that a person profoundly convinced of the truth of religion may act contrary to what it prescribes, and his want of practical conformity is no proof that he does not believe what he says.

If you had read theological and mystic works, or conversed with men experienced in the direction of consciences, you would know the sad and torturing situation in which many souls often find themselves ; and the patience confessors require to suffer with and encourage those who purpose leaving off vice, bitterly bewail their faults, tremble when they think of the eternal punishments they have deserved, and through sheer force of counsels, warnings, remedies, and precautions of all sorts, have strength perhaps to resist their destructive inclination for some time, and yet fall again, and return to the feet of the confessor, and at the end of a short time yield again and suffer mortal anguish, until, better fortified by grace, they are able to stand firm, and enjoy a peaceful and quiet life.

If it is not impossible, but on the contrary, often happens that a member of a pure and severe religious order lives in relaxation, neither is it incomprehensible that others, who are not sunk in such misery, should nevertheless conduct themselves with coldness and tepidity in spite of their strong, solid, and ardent religious convictions. The causes which can produce and perpetuate such a state are so numerous that it would be troublesome to enumerate them. Suffice it to say, that inconsistencies and contradictions are met with at every turn in the life of man ; that the present affects him to such a degree that he generally forgets the past and the future ; that though he is gifted with intelligence and will, he yet often

suffers from the tyranny of his passions, which hurry him along the road of perdition, although he is perfectly aware of it. The foregoing examples, and the considerations which accompany them, will, I think, be sufficient to show your attack on religion was unfounded, and if your argument had any force would prove that many men have no moral principles, because they act contrary to them ; that others are extremely ignorant in what relates to their health, because by their actions they constantly impair it ; that he who eats to excess does not know it will injure him ; and that he who drinks intemperately, does not suspect that wine is capable of intoxicating ; and thus we would be compelled to assert in general terms that men are ignorant of many things with which we know they are perfectly acquainted. Let us hold that man is inconstant and inconsistent ; that the things of the present affect him too much to allow him to conciliate the pleasure or interest of the moment with future felicity, and everything is explained most completely and satisfactorily, without supposing him more ignorant than he really is.

You also appear to labour under another important mistake on this matter, when you tell me in your letter that you think religion produces very little effect on the conduct of men, inasmuch as believers as well as unbelievers are accustomed to live as if they had nothing to hope for or to fear after death. "Men," you say, "take care of their affairs ; satisfy their passions or caprices ; are constantly forming great projects ; in a word, live so distracted, so forgetful of their last hour, so unmindful of what may come after, that as regards the morality of the greater number, it might be said the effect of religion is very insignificant, if any." To convince you of how false the fact is which you state with such security, it is enough to remind you of the profound change wrought in public morality by the propagation of Christianity ; for the sole recollection of it leaves no doubt that the teaching of religion is not incapable of modifying the conduct of men, but, on the contrary, is a very efficacious means of producing the most happy and abiding results. Now, as well as then, men take care of their affairs ; and have passions ; and amuse themselves ; and live distracted and dissipated ; but what a difference between the morals of the ancients and moderns ! If the limits of a letter would allow it, I could adduce a thousand proofs of this, and show with how much truth it has been said that more crimes were committed then in one year, than now in half a century. Bring to mind the doctrines of the first philosophers of antiquity on infanticide—doctrines which were uttered with a serenity



inconceivable to us, and which reveal the dreadful state of the morality of those societies. Recollect the infamous vices so general at that time, but covered among us by the fear of censure and infamy; remember what woman was among the Pagans, and what she is in the nations formed by the Christian religion; and then you shall see the infinite benefits Christianity has dispensed on the world in all that relates to the improvement of morals; then you shall comprehend the mistake you made when you said religion has little influence on the conduct of men.

It often happens that when we sit down to calculate the good produced by an institution, we attend to the position and palpable results only, prescinding from others which might be called negative, but are not less real or important than the former. We attend to the good which it does and not to the evil which it averts; when in order to calculate its force and character we should consider both.

As the absence of an evil, which without that institution would have existed, is of itself a great benefit, we should be grateful to the institution for having averted it, and reckon this effect as the production of a good. To make the calculation properly it would be well to suppose the institution does not exist, and see what would happen in that case. Thus, if a person denied the utility of the tribunals of justice, or endeavoured to lower their importance, there would be no more suitable means of convincing him than the one I have indicated. If the tribunals, it might be said to him, appear to you of slight utility, suppose them removed, and that the thief, the robber, the assassin, the forger, the incendiary, and the whole host of evil-doers have nothing to fear but the resistance or vengeance of their victims, society will be at once converted into chaos; one will arm against another; criminals will advance much farther in their career of iniquity, and multiply the numbers at a fearful rate. What averts all this? The tribunals certainly; and the absence of such evils is undoubtedly the production of a great good.

Suppose that religion does not exist; that from childhood no one gives us any idea of the other life, or of God' or of our duties, what would happen? We would all be profoundly immoral; and the individual as well as society would sink rapidly into the most abject degradation. And yet, according to your argument, it might be objected—As we take care of our affairs and live distracted, thinking little or nothing of our duties, of the other life, or of God; what advantage do we derive from having been instructed on these points—from having received an education in which these truths were

constantly inculcated? You see when the question is proposed under this aspect, it is not possible to sustain the solution you wish to give it, and it is clearly our method of arguing cannot be very strong in others, if it fail in the present case.

Who told you that man so distracted, so dissipated, does not think of the religion he professes? Do you think he should be constantly revealing to you what passes in the inmost recesses of his heart, when he has before him a bait which stimulates his passions, and places him in the risk of being wanting to his duty? Do you believe he should tell you how often religious ideas withheld him from committing a crime, or made him commit less than he otherwise would?

An evident proof of the many effects religious ideas produce on the conduct of men, and how present they are to their mind, even when they appear to have entirely neglected them, is the instantaneous rapidity with which they occur to them when they find themselves in danger of death. It might almost be said the instinct of preservation and religious sentiment present themselves at the same moment.

How does the instinct of preservation work on the general course of the actions of our life? If we consider it we shall find we are incessantly concerned for our preservation without thinking of it; we are continually doing acts tending to this end without advertent to them. What is the cause? It is the fact that everything intimately connected with the life of man is unceasingly before his eyes. He does not look at it but he sees it; he thinks of it without knowing he does so. What is said of material life may be applied to the life of the soul. There is an aggregate of ideas of reason, of justice, of equity, of decorum, which is constantly flitting through our minds, and exercises an incessant influence on all our acts. A lie occurs to us, and conscience says—"this is unworthy of a man;" and the word about being pronounced is detained by this sentiment of morality and decorum. A person with whom we are at enmity is mentioned in our presence; the temptation of lowering his merit, or of revealing some of his faults or perhaps of calumniating him presents itself, and conscience says—"an honest man would not do that; it is a vengeance;" and we are silent. We have an opportunity of defrauding without detection, without risk to our honour, and yet we do not defraud; who prevents us? The voice of conscience. We are tempted to abuse the confidence of a friend by betraying his secrets, or employing them to our own advantage; and nevertheless, the treason is not consummated, even when our friend, the victim of it, could never suspect it; who pre-

vents us? Conscience. These applications, which could be extended indefinitely, clearly show that man, without adverting to it, often obeys the voice of conscience, and even when he does not think, or does not believe he thinks of it, or of God, those ideas act on his mind and impel him, and detain him, and make him recede and vary his course, and continually modify his conduct in all the instants of his life.

If this happens even among unbelievers themselves, what will be the case with respect to sincerely religious men? In the eyes of the world it may appear they completely forget their convictions; that faith in great and terrible truths is of no service to them; that heaven, hell, and eternity are regarded by them as abstract ideas, without anything practical in them; but *they* know well that eternity, and heaven, and hell present themselves to their mind in the act of desiring to commit sin; that now they separate them from the path of iniquity; now detaining them from marching with such precipitation. They know that when they abandon themselves to the impulse of their passions, they experience frightful remorse, which torments and makes them repent their departure from the path of virtue. There is no Christian who does not experience this influence of religion. If he be really a Christian, that is, if he believe in religious truths, he repeatedly suffers the punishment of his bad works, or enjoys the reward of his good ones. He feels this punishment or this reward in the depths of his conscience; and the recollection of what he has enjoyed in the one case, or suffered in the other, often contributes to the prohibition of disorders contrary to the dictates of duty.

I have no doubt you will be convinced by these reflections, that what you say regarding the slight influence religion has on the conduct of man, is an error opposed to reason, history, and experience. It is true that those who profess it, do not always conduct themselves as they ought; it is true you will meet with men who have faith, and yet are very wicked; but it is no less true that the conduct of religious people is in general incomparably better than that of unbelievers. How many persons have you known, who, though professing no religion, observe a totally irreprehensible conduct? And when I say this I do not refer to the commission of crimes, from which a certain natural horror, the fear of justice, and the desire of preserving our reputation restrain us: I do not speak of a certain filthy and repugnant immorality, from which honour, decorum, and that delicacy of taste, the fruit of good education, recoil. I speak of that severe morality which rules all the acts of the life of man, and does not allow him to wander

from the path of duty, even when neither honor nor the regard of society is interested, or other considerations but those inspired by sound morals are opposed to it. You will tell me you know some men who, although they are unbelievers, are incapable of defrauding, or betraying friendship, and whose conduct, if it be not as vigorous as I could desire, is yet far from dissipation or even levity. It is possible you may know infidels, such as you paint them ; it is possible that from education, honour, decorum, and that interior light which God has given us, and which we cannot extinguish by vain endeavours, they may adjust their conduct to the law of duty, when no powerful motive impelling them to the contrary is at work ; but do not put those men to the test of a violent temptation.

Reducetomisery that man who believes in nothing—not even in God—and whom you suppose so straightforward and incapable of committing a fraud ; consider him struggling between the pressure of great necessities, and the temptation of appropriating a sum which does not belong to him, so that he could do it without injuring his reputation as an honest man ; what will he do ? You may believe what you like : I for my part would not trust my money to him ; and I would venture to advise you not to do so either.

You, my dear friend, who are placed in an independent position, without other temptations to do evil but those suggested by the illusions of youth, do not well know what that probity is which is not based on religion. You know not how fragile—how brittle is that honesty presented to the eyes of the world with such an air of firmness and incorruptibility. You yet require some undeceptions, which you will meet with in a short time, when, on the rending of that beautiful veil through which we view the world in the spring-time of life, you begin to see things and men as they are in themselves ; when you enter on the age of business, and behold the complication of circumstances which has place in it, and witness that struggle of passions and interests, which often places a man in critical and eventorturingsituations, in which the compliance with a duty is a sacrifice, nay, even sometimes an act of heroism ; then you will comprehend the necessity of a powerful curb—of a curb which must arise from something more than purely mundane considerations.

In the meantime, I remain your most affectionate friend,

J. B.

# IRISH HISTORICAL STUDIES IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

## IV.—THE FOUR MASTERS.

*The names of "The Four Masters":—The O'Clery's:—The Annals of the Four Masters:—Poem on the Household of St. Patrick:—The O'Gara of Coolavin:—The Franciscan Convent of Donegal:—The "Succession of the Kings," and the "Genealogies of the Saints" of Ireland:—Why this work was undertaken by the Four Masters:—The "Leabhar Gabhala":—Works composed by Cucogry O'Clery:—Brother Michael O'Clery, O.S.F.:—His Glossary:—The "Martyrology of Donegal":—O'Clery's merits in the matter of Irish History.*

FOUR distinguished antiquarians of this island in the seventeenth century, named Michael O'Clery, Fearfeasa O'Maolchonaire, Cucogry O'Clery, and Cucogry O'Duigenan, first received from Colgan, the designation of *The Four Masters*, and this distinctive title has been sanctioned by the general consent of later Irish writers.

Two of this literary band belonged to the sept of the O'Clery's, the hereditary chroniclers of Tirconnell. Being descended from Guaire, surnamed "The Hospitable," king of Connaught, in the seventh century, this family originally occupied Tireragh, in the county Galway, to which territory they furnished several chieftains famous in our annals. "There passed, after some time," says an old chronicler, "from Tirawley into Tirconnell a wise man of the O'Clery's, whose name was Cormac MacDermot O'Clery, and who was a learned proficient in the two laws, civil and canon. The monks and ecclesiastics of the abbey of St. Bernard, called the abbey of Assaroe, loved him for his learning and good morals, for his wisdom and intellect, and detained him amongst them for some time. At this period O'Sgingin was the historical ollamh of O'Donnell, but there lived not of his children, nor even of his tribe in that country, save one fair daughter, whom now he gave as wife to this Cormac, and what he required as her dower was that their first-born son should be trained up in the study of history. This condition was accepted, and truly was the promise fulfilled." Their eldest son, accordingly, became chronicler to O'Donnell, and his grandson, surnamed "*of the three schools*," because he kept schools for general literature, history, and poetry, became

so distinguished that Nial O'Donnell bestowed on him the lands of Creevagh, in the parish of Kilbarran.<sup>1</sup> A noble castle was soon erected there, and its ruins are still standing on a rock overhanging the Atlantic, at a little distance from Ballyshannon. "From the singularity of its situation, seated on a lofty, precipitous, and nearly insulated cliff, exposed to the storms and billows of the western ocean," writes Dr. Petrie, "the reader will naturally conclude that this now sadly dilapidated and time-worn ruin must have owed its origin to some rude and daring chief of old, whose occupation was war and rapine, and whose thoughts were as wild and turbulent as the waves that washed his sea-girt eagle dwelling; and such, in their ignorance of its unpublished history, has been the conclusion formed by modern topographers, who tell us that it is supposed to have been the habitation of freebooters. But it was not so. This lonely insulated fortress was erected as an abode for peaceful men—a safe and quiet retreat, in troubled times, for the laborious investigators and preservers of the history, poetry, and antiquities of their country. This castle was the residence of the *ollamhs*, bards, and antiquarians of the people of Tirconnell, the illustrious family of the O'Clery's. The lands annexed would, at the present day, produce a rental of little short of two thousand pounds a-year. Alas! it will be long till learning in the history and antiquities of our country be again thus nobly recompensed."

The chief work which merited an undying fame for the "Four Masters" is the *Annals of Ireland*, now generally known as the *Annals of the Four Masters*. This invaluable work, translated and copiously illustrated in our own times by O'Donovan, has rendered the greatest service to the history of this country, and even when only imperfectly known through the translation of a part of it in the "*Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores*," merited the following eulogy from Sir James Mackintosh—"The chronicles of Ireland, written in the Irish language, from the second century to the landing of Henry Plantagenet, have been recently published with the fullest evidence of their genuineness and exactness. The Irish nation, though they are robbed of their legends, by this authentic publication, are, yet, by it enabled to boast that they possess genuine history several centuries more ancient than any other European nation possesses, in its present spoken language. They have exchanged their legendary antiquity for historical fame. Indeed, no other nation possesses any monument of its literature, in its present spoken

<sup>1</sup>*Hy-Fiachrach*, published by O'Donovan, for I. A. S., in 1844, page 75, seqq.

language which goes back within several centuries of these chronicles."<sup>1</sup>

The annals commence with the earliest colonies in our island, and register the traditional narratives of the Spanish warriors, who, "wafted by the mighty ocean waves," became the first settlers in this land of the West:—

"They came from a land beyond the sea,  
And now o'er the western main,  
Set sail, in their good ships, gallantly,  
From the sunny land of Spain.  
"Oh, where's the Isle we've seen in dreams,  
Our destined home or grave?"  
Thus sung they as, by the morning's beams,  
They swept the Atlantic wave.  
"And, lo, where afar o'er ocean shines  
A sparkle of radiant green;  
As though in that deep lay emerald mines,  
Whose light through the wave was seen,  
"'Tis Inisfail—'tis Inisfail!"  
Rings, o'er the echoing sea;  
While bending to heaven, the warriors hail  
That home of the brave and free."

With the Christian Era, the annals become still more interesting, and at every page fragments of ancient poems and other tracts are introduced in the oldest Celtic dialect, bringing us back almost to the very age of the events which are chronicled. It is not necessary to enter more fully into the contents of this great work, for—thanks to the zeal and labours of Dr. O'Donovan—it is now easily accessible to all students in our history. We cannot forbear, however, enriching these pages with one short and very ancient poem, which gives the names of the saints who were associated with our Apostle in the conversion of this country. It is inserted in the annals at the year 448:—

"The family of Patrick of Prayers, who had good Latin,  
I remember, not feeble was the court, their order, and their names:  
Sechnall, Patrick's Bishop without fault; Mochta, after him,  
his priest;  
Bishop Érc, his sweet-spoken judge; Bishop M'Carthan, his  
champion;  
Benen, his psalmist; Colman, his chamberlain;  
Sinell, his bell-ringer; and Aithcen, his true cook;  
The priest, Mescan, without evil, his friend, and his brewer;

<sup>1</sup> *Mackintosh*, "History of England," vol. I., chap. 2.

The priest, Bescna, sweet his verses, the chaplain of Mac Alpraind ;  
His three smiths expert at shaping, Macecht, Laebhan, and Fortchern ;  
His three artificers, of great endowment, Aesbuite, Tairhill, and Tasach ;  
His three embroiderers, not despicable, Lupita, Ergnata, and Cruimthiris ;  
Odhran, his charioteer without blemish ; Rodan, the son of Braga, his shepherd ;  
Ippis, Tigris, and Erca, and Liamhain, with Eibeachta (his sisters) ;  
For them, Patrick excelled in wonders, for them he was truly miraculous :  
Carniuch was the priest that baptized him ; German, his tutor, without blemish ;  
The priest, Manach, of great endowment, 'twas he that supplied the wood ;  
His sister's son was Banban, of fame ; Martin, his mother's brother ;  
Most sapient was the young Mochonnoc, his hospitaller ;  
Cribri and Lasra, of mantles, beautiful daughters of Gleaghrann ;  
Macraith, the wise ; and Erc—he prophesied in his three wills :  
Brogan, the scribe of his school ; the priest, Logha, his helmsman ;  
It is not a thing unsung, and Mochai his true fosterson.  
Good the man whose great Family they were, to him God gave a crozier without sorrow ;  
Chiefs, with whom the bells are heard, a good Family was the Family of Patrick ;  
May the Trinity, which is powerful over all, distribute to us the boon of great love ;  
The King who moved by soft Latin, redeemed through the prayer of Patrick."

It was in the Franciscan Convent of Donegal, that the annals were transcribed ; and in addition to the Four Masters,<sup>1</sup> other learned antiquarians assisted, for a time, at least, in their compilation. The annals being completed in 1635, the superiors of the convent gave the following attestation, which has preserved to us many interesting details connected with that great work :—

"The Fathers of the Franciscan order who put their hands on this, bear witness that it was Fearghal O'Gara, that pre-

<sup>1</sup> It is singular that O'Donovan has mistaken the names of the Four Masters. He reckons Conaire O'Clery as one of their number, contrary to the express statement of Colgan. See his *Introduction*, page xix.



vailed on Brother Michael O'Clerigh to bring together the chroniclers and learned men, by whom were transcribed the books of History and Annals of Ireland, as much of them as it was possible to find to be transcribed, and that it was the same Fearghal O'Gara that gave them a reward for their writing.

"The book is divided into two parts. The place at which it was transcribed from beginning to end, was the Convent of the Friars of Dun-na-ngall, by whom were supplied food and attendance.

"The first book was begun and transcribed in the same convent this year, 1632, when Father Bernardine O'Clery was Guardian.

"The chroniclers and learned men who were engaged in extracting and transcribing this book from various books were, Brother Michael O'Clerigh; Maurice, the son of Torna O'Maelchonaire, for one month; Ferfeasa, the son of Lochlainn O'Maelchonaire, both of the county of Roscommon; Cucogry O'Clerigh, of the county of Donegal; Cucogry, O'Duibhghennain, of the county of Leitrim, and Conairé O'Clerigh, of the county of Donegal.

"These are the old books they had: the book of Cluain mac Nois, a name here blessed by St. Ciaran Mac an Tsaer, the book of the Island of Saints, in Loch Ribh; the book of Seanadh Mic Maghnusa, in Loch Erne: the book of Clann Mac Maelchonaire; the book of the O'Duigenans, of Kilonan; the historical book of Lecan Mic Firisigh, which was procured for them after the transcription of the greater part of the work, and from which they transcribed all the important matter they found which they deemed necessary, and which was not in the first books they had, for neither the book of Cluain nor the book of the Island were continued beyond the year of the age of our Lord 1227.

"The second which begins with the year 1208, was commenced this year of the age of Christ 1635, in which Father Christopher Ulltach O'Donlevy was guardian.

"These are the books from which was transcribed the greatest part of this work; the same book of the O'Mulconry, as far as the year 1505, and this was the last year which it contained; the book of the O'Duigenans, of which we have spoken, from the year 900 to 1563; the book of Seanadh Mic Maghnusa, which extended to 1532; a portion of the book of Cucogry, the son of Dermot, son of Tadhg Cam O'Clerigh, from the year 1281 to 1537; the book of Mac Bruaidealha (Maolin og), from the year 1588 to 1603; the book of Lughaidh O'Clerigh from 1586 to 1602. We have seen all these books with the learned men of whom we have spoken

before, besides other historical books. In proof of everything which has been written above, the following persons put their hands to this in the convent of Donegal, the tenth day of August, the age of Christ being one thousand six hundred and thirty six.

“Brother Bernardine O’Clery, Guardian of Donegal.

“Brother Maurice Ulltach.

“Brother Maurice Ulltach.

“Brother Bonaventura O’Donnell, Lector Jubilatus.”

The O’Gara, whose patronage and encouragement, as appears from this attestation, enabled the Four Masters to achieve their great compilation of the Annals of Ireland, was the chief of Magh O’Gara and Coolavin, and represented the county of Sligo in the Dublin Parliament in 1634. The Annals were gratefully dedicated to him, and in “the dedicatory epistle,” Michael O’Clery thus addresses him :—“ It was you that gave the reward of their labours to the Chroniclers by whom this work was written ; and it was the friars of Donegal that supplied them with food and attendance in like manner. For every good that will result from this book, in giving light to all in general, it is to you that thanks should be given, and there should exist no wonder or surprise, jealousy or envy at any good that you do, for you are of the race of Heber, the son of Milesius, from whom descended thirty of the kings of Ireland, and sixty-one saints.”

Under the year 1505, the “Four Masters” give the following entry :—

“O’Donnell, Hugh Roe, the son of Niall Garv, Lord of Tirconnell, Inishowen, Kinel-Moen, and Lower Connaught, died. . . . This O’Donnell was the full moon of the hospitality and nobility of the north, the most jovial and valiant, the most prudent in war and peace, and of the best jurisdiction, law, and rule, of all the Gaels in Ireland in his time ; for there was no defence made of the houses in Tirconnell during his time, except to close the door against the wind only ; the best protector of the Church and the learned ; a man who had given great alms in honour of the Lord of the elements ; the man by whom a castle was first raised and erected at Donegal that it might serve as a sustaining bulwark for his descendents ; and a monastery for the friars of strict observance in Tirconnell, namely, the monastery of Donegal ; a man who had made many predatory excursions throughout Ireland ; and a man who may be justly styled the Augustus of the north-west of Europe. He died after having gained

the victory over the devil and the world, and after Extreme Unction and good penance, at his own fortress in Donegal, on Friday, the fifth of the Ides of July, in the 78th year of his age, and 44th of his reign, and was interred in the monastery of Donegal."<sup>1</sup>

The O'Donnell, whose munificence is thus celebrated, was the founder of the Franciscan convent of Donegal; he made many grants to it, and his successors in the principedom of Tirconnell continued to enrich it with their gifts. The ruins are still to be seen at a short distance from the town of Donegal, and its arches and pillars, and its corridors covered with stone, bespeak the solidity and magnificence of the former building. The site, moreover, was a lovely one, and no spot could have been chosen better suited for meditation and study. The crested waves of the Atlantic that occasionally dash against the rocky headlands close by, form a striking contrast with the peace and calm that reign within the hallowed precincts of this venerable ruin. "Its situation (writes the esteemed author of *The Donegal Highlands*, page 70) at the head of the bay is exquisitely beautiful. The long narrow harbour, placid as a lake, flanked on either side by grassy slopes, diversified with many-tinted woods, and here and there a steep incline, green to the water's edge, all make up a landscape of surpassing loveliness . . . . Of the cloisters, there is left a memorial of thirteen arches, which, with their supporting couplets of pillars, yet retain evidences of great beauty and variety of design, and admirable execution. They are of the small size common in examples of Irish monastic architecture. But though the material lineaments of this building are so sadly effaced, it has left an impress on Irish history indelible as that history itself." The MS. history of the Franciscans, by Mooney, gives many details regarding this convent, and especially dwell on its destruction in 1601—"In the year 1600 we were forty religious in community in the convent of Donegal, and all the divine office for day or night was performed with chaunt and great solemnity. I myself had charge of the sacristy, in which there were forty complete sets of vestments, many of them being of cloth of silver and gold; some, too, were interwoven and worked with gold; and all the remainder were of silk. There were also sixteen

<sup>1</sup> This entry would of itself suffice to refute the statement of Mr. Richey in his "Lectures on Irish History" (*second series*, p. 11.), that in the "Annals of the Four Masters," from 1500 to 1534 "there is no allusion to the enactment of any law, the judicial decision of any controversy, the founding of any town, monastery, or church; and all this is recorded by the Annalist without the slightest expression of regret or astonishment as if such were the ordinary course of life in a Christian nation!" See, also, the entries in "Four Masters," at 1508, 1525, &c.

large silver chalices, of which two only were not gilt; and there were two pixes for the Most Holy Sacrament. In everything else it was befittingly furnished; not even a pane of glass was wanting in the church. But in the course of the war the English arms beginning to prevail, and Prince O'Donnell being engaged elsewhere, the enemy's troops occupied the town of Donegal, and on the feast of St. Lawrence (10th August), 1601, placed a garrison in our convent. Some of the friars having notice of this intended occupation fled away to the wooded country not far distant, having sent by sea the goods of the convent to a safe place. I was one of the last to leave the convent, and I accompanied the goods by sea. The convent, now garrisoned by the enemy's troops, was soon after besieged by O'Donnell, and its garrison was hemmed in on every side. The following event then happened, wonderful to relate. At one and the same time, fire fell upon the building, it is thought from Heaven, burning to death many of the soldiers, destroying the convent and church, and a ship that was entering the port to succour them was sunk upon a rock. Was this mere accident? The English survivors confined themselves within the trenches which they had thrown up, and were arranging the terms and conditions of surrender, when the news reached O'Donnell that Don Juan d'Aquila with the Spanish auxiliaries had landed at Kinsale, in Munster, and were now besieged there by the heretical troops; he judged it necessary to delay no longer at Donegal, and hence, without reaping the fruit of the siege, hastened towards Munster to unite his forces with O'Neil to aid the Spanish army. New misfortunes awaited them at Kinsale, and the Spaniards were forced to surrender. The Catholic cause being thus lost, Prince O'Donnell set off for Spain, and in the following year, 1602, all his territory was seized on by the enemy: and among other losses, all the sacred ornaments of the Convent of Donegal fell a prey to Oliver Lambert, the heretical governor of Connaught, who made drinking cups of the chalices, and caused the sacred vestments to be torn up for profane uses, and thus both the convent and its goods were lost. Nevertheless, the friars, even to the present day, have continued to reside as near to the old convent as they can with safety, and they always have had their Guardian, and at least twelve Religious. Peace being soon after concluded, and Prince O'Donnell having exchanged this world for a better life, his brother Roderick was allowed the greater part of his territory, with the title of Earl, far less noble than that of his ancestors. He set about rebuilding the convent of Donegal, but learning that the English were plotting against his life, his only hope was in flight, so he sped

his way with O'Neil to Flanders, and thence to Rome, where they both died ; and thus the friars were left without a convent or a protector. At the present day (1618) the English heretics are in possession of the whole country, and only tolerate the old religious to pass the residue of their years in the less frequented districts, knowing that they must all die out very soon ; but they do not permit any novices to be received. Such is the actual condition of that community." Thus, it was not in the great original monastery, as is sometimes supposed, but in some obscure hut or cottage, perhaps, within sight of its loved ruins, that the Annals of the Four Masters were compiled. That humble hut, however, still retained the name of the original convent, and it rivalled at home the Continental mission of St. Anthony's at Louvain, being the centre of the intellectual activity of the Order, and the repository of the few surviving records of our early history. Its library is spoken of by Ware as possessing many precious works, and most of the ancient Irish MSS. now preserved in Brussels and Rome, still bear inscribed on them :—" *Ex libris conventus de Dunnegall.*"

The "Annals of Ireland" is not, however, the only work for which we are indebted to Michael O'Clery and his brother antiquarians. The "*Succession of the Kings*," and "*The Genealogies of the Saints of Ireland*," which they completed in the year 1630, are dedicated to Torloch Mac Cochlain. The original MS. of these two Tracts, which, however, are both parts of the one great work,<sup>1</sup> is preserved in St. Isidore's, Rome, and bears on the first page the following title :—

"The History of the Kings of Erin, according to their

<sup>1</sup> O'Curry was betrayed into some errors by an imperfect copy of this work, which thus begins : "On the 3rd day of the month of September, Anno Christi, 1644, this book was commenced to be written in the house of Conall, son of Niall, son of Rossa Mageoghegan, of *Lios Maighne* in *Cenel Fhiachach* (in Westmeath), one by whom are prized and preserved the ancient monuments of our ancestors ; one who is the industrious collecting Bee of everything that belongs to the honour and history of the descendants of Milesius, and of Lugaith, son of Ith, both lay and ecclesiastical, as far as he could find them. And what is written in this book is the Succession of the Kings, and the History of the Saints of Erin, which are now corrected and amended by these persons following, viz. : the friar, Michael O'Clery, Fearfeasa O'Mulconry, and Cucogry O'Duigenan, all of these persons learned in the Irish language. And it is taken from the principal ancient books of Erin, in the Convent of Athlone, as we have before stated, as well as from the historical poem written by *Gilla Caomhain O'Cuirnin*, which begins : 'Virgin Erin, Island of Saints ;' and another poem written by *Ængus Mac an Ghobhain*, which begins : 'Naomhsheanchus,' &c., (i.e., 'The Sacred History of the Saints of Innisfail ;') and another poem which begins : 'Father of all, Ruler of Heaven.' This book contains also the Book of Rights, &c."

These words, supposed by O'Curry to be those of Michael O'Clery, are not in the original MS., and, as appears from the opening date, were only written in September, 1644, that is to say, some months after O'Clery's death. The "Book of Rights" forms no part of the work of our Four Masters, and neither should be imputed to them the error of ascribing the *Naomhsheanchus* to St. Ængus.

succession, from their origin-stem, and the time each king of them spent in the headship and power of Erin, in his sovereignty:

"The Genealogies of the Irish Saints, as found in the books of the old authors, set down according to their respective families in the order of the alphabet:

"For the glory of God, the honor of the Saints, and of the kingdom, and for the giving of knowledge and skill on the things aforesaid, and on the authors who have preserved the History of Erin, before and after the Christian Faith.

"Finished in the Convent of the Brothers of Observance of the Monastery of Ath Luain (*i.e.*, Athlone), in the bishopric of Cluain Mac Nois, A.D. 1630."

In the dedication to Torloch Mac Cochlain, Michael O'Clery and his companions thus write:—

"After the poor Friar, Michael O'Clery, had been four years at the command of his Superiors, engaged in collecting and bringing together all that he could find of the History of the Saints of Ireland, and of the kings to whom their pedigrees are carried up, he thought with himself that it would not be unfitting to put that collection into other languages, submitting it to the authority, proof, and inspection of other skilful historians. He also considered that the aforesaid work could not be finished without expense. But such was the poverty of the order to which he belonged, on account of their vow, and the oppressions of the time, that he was obliged to complain of it to gentlemen who were not bound to poverty by vow. And among those to whom he made his complaint, he found no one to relieve his anxiety towards bringing this work to completion, but one person, who was willing to assist in the promotion of the glory of God, the honour of the saints, and of the kingdom and the good of his own soul. And that one person is Torloch MacCochlain [here follows the pedigree of the MacCochlains]. And it was this Torloch MacCochlain that forwarded this work, and that kept together the company that were engaged in completing it, along with the private assistance given by the aforesaid convent every day. On the 4th day of October, therefore, this book was commenced, and on the 4th day of November it was finished, in the convent of the friars before mentioned, in the fifth year of King Charles of England, A.D. 1630.

"Your loving friends,

"MICHAEL O'CLERY,

"FEARFEASA O'MAOLCHONAIRE,

"CUCOGRY O'CLERY,

"CUCOGRY O'DUIGENAN."

This is followed by an address to the reader which sets forth the nature of the work and the motives which impelled the writers to undertake the task:

“What true children are there that would not feel pity and distress, at seeing or hearing of their excellent mother and nurse being placed in a condition of indignity and contempt, of dishonor and contumely, without making a visit to her to bring her solace and happiness, and to give her assistance and relief?

“Upon its having been observed by certain parties of this nation, of the Order of St. Francis, that the holiness and righteousness of their mother and nurse Erinn had perceptibly diminished, for not having the lives, wonders, and miracles of her saints disseminated within her, nor yet made known in other kingdoms; the counsel they adopted was, to send into Erinn a poor Friar Minor of their own Order of Observance, Michael O’Clery, a chronicler by descent and education, in order to collect and bring to one place all the books of authority in which he could discover anything that related to the holiness of her saints, with their pedigrees and genealogies.

“Upon the arrival of the aforesaid friar he sought and searched through every part of Erinn, in which he had heard there was a good or even a bad book, (*i.e.* Gaedhlic MS.); so that he spent four full years in transcribing and procuring every thing that referred to the saints of Erinn. Nevertheless, though great his labour and his hardships, he was able to find but a few out of the many of them, because strangers had carried off the principal books of Erinn into remote and unknown foreign territories and nations, so that they have not left anything which is worthy to be enumerated of her books in her.

“And when all that the aforesaid friar could find had been gathered into one place, what he contemplated and decided on doing was this—*viz.*, to bring together and assemble in one place three persons whom he should consider most befitting and most suitable to finish the work which he had undertaken, with the consent of his superiors, for the purpose of examining all the collections that he had made. These were, Ferfeasa O’Mulconry from Bally Mulconry, in the county of Roscommon; Cucoigriche O’Clery, from Bally Clery, in the county of Donegal, and Cucoigriche O’Duigenann from Baile, Coillefoghair (now Castlefore), in the county of Leitrim. These persons then came to one place; and, having come, the four of them decided to write the Roll of the Monarchs of Erinn, at the beginning of the book. They determined on this for two reasons. The first reason, because the pedigrees of the saints could not have been brought to their origin,

without having the pedigrees of the early kings placed first, because it was from these kings that they are descended. The second reason, in order that the duty and devotion of the noble people to their saints, their comharbs, and their churches, should be the greater, by their having a knowledge of their relation and friendship with their blessed patrons, and of the descent of the family saints from the stem from which each branch of them has sprung, and the number of the saints of the same branch.

"For every tribe of the saints of Erinn, so many as have been found of them, according to the order of their history, is here set forth one after another, without commingling of families; but as they branched off and separated from their original stems.

"Whoever thou art, then, O reader, we leave it to thyself to perceive that thou wilt find profit, effect, knowledge, and brevity, in this work. For the succession of the kings, with their pedigrees to their origin, will be found in it, in the order in which they obtained the sovereignty together with the number of their years, the age of the world at the end of each king's reign, and the age of our Lord Jesus Christ, from his Incarnation to the death of each king, down to the death of Malachy the Great (A.D. 1022). And the saints are given according to their alphabetical order, and their origin, as we have already said. Glory unto God.

"Your loving friends,

"FR. MICHAEL O'CLERY,

"FEARFEASA O'MULCONRY,

"CUCOGRY O'CLERY,

"CUCOGRY O'DUIGENAN."

To this the following attestations are added :—

"I, the Brother Seoirse Diolmain, Guardian of Ath Luain, confess and make testimony that this work, which is called the Course of the Kings of Erin, and the History of the Saints, was ended and finished after spending a month completely with it of days and of nights with striving and study, for the increasing of the glory of God, and of the saints, and of the honor of the kingdom. The persons by whom this labor was finished are—the poor brother Michael O'Clerigh, Fearfeasa O'Maolchonaire, Cu-coicriche O'Clerigh, and Cu-coicriche O'Duibhgeannain; persons skilful, learned in the history of Erin, in the convent of the Brothers of Observance of Ath Luain; and for testimony on the things we have said, I am putting my hand on this the 4th November, 1630.

"Brother SEOIRSE DIOLMAIN,  
Guardian of Ath Luain."



"I, Conall Mac Neill Mageocagain, from Liss Maigne, in Cenel Fiachach, in the county of West Meath, gentleman, hereby declare that I saw the books of proof which this book had; and for testimony thereof, I have here put my signature, the 4th day of the month of November, A.D. 1630.

"CONALL MAGEOCAGAIN."<sup>1</sup>

The *Leabhar Gabhala*, or "Book of Invasions," is, as regards the early secular history of Ireland, perhaps the most important work preserved to us by the untiring industry of the "Four Masters." This chronicle, containing an ample record of the successive colonisation of Ireland from the earliest times, was much older than the sixteenth century, and the labour of O'Clery and his learned associates was limited in this instance "to purge of error, rectify and transcribe the old chronicles." It was under the patronage of Brian Ruadh Maguire, first Lord of Inis-Cethlionn (*i.e.*, Enniskillen) that this work was undertaken, and in addition to Fearfeasa O'Mulconry, Cucogry O'Clery, and Cucogry O'Duigenan, Brother Michael O'Clery, here summoned to his aid *Gillapattrick O'Luinin* (from *Ard*

<sup>1</sup> The following Episcopal letters are added in the Roman MS. :-

"I. Visis testimoniis et approbationibus eorum qui praecipui sunt nostrarum rerum in hoc regno antiquarii, et linguae ac historiae peritissimi ac expertissimi de fide et integritate fratris Michaelis Clery in opere, quod vocatur genealogia sanctorum ac de ortu, serie ac successione regum Hiberniae, colligendo, castigando, illustrando, ac cum quibusvis vetustis codicibus conferendo, Nos Malachias Dei et Apostolicae sedis gratia Archiepiscopus Tuamensis et Conaciae Primas opus approbamus ac praelo dignum censemus. Datum, Galviae, 15 Kalendar, Decemb. 1636.

"MALACHIAS, Archiepiscopus, Tuamen."

"II. Visis testimoniis et authenticis peritorum approbationibus de hoc opere per fratrem Michaellem Clery, ordinis seraphici laicum fratrem, collecto, libenter illud approbamus ut in publicam lucem edatur.

"Datum Rossirta, 27 Novembris, 1636.

"Fr. BOETIUS ELPHYNENSIS, Episcopus."

"III. Genealogias regum et sanctorum Hyberniae singulari industria collegit frater Michael Clery laicus ordinis sancti Francisci de observantia prout fidem faciunt nostrates antiquarii, quorum auctoritate freti opus tam insigne dignum quod edatur judicamus, Actum Dublinii, 6 Februarii, 1636.

"Fr. THOMAS FLEMING, Archiepiscopus Dublinensis, Hiberniae Primas."

"IV. De hoc libro, qui vocatur genealogia sanctorum ac de ortu, serie ac successione regum Hiberniae, quem Fr. Michael Clery, ordinis S. Francisci, ad gloriam sanctorum et communem patriae utilitatem collegit non aliter censemus quam censores a Reverendo Administratore Patre Provinciali ejusdem fratris, R. D. Florentius Keegan et D. Cornelius Bruodyn pro eodem libro inspicendo examinando et approbando vel reprobando assignati judicaverunt et decreverunt. Nos enim eosdem tanquam peritissimos linguae Hibernicae et in omnibus historiis et patriae chronologiis versatissimos existimamus. Quapropter et illorum censurae et judicio de praesenti genealogia etc, in omnibus conformamur. In quorum fidem his manu propria subscripsimus. Datum in loco nostrae mansionis die 8 Januarii anno Domino 1637.

FR. ROCHUS, Kildarensis."

*Ui Luinin*), the chief chronicler of Fermanagh. They all assembled together "a fortnight before All-Hallow-tide" in the Franciscan convent of Lisgoole, in the diocese of Clogher; and the work was happily completed "three days before Christmas, in 1631."

The following passages from the introduction written by O'Clery, will be read with deep interest by every lover of Irish studies:—

"I was aware that men learned in Latin and in English had commenced to translate this chronicle of Erin from the Gaehdlic into these languages, and that they had not so profound a knowledge of the Gaehdlic as that they could put the difficult and the easy parts of the said book together without ignorance or error; and I felt that the translation which they would make must become an eternal reproach and disgrace to all Erin, and particularly so to her chroniclers. It was for these reasons that I undertook, with the permission of my superiors, to purify and compile this book, and to collect for it, from other books, all that was wanting to it in history and in other learning, as much as we could, according to the space of time which we had to write it. . . . It is right that you should know that it was ancient writers of remote times, and commemorating elders of great age, that preserved the history of Erin in chronicles and books in succession, from the period of the deluge to the time of St. Patrick, who came in the fourth year of the reign of Laeghaire Mac Neill, monarch of Erin, to plant religion and devotion in her; when he blessed Erin, men and boys, women and girls, and built numerous churches and towns throughout the land. St. Patrick, after all this, invited unto him the most illustrious authors of Erin at that period to preserve the chronicles, synchronisms, and genealogies of every colony that had taken possession of Erin, down to that period. Those that he invited unto him, at that time, were Ross and Dubhthach, the son of Ua Luaghair, and Fergus and others. These were the sustaining pillars of the history of Erin in the time of St. Patrick.

"St. Columbkille, St. Finnian of Clonard, and St. Comgall of Bangor, and the other saints of Erin, induced the authors of their time to perpetuate and set forth the history and synchronisms existing in their day. It was so done at their request. The authors of the period of these saints, as is manifest in the latter part of Eochaidh O'Flinn's poem, were *Fiontain*, the son of Bochna; *Tuan*, the son of Cairell, son of Muiredbach Muinderg, of the Dal-Fiatach; and *Dallan Forgaill*, the illustrious author and saint.

"The histories and synchronisms of Erin were written and tested in the presence of these illustrious saints, as is manifest in the great books which were named after the saints themselves, and from their great churches; for there was not an illustrious church in Erin that had not a great book of history named from it, or from the saint who sanctified it. It would be easy, too, to know, from the books which the saints wrote, and the songs of praise which they composed in Gaedhlic, that they themselves, and their churches, were the centres of the true knowledge, and the archives and homes of the manuscripts of the authors of Erin, in the olden times. Sad evil! short was the time until dispersion and decay overtook the churches of the saints, their relics, and their books; for there is not to be found of them now but a small remnant, that has not been carried away into distant countries and foreign nations—carried away so that their fate is not known from that time hither."

As regards the "Four Masters" themselves, little is known of the history of two of them, *i.e.*, Fearfeasa O'Maolchonaire and Cucogry O'Duibhgenain. They were famed, however, throughout our island for their knowledge of the ancient books of Erin, and were the hereditary antiquarians of Roscommon and Kilonan. Of Cucogry (*i.e.*, *Peregrinus*) O'Clery, we have fuller details. He wrote in Irish a life of the celebrated Hugh Roe O'Donnell, who died in Spain in 1602, which was transcribed, many times *verbatim*, into the Annals. He also composed some Irish poems, two of which are published by O'Curry in his *Manuscript Materials, &c.*, p. 562-9. The first is addressed to Callbach Roe O'Donnell, who, driven from his hereditary possessions, had been forced to seek a new home near Cruachain, in the county Roscommon. He commends to the protection of this young chieftain his own learned tutors, the Mulconry's of Cruachain:—

"Good is the search that thou hast made  
To go seek the knowledge of history—  
To visit me first would have been an idle journey:  
To the home of the learning of Erin.

"An old saying, wise and venerable it is,  
'The learning of Erin at Cruachain,'  
To its learning thou hast given will, above all,  
Not without reason was your choice.

"They are in this land a long time,  
Around the Cruachain of Conn of the hundred battles,  
The *O'Maolchonaires* without fault,  
In chosen esteem with chieftains.

“Thou hast, too, joined other knowledge,  
With the comely *Clann Moalchonaire*,  
The cause of our invitation from thee  
Through the career of my learning from my tutors.

“Let it not molest thee, thou of the race of Finn,  
The evil hearts, the malignity,  
Of those who envy thy bright brow;  
Their gaze is the omen of secret peace.

“My last words to thy noble mien :  
Be not the first to fly from friendship;  
Without cause break not thy affection with man.  
But share with him thy brightest love.”

The second poem is addressed to Turlough, the son of Caffar O'Donnell. In it he condoles with this aged chieftain on the fallen fortunes of his house ; extols him for the protection he had shown his followers after the Plantation of Ulster, and for the bravery with which he arrayed them for the battles of religion during the Confederate war of 1641 ; and in fine, exhorts him to be resigned in his present trials, and to prepare for that glory which is eternal. It thus begins:—

“My curse upon thee, O, world !  
Woe is he who understands not thy great dangers,  
For thou thyself makest us sensible,  
That thy fortunes are not an object to be loved.

“Tho' many a king who had been esteemed,  
Received from thee reign and sovereignty ;  
And to whom thou gavest mirth, feast, and banquet ;  
Behold their fate at the end !

“No person has arisen, west or east,  
On the back of thy wheel, O, world !  
Whose end is not, after all happiness,  
To be buried under that wheel in sorrow.

“The poor of the earth all around,  
To thee they have cause to be thankful ;  
Thou givest them nothing of thy wealth,  
And thou deprivest them not of thy gifts.”

From an inquisition held at Lifford on the 25th of May, 1632, it appears that our annalist Cucogry had for a short time held a portion of land at Monargane, in the county

Donegal, for which he paid £8 per annum to the assignee of the Earl of Annandale; but, as the inquisition states, "being a meere Irishman, and not of English or British descent or surname," he was dispossessed, and his holding forfeited to the king. Shortly after he removed, with many other families of Tirconnell, to Ballycroy, in the south of the barony of Erris, in the county Mayo, bringing with him his books, which were his only treasure. His will, drawn up a little before his death in 1664, thus begins: "In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, I bequeath my soul to God Almighty, and I charge my body to be buried in the monastery of *Burgheis-Umhail* (i.e. Borrisoole), or in whatever other consecrated church it will appear best to bury me. I leave the property most dear to me that is in my possession in the world, namely, my books, to my two sons *Diarmaid* and *Seaan*. Let them take their profit out of them without injuring them, and according to their necessities; and let them give the use of them, and constant access to them, to *Cairbre's* children, even as to themselves. I am charging them to be loving, friendly, respectful (to these) as they would be to their own children, if they wish that God should be propitious to themselves, and give them prosperity in the world here, and their share in the kingdom of heaven to them in the other world." (Curry's *Lectures*, p. 561.)

Of Michael O'Clery much might be written. Born about the year 1575, he was generally known to his contemporaries as *Teige na-Sleibhe*, i.e. "Teighe of the Mountain," but no explanation of this name has been handed down to us. Admitted among the Franciscans of St. Anthony's, at Louvain, in 1623, he received the name of Michael, but he never would consent to be promoted to holy orders, and he remained till death in the humble ranks of the lay brothers of St. Francis. In the last chapter (p. 199), we have seen how Father Patrick Fleming wrote to Ward on 27th July, 1624:—"Make sure to carry out your purpose of sending brother Clery to Ireland to collect the MSS. there," and probably before the close of that year, if not before the receipt of Fleming's letter, the humble lay-brother was entrusted with this literary mission, destined to be so happy in its bearings on the history of our country. Michael O'Clery travelled from convent to convent, and from province to province, collecting everywhere the few surviving fragments of our literature. The learned Bishop of Ossory, Dr. Rothe, writing in 1828, states that already he had collected more than three or four hundred lives of the Irish Saints: he adds, "I gave him the few lives which I

had collected, and sent him to Ormond, part of my diocese, to transcribe there for awhile, from whence he promised to come to Thomond, where I undertook to get many things for him, but he came not since ; soon I expect him to come, and he shall be welcome truly to me." From the dedicatory letter prefixed to the "Annals of the Four Masters," we learn that O'Clery devoted several years to the arduous work of collecting such materials, before he ventured, even with the aid of other antiquarians, to compile those learned works which have endeared his name to all students of our history.

Several of the volumes transcribed by O'Clery are still extant in Brussels,<sup>1</sup> and are described by O'Curry in his "Lectures," (pp. 173-4). First of the published works bearing the individual name of Michael O'Clery is his Glossary, which was printed at Louvain, a few weeks before his demise. Its title is thus translated by O'Curry :—" *A new Vocabulary or Glossary, in which are explained some part of the difficult words of the Gaedhlic, written in alphabetical order by the poor rude friar, Michael O'Clery, of the Order of St. Francis, in the College of the Irish Friars at Louvain, and printed by authority in the year 1623.*"

This work, which is reckoned of special value by our modern philologists, was composed by O'Clery, as he tells us in the preface, for the purpose of keeping alive a knowledge of the early Celtic language. The inroads now made on the Irish tongue, and the attacks levelled against it by the English foe, only served to render it more dear to the natives :

"Unlike the jargon of our foreign foe,  
On raptured ear it pours its copious flow ;  
Most feeling, mild, polite, and polished tongue,  
That learned sage e'er spoke or poet sung.

In the "Address to the Reader," O'Clery thus writes :—

"Let the reader who desires to read this little work, know four things, the first is, that we have not set down any word of explanation or gloss of the hard words of our mother tongue, but the words which we found with other persons, as explained by the most competent and learned masters in the knowledge of the difficult words of the Gaedhlic in our own days. Among these more particularly, were Boetius Ruadh MacEgan, Torna O'Mulconry, Lughaidh O'Clery, and

<sup>1</sup> One of these is the celebrated tract called "The Wars of the Danes," which has been published by Dr. Todd in the London Series, under the Master of the Rolls, in 1867. The Brussels MS. has the following note : "Out of the Book of Cuconnacht O'Daly, the poor Friar Michael O'Clery wrote the copy from which this was written in the Convent of the Friars in Baile Tighe Farannaim (*i.e.*, Multyfarnham, in the County Westmeath), in the month of March of this year, 1628; and this copy was written by the same friar in the Convent of Donegal, in the month of November of this year, 1635."

Maelseachlainn O'Mulconry : and though each of these was an accomplished adept, it is Boetius Roe that we have followed the most, because it was from him we ourselves received, and we have found written with others, the explanations of the words of which we treat. And besides, because he is an illustrious and accomplished in this (the antiquarian) profession, as is manifest in the character which the other scholar before mentioned, Lugdaidh O'Clery, gave of him after his death, as may be found in the verses which thus begin:—

“Athairné, the father of learning,  
Dallan Forgaill, the prime scholar,  
To compare with him in intelligence would be unjust,  
Nor Neide, the profound in just laws.

“Obscure history, the laws of the ancients,  
The occult language of the poets ;  
He, in a word, to our knowledge,  
Had the power to explain and analyse, etc.

“We have known able professors of this science, and even in the latter times, such as the late John O'Mulconry (of Ardchoill, in the county of Clare), the chief teacher in history of those we have already named, and indeed of all the men of Erin likewise, in his own time ; and Flann, the son of Cairbrey, MacEgan (of Lower Ormond, in Tipperary), who still lives, and many more that we do not enumerate. But because we do not happen to have at this side of the sea, where we are in exile, the ancient books which they glossed, except a few, we could not follow their explanation but to a small extent.

“In the second place, be it known to you, O reader ! that the difficult ancient books, to which the ancient authors put glosses, and from which we have taken the following words, with the farther explanations of the parties mentioned above, who taught in these latter times, were the *Amhra* or (*Elegy*), on the death of Saint Colum Cille, the *Agallamh*, or *Dialogue* of the two sages, the *Felire*, or *Festology* of the Saints, the *Martyrology* of Marianus O'Gorman, the *Liber Hymnorum*, or *Book of Hymns* ; the *Glossary* of the (*Tripartite*) *Life of Saint Patrick* : an ancient *Scripture* on vellum, and a certain old paper book, in which many hard words were found, with their explanations ; the glossary called *Forus Focail* (or *The True Knowledge of Words*), and the other glossary, called *Deirbshuir don eagna an Eigse* (or *Poetry is the sister of Wisdom*). And for the greater part of the book from that out we received the explanation from the above-mentioned Boetius.

“Be it known to the reader, thirdly, that we have only desired, when proposing to write this little work, to give but

a little light to the young and the ignorant, and to stimulate and excite the professors and men of knowledge to produce a work similar to this, but on a better and larger scale.—And the reason why we have not followed at length many of the various meanings which poets and professors give to many of these words, is because that it is to the professors themselves it more particularly belongs, and the people in general are not in as great need of it, as they are in need of assistance to read and understand the ancient books.”

The work is dedicated to the Bishop of Elphin, Boetius M’Egan, a name illustrious in our annals for the devotedness with which this holy Bishop discharged his sacred duties throughout this whole eventful period of the confederation, and for the heroism with which he confronted death in defence of truth, the 19th of April, 1650.

“TO MY VERY HONOURED LORD AND FRIEND BOETIUS M’EGAN, BISHOP OF ELPHIN—Here is presented to you, my Lord, a little gleanings of the difficult words of our native tongue, collected from the many old books of our country, and expounded according as they were understood, and interpreted by the principal authors of our country in latter days, to whom peculiarly belonged the exposition of the ancient Irish language. I have not seen many of our countrymen to whom the gleanings should be offered before you. And it is not alone that we are in the same habit, which was on another occasion a sufficient cause for my being attached to you in preference to other friends, that moved me to make you the patron of this book; but in addition to that, and more particularly on account of your own affection for, and the birthright of your kindred to this art, and also because there is a man of your name and surname—Boetius Ruadh M’Egan—among the principal persons whom I follow in the exposition of the words which are treated of in this book.

“Accept, then, from a good will, this little offering, in which I have only desired to give the ignorant a little knowledge of their ancient mother tongue; and to excite the more learned to supply such another work in a better manner and at greater length.

“Your own poor devoted servant.

Fr. MICHAEL O’CLERY.

“Given at Louvain, the 28th October, 1643.”

The following commendatory letter from the Superior of the Irish Franciscans in Belgium and Germany is also prefixed to the work :—

“Quia obsoletarum difficultiorumque dictionum vetusti nostri idiomatis Hibernici

“As the explanation of the obsolete and most difficult words of our ancient Irish



explanatio ad patriae historias aliasque antiquitates penetrandas haud parum al-latura videtur lucis et compendii; hinc facultatem concedimus dilecto nostro fratri Fr. Michaeli Clery in patriis antiquitatibus, et abstrusioribus sensibus vetustioris linguae patriae eruendis versato; ut Vocabularium quod ex vetustis ejusdem linguae dictionibus ordine Alphabetico digestum compilavit, et collatione facta cum peritorum nostrae linguae antiquariorum glossematibus et expositionibus explanavit, typis mandetur ad Dei gloriam.

"Datum Lovanii in Collegio Minorum Strict. Obs. S. Antonii de Padua, die 27 Octob., 1643.

"Fr. HUGO DE BURGO, Commissarius fratrum Min. Hib. Strictioris Obs. in Belgio et Germania."

idiom must be of considerable use and assistance for illustrating the history and various antiquities of our country, we grant permission to our beloved brother Fr. Michael O'Clery, skilled in our ancient monuments and in the interpretation of the more unusual meanings of words in our earlier native language, to publish for the greater glory of God the Glossary of the old forms of expression which he has compiled in alphabetical order, and explained by means of the glosses and interpretations of the antiquaries best versed in our ancient language.

"Given at Louvain, in the Franciscan Convent of St. Anthony, the 27th October, 1643.

"Fr. HUGH DE BURGO, Commissary of the Irish Franciscan Friars of Strict Observance in Belgium and Germany."

The *Martyrology of Donegal* was compiled by O'Clery from ancient and authentic sources, in 1630. The Colophon which closes the work gives the origin of its name, "*End of the Martyrology, 19th April, 1630. In the convent of Friars at Donegal it was begun and finished.*" Dr. Todd published this work for the I.A.S. in 1864, from the Brussels MS., which is enriched with many marginal notes by O'Clery and his cotemporary antiquarians. It is now easily accessible to the public, and all the scholars of our age have fully confirmed the eulogy bestowed on it by Flan Mac Egan and Connor Mac Bruodin in 1636, viz., that "though they had seen many books relating to the festivals of the Saints, yet they had found none of them so full and so eminently clear, bright, intelligible and so worthy of praise," as the *Martyrology of Donegal*. A few of the marginal notes will suffice to awaken the interest of the reader in this invaluable work. Thus we read:—

"A.D. 1537, O'Conchobhair Fáilge rose against Henry the

Eighth, in the 27th year of his reign, for liberty, and destroyed the troops of the English with immense slaughter, and drove the Viceroy into great straits, who, when he had filled a church to the roof with the corpses of the slain by night, lest the enemy should become more insolent after so great a slaughter, the bodies were reduced to ashes, but the church itself, although its roof was of timber, remained uninjured, and even more beautiful than before."

"The Book of Columcille, *i.e.*, the Book of Durrow, is in Durrow itself, in Cinel Fiachach, *i.e.*, the country of MacEochagain, written in Gaidhelic characters, the New Testament, with a binding of silver and gems. The house of Columcille is above in Cenannas (*i.e.*, Kells), and the station of crosses and his miraculous book are there. His way to the church used to be underground. Gormlaith, daughter of Flann, is interred under a great cross, and she came to meet Brian-na-m-Barróg, to ask for a flag to be put over her body. On the stone in the cemetery is the inscription: 'I place this stone over thee, O Gormlaith.'"

"Aodh, the son of Bric, son of Cormac son of Cremthain son of Fiachach, was born in Killair, in Meath. His miraculous staff, made of Finubruin, *i.e.*, brass, inlaid with silver, is in the possession of Peter MacEochagain. Rath-Aodha, a parish church, remains there still. It was he himself (*i.e.*, Peter MacEochagain), who found the staff: it works wondrous miracles against perjurers, and Killair is still the church of Aodh. Patrick foretold his birth from Fiachach, when this chieftain gave him fifteen townlands around Killair, after uttering his malediction on the stones of Uisnech that they should not take hold together."

Dr. Todd mentions a shorter Martyrology also preserved in Brussels, compiled by O'Clery, and said to have been transcribed at Douay, in 1629. This is probably the *Martyrologium Hibernicum commune* of which mention is sometimes made in Colgan's notes, as distinct from the Martyrology of Donegal.

I have given but a faint outline of the many valuable works with which Michael O'Clery enriched our literature. If O'Donovan merited the eulogy of the learned world for translating and editing the "Annals of the Four Masters," should not a due meed of praise be awarded to the man who was the chief originator of that invaluable work? And yet the 'Annals' was only one of the many great literary works achieved by the genius and untiring industry of this humble lay-brother of the Order of St. Francis.

# MONASTICON HIBERNICUM,

OR,

## A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE ANCIENT MONASTERIES OF IRELAND.

[N.B.—The text of the “Monasticon” is taken *verbatim* from Archdall: the notes marked with numbers are added by the Editors.]

### COUNTY OF CORK.

*The Great Isle*,<sup>ss 18</sup> in the barony of Barrymore, and forming one side of the harbour of Cork, is four miles in length, seven in breadth, and contains the village of Cove, opposite to which his Majesty's largest ships may ride, and the vessels trading to Cork generally anchor there.<sup>sss</sup> The festival of St. Saran, the son of Archuir, is observed here on the 15th of May.<sup>h</sup>

*Inchrie*; there was a Cistercian abbey here, dedicated to the Virgin Mary; it was a cell of the abbey of Maure in this county,<sup>1</sup> and is now unknown.

*Iniscarra*,<sup>k 19</sup> five miles from Cork, on the river Lee, in the

<sup>ss</sup> Called anciently *Inismore*, in *Ibhmaccaille*, or *Imokilly*. *Vard. vita Rum.*  
<sup>sss</sup> Smith, vol. i. p. 169. <sup>h</sup> *Vard. vit. Rumoldi.* <sup>1</sup> *War. Mon. Harris's tab.* <sup>k</sup> *Was*  
called anciently *Tuaimnava*, *Act. SS.* p. 140.

*Glanore*, or *Glanworth*; Inquisition 3rd of Saint Hilary, 31st Elizabeth, finds that a grant was made of this priory and the possessions thereof to Maurice Viscount Fermoy, at the annual rent of 15s. Irish; but that the same was forfeited by the non-payment of the rent.—Ordnance Survey of Cork, R.I.A., vol. iv., p. 73.

<sup>18</sup> *The Great Island.* St. Sarann, of Inismor (Great Island), is thus commemorated in the Festology of Aengus Céle Dé at 15th May. “Sarann, son of Archurr, from Inismor, in Uibh Mac Caille, in Uibh Liathain in Munster;” and the Irish life of St. Findbarr states that St. Sarann settled in Drom Eighneach, in the territory of Ua Lugdach, that he resigned his own church to God and to St. Barra (Findbarr), and that Barra gave him a new monastery with its Religious.—*Life of St. Findbarr O'Curry, MS. C. U. I.*

<sup>19</sup> *Iniscarra*; The Irish lives of St. Senan of *Inis Cathaigh*, relate that on his return home from his great preceptor, St. David of Kilmony, in Alba, he came into this part of Munster; and having settled down in the place then called *Oilean arda Crich Liathain*, now Barrymore Island, he remained there forty days, till admonished by an angel to go forth, and to found a church for himself, wherein to serve God, with his followers. St. Senan went forward, we are told, directed by the angel, till he came to a place then called *Tuaim-na-mba*, on the side of the river *Linne* (now the Lee), where he founded his church, and fixed his ecclesiastical residence. When the petty prince of this place came to hear that St. Senan had occupied his land without permission, he sent messengers to warn him off, and to demand rent and restitution. Subsequently he sent his own favorite steed to be maintained at the expense of the monastery, but the steed fell into the stream at the church, where she was drowned, so that no part of her remained to be seen but her *carra*, i.e., her quarters, and hence the place was called *Inis Carra*. *Tuaim na-mba* was its name till then. St. Senan thus maintained his position here, and left eight of his disciples in the Church of *Inis Carra*, with St. Cillian, under the protection of *Fechen*, son of Faighe, king of Muscraige, who was also a disciple of St. Senan.—*Life of St. Senan*, chap. 3, pp. 15-16.

barony of Barrets. St. Senan of Iniscathay, built an abbey here, and placed eight of his disciples therein.<sup>1</sup> This is now a parish church in the diocese of Cloyne.<sup>m</sup>

*Inishircan*; <sup>n</sup> <sup>20</sup> an island between Cape Clear and the mainland. In the year 1460, Florence O'Driscol, the Great, founded a small monastery here for Franciscan friars of the strict observance;<sup>o</sup> other writers say, that Dermot O'Driscol was the founder in 1470.<sup>p</sup> In 1537 the citizens of Waterford destroyed all the villages on this island, with the mill, castle, and friary.<sup>q</sup>

This monastery was built near the castle, on the plan of that at Kilcrea, but much smaller; the steeple is a low square tower, from whence runs the nave, with an arcaded wing, to the south.<sup>r</sup>

*Inispict, or Inispuinc*,<sup>21</sup> near Inishircan, in the barony of Muskerry. St. Carthagmochuda built a monastery here about the close of the 6th century, and placed therein the three brothers, St. Gobban, St. Stephen, and St. Lafren, with the bishop St. Domangen, and twelve others of his disciples; but they did not continue here, for we find that St. Doman-gen was honoured in Tuaimuscraighe.<sup>s</sup> This place is now unknown.

*Kilbeacan*; on the north side of Mount Crotte, in Muscry-ciure, and Keating says, it bears the same name at this day. St. Abban, who died at a great age A.D. 650, built an

<sup>1</sup>War. Mon. Harris's tab. <sup>m</sup>Visitation Book. <sup>n</sup>Was called anciently *Iniskieran*.  
<sup>o</sup>War. MSS. vol. 34, p. 162. War. Mon. <sup>p</sup>War. Mon. <sup>q</sup>Smith, vol. 1, p. 141.  
<sup>r</sup>Id. p. 290. <sup>s</sup>Act. SS. p. 631.

<sup>20</sup>*Inishircan*; Inquisition 2nd March, 5th James, finds that, 3rd March, 33rd Elizabeth, a grant for a term of years was made of this priory to John Bealinge, at the annual rent of 26s. 8d., Irish money.

<sup>21</sup>*Inis Pict*. The Irish "Life of Saint Carthach, or Mochuada, Bishop of Rahen and Lismore," contains the following account of this place:—

"A certain time the King of Munster, namely Cathal, son of Aodh, was in the land of Cuircne afflicted with various diseases, so that he was deaf, dumb, and blind; and Mochuada came to where he was, and the King and his friends prayed him to cure him. Mochuada prayed to God for him, and he put the sign of the cross on his eyes, and on his ears, and on his mouth, and he was cured of all diseases and blemishes. And Cathal gave extensive lands to God, and to Mochuada for ever, namely—Cathal Island, and Rossbeg, and Rossmore, and *Pick Island*, now Spike Island. And Mochuada sent holy brothers to build a church in Rossbeg in honour of God. And Mochuada himself commenced building a monastery in *Pick Island*, and he remained a full year in it. Mochuada then placed three of his disciples, namely—the three sons of Nascann, *i.e.*, Bishop Goban, and Sraphan the priest, and Laisren the saint, in these churches; and it was the holy bishop of Ardmain that gave holy orders to those three persons, in the presence of Mochuada, and it is he that was appointed to direct and to preserve them in the way of righteousness, and he left two score more of his brethren in the monastery of *Pick Island*, in place of himself. And Mochuada then returned to Rahen; and that Island which we have mentioned, *i.e.*, *Pick Island*, is a most holy place, and most pious people reside in it perpetually.—O'Curry M.S., C. U. I.

extensive monastery here, and placed over it St. Beacan, *alias* Mobecoc.\*

*Kilchuilinn*,<sup>22</sup> is supposed to be in the barony of Bantry ; here we find a nunnery, of which St. Cannera was abbess, where she was also honoured.\*

\**Act. SS.*, p. 615, 622, 751.    <sup>22</sup>*Id.*, p. 155.

<sup>23</sup>*St. Cannera* was the holy virgin commemorated by Moore in the following lines of his song of Saint Senanus and the Lady.

ST. SENANUS.

"Oh ! haste and leave this sacred Isle,  
Unholy bark, ere morning smile ;  
For on thy deck, though dark it be,  
A female form I see ;  
And I have sworn this sainted sod  
Shall ne'er by woman's feet be trod."

THE LADY.

"Oh ! Father, send not hence my bark,  
Through wintry winds and billows dark ;  
I come with humble heart to share  
Thy morn and evening prayer ;  
Nor mine the feet, Oh ! holy Saint,  
The brightness of thy sod to taint."

The legend of St. Cannera's visit to *Inis-Cathaigh* and her interview with St. Senanus is thus preserved in the Irish lives of St. Senanus.

"The pious Cannera, a virgin saint, of Beantraige (Bantry), in the south-west of Erin, who established a Desert in her own country. A certain night after vespers, as she was at her prayers, she saw all the churches of Ireland, and a tower of fire rising out of every one of them up to heaven. The fire which rose out of *Innis Cathaigh* was the largest, the highest, and most brilliant of all, and rose most directly heavenward. On beholding this the holy virgin exclaimed, that is a beautiful *Recles* (church) said she, and it is to it I will go, that my resurrection may be out of it.—O heavenly spouse, said she, whatever church or holy place that is, it is there I wish my resurrection to be : and she then prayed God that she might not lose sight of that tower of light, but like the tower of fire that led the children of Israel through the wilderness, so it might lead her into the place ; and God granted her prayer. She set out forthwith, having no guide but the blazing tower of fire which continued to burn without ceasing, both day and night, till she reached it. When she reached the water at *Luimneach* (Limerick) she went on foot over the water as if she walked on the dry ground, and reached the shore at *Inis Cathaigh*, at early dawn next morning. St. Senan, knowing this, came to the shore to meet her and bade her welcome. It is for that I came said Cannera, and blessed are they who come in the name of the Lord. Go, said Senan, to my mother and my sister who abide in that island on the east, and you will be entertained by them there. That is not what I come for, said Cannera, but to be received by yourself into this island, and to remain here in communion of prayer with you. Women do not abide in this island, said Senan. What is your reason for that ? said Cannera : Christ did not come less to redeem women than to redeem men. Christ was crucified not less for women than for men. Women were serving and attending Him and his apostles, and women do not go less to heaven than men. You are speaking in vain, said Senan to the holy virgin, there is no distinction between their souls, but not so with their bodies, and so women shall not reside in this island as long as I live, said Senan. And will you give me a place of interment and resurrection in your island, and communion and sacrament

(*To be continued.*)

[NEW SERIES.]

## THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

=====  
*APRIL*, 1871.  
=====

MACCHIAVELLI.

THE momentous events which have occurred in Europe during the last century, and the changes which they indicate as having taken place in the code of political morality, are such as must command the serious attention of every thinking mind. Indeed we must plead guilty to the charge of inaccuracy, when we describe this change as having occurred within the last century or so, for it dates its origin from a more remote period. Dishonesty and injustice, ambition and intrigue, are coeval with the world; yet it was reserved for the fifteenth century to legalize, as it were, political treachery, and sow those seeds of social immorality which, in later days, have produced the Cavours, the Palmerstons, and the Bismarcks, who have contributed all within their power to destroy truth, ignore honour, repudiate honesty, and stamp as legitimate every vile means which could be made useful, either for the acquisition of fresh power, or the retention of that which was already within their grasp.

Casting even a cursory glance over the history of the last century, and witnessing the state of utter degradation to which the very primary principles of international and social morality have been reduced, it may not be altogether uninteresting to trace the origin of this system, to discuss its merits, or rather demerits, and, finally, to inquire what principles ought to regulate the conduct of statesmen, in order to re-establish a healthy tone of public political morality, and render impossible in the future such flagrant exhibitions of injustice as were lately witnessed in the formation of the kingdom of Italy and the creation of the Germanic Empire.

The system of which we write has long been known as

' *the Macchiavellian*," and the name suggests that we should trace back its origin to the days of the famous Florentine diplomatist whose name heads this paper, and who, in his celebrated treatise, "*Il Principe*," lays down so iniquitous a code of public policy, that it would seem to have been inspired by no less a proficient in evil than the Spirit of Darkness. Lord Macaulay, though to some extent the panegyrist of Macchiavelli, thus describes the evil odour in which that work has ever been held. The terms in which Macchiavelli has been commonly described since this work was published, "would seem," says Lord Macaulay,<sup>1</sup> "to import that he was the tempter, the evil principle, the discoverer of ambition and revenge, the original inventor of perjury, and that before the publication of his fatal *Prince*, there had never been a hypocrite, a tyrant, or a traitor, a simulated virtue, or a convenient crime. . . . The Church of Rome has pronounced his works accursed things, nor have our own countrymen been backward in testifying their opinion of his merits. Out of his surname they have coined an epithet for a knave, and out of his Christian name a synonyme for the devil."<sup>2</sup>

In the present paper we shall content ourselves with treating of the personal and public history of Macchiavelli. In one or two future papers we purpose giving a summary of his political code, as contained in his writings, showing at the same time how entirely his views are opposed to the dictates of natural justice, as well as to the very primary principles of the Christian law.

Niccolo Macchiavelli was born at Florence, on the 5th of May, 1469, of Bernardo Macchiavelli and Bartholomea Nelli. His father was a Jurisconsult, and descended from the Marquesses of Tuscany; through his mother he inherited the blood of the ancient Counts of Borgo Nuovo, of Fucecchio, who traced their ancestry back to the tenth century. It will thus be seen that on the side of both parents, Niccolo was of good birth; but, as Italian nobles, then and now, though well descended, possessed, sometimes, rather limited means, the family of young Macchiavelli had resigned the empty honours of residing in a baronial hall, for the more substantial and remunerative ones which were the reward of

<sup>1</sup> See Macaulay, *Critical and Historical Essays*, vol. i.

<sup>2</sup> "Nick Macchiavel had ne'er a trick,  
Though he gave his name to our old Nick."

*Hudibras*, part ii., canto i.

"But we believe there is a schism on this subject among the antiquaries."—  
Macaulay, *loc. cit.*

energy and talent in the Florentine Republic under the administration of the Medici.

During the early years of Macchiavelli, Florence was in a state of disorder bordering on complete anarchy. This was occasioned by the intrigues of those who, favouring the pretensions of the house of Pazzi to the chief post in the Florentine Republic, sought to prevent the succession of Giuliano de' Medici to a dignity which his ancestors had long and honourably enjoyed. These tumults were, however, ended by the failure of the conspiracy which had been hatched by the adherents of the Pazzi family against the house of Medici.<sup>1</sup> At the period when the murder of Giuliano de' Medici occurred, Macchiavelli had scarcely reached his tenth year. Lorenzo de' Medici next held the reins of power, but after a most brilliant career, his death produced, afresh, internal convulsions in Florence. It will thus be seen that the very circumstances which were daily taking place around him were calculated to direct the mind of young Macchiavelli towards politics, as the arena in which he should distinguish himself in after years.

Though we have received no details of Macchiavelli's early education, yet we must conclude from the ability which he displayed in after life, and from his writings, which bear testimony to a well-trained mind, that it must have been liberal. Having completed his studies, he was placed as secretary in the office of Marcello di Virgilio de' Adriani, one of the chief officers of the court of Chancery in Florence, and after five years spent in the discharge of these duties, he was, on the appointment of his employer, Marcello, to the office of High Chancellor, elected from amongst four other competitors to the position of Chancellor of the Second Court.

Circumstances favoured in no slight degree the development of Macchiavelli's political talents. At the time of which we write there existed in Florence a body designated the Council of Ten, which had charge of all diplomatic negotiations, and corresponded in some measure to the "Secretary for Foreign Affairs," in modern Governments. To this Council of Ten, Macchiavelli was appointed Secretary, before a month had elapsed since his election to the office of Chancellor, and during the fourteen years that he discharged the duties of this office, he had ample opportunities of becoming acquainted with the political systems of his time, and of commending himself to the favourable notice of his superiors, by the display of those powers of acuteness and penetration which he unquestionably possessed in no mean degree. That

<sup>1</sup> For an account of this conspiracy and its tragical end, see Roscoe, *Life of Leo X.*, chap. iv.



he did succeed in making himself favourably noticed is sufficiently attested by the fact, that we find him employed by his government as ambassador in several missions of great importance, which demanded the skill of an experienced diplomatist.

In 1498 he is sent to Giacomo Appiani, lord of Piombino, to solicit his aid against the Venetians, who, in league with some supporters of the banished Medici,<sup>1</sup> were threatening the Florentine territory. In the following year we find him treating with Catharine Sforza, Countess of Forli, for the purpose of engaging her son, Ottaviano, as Condottiero in the service of the Republic. But one of his most delicate missions was his embassy as Commissioner to the Florentine camp at Pisa, in the year 1500. Louis XII. of France, who had reconquered Lombardy, was at this time in league with the Florentines to oppose the Venetians and the supporters of the Medici. Some French and Swiss auxiliary troops, under General de Beaumont, were therefore despatched by the French to aid the Florentines, who were besieging Pisa. A dispute arose between the allies regarding the pay of the auxiliary troops. The Swiss mutinied, and the French abandoned the attack on Pisa. In consequence of this the King of France accused the Florentine Government of a breach of faith; and Macchiavelli, with Francesco Della Casa, was sent to appease him, and secure, if possible, his further assistance. They failed in the main object of their mission: but to such advantage did Macchiavelli employ those arts of diplomacy, which he afterwards taught in "*The Prince*," that by prejudicing the mind of Louis against Cæsar Borgia, he secured that monarch's assistance in opposing the adventurer when, some months later, he attempted, at the head of 8,000 men, to invade the Tuscan territory.

The year 1502, however, was to afford Macchiavelli the most signal opportunity for the display of his diplomatic skill. In that year he was sent to treat with Cæsar Borgia, who was then at Imola or Bologna. The cause of this mission may be very briefly stated. As we said in the preceding paragraph, Borgia, a man of insatiable ambition, having attempted to invade the Tuscan territory, was peremptorily ordered by Louis XII. to desist from doing so, under penalty of seeing the French arms turned against him should he persevere in his aggressive attempts. In order to avert this disaster and appease the anger of Louis, Cæsar Borgia resolved to proceed in person to the King, who was then in Lombardy, for the purpose of disposing him unfavourably towards the

<sup>1</sup> See Roscoe, Life of Leo X., chapter x.

Florentines. During his absence, however, his colleagues at home—Vitelli, Oliverotto, Baglioni, and the Orsini—entered into a conspiracy against him, and determined to overthrow his tyrannical rule. The more effectually to carry out their intention, they solicited assistance from the Florentines. The Florentines declined to accede to this request—partly because they disliked Vitelli and the Orsini on account of former quarrels; partly because they dreaded that France might side with Borgia. This was a difficult position for Florence. She wished to remain neutral, and yet displease neither of the belligerents. It reminds us forcibly of the position taken by England during the Franco-Prussian war. The Florentines almost instinctively turned their eyes to Macchiavelli to rescue them from this dilemma. His *finesse*, his duplicity, his penetration, his unscrupulousness of character, marked him at once as *the man* fit to treat with Cæsar Borgia, who also possessed these qualities in no mean degree. The two statesmen met, and a contest in diplomatic hypocrisy took place, which would have gladdened the heart of a Talleyrand, a Cavour, or a Von Bismarck. They hated one the other most intensely, yet the negotiations were opened with declarations of very great mutual esteem. Macchiavelli then, on the part of Florence, promised every assistance to Borgia as soon as circumstances would permit.—Borgia, on his side, simulating an ardent love for the Florentines, suggested that they should give him a *condotta* or chief command in their army, for the two-fold purpose of enabling him to chastise his rebellious colleagues, and at some future period contribute his aid to consolidate the power, and extend the influence of the Florentine Republic. To secure Macchiavelli's compliance with this request, he put forward motives of expediency as well as friendship—alluding in no very measured terms to his own great power; the vastness of his resources; the excellency of his artillery; the number and efficiency of his troops; the alliance between himself and the King of France; and other topics of similar import, which might easily induce a less wily politician than Niccolò Macchiavelli to comply with the demands of Cæsar Borgia. But the Florentine diplomatist possessed great power of penetration, and could not be easily duped. We shall give his reply to these proposals in his own words. In the 21st of the 52 letters which he wrote to his government concerning that mission, he says, "I answered, that his excellency the Duke " must not be compared to the generality of other Italian " Lords, but that he must be considered as a new potentate in " Italy, with whom it is more fit and becoming to make a

"treaty of alliance than a mere condotta. And I added, "that as alliances are maintained by arms, which are the only "binding security for either party, your lordships (the members "of the Florentine Government) could not see what security "there would be for them if three-fourths or three-fifths of "your forces were to be in the hands of the Duke." Borgia on hearing this reply must have felt that Macchiavelli, young though he was, could prove his equal, if not his superior, in diplomacy. Negotiations, nevertheless, continued, each party striving to gain time and defeat the plans of the other. Meanwhile, Borgia, accompanied by Macchiavelli, marched to Sinigaglia, where Vitelli, Oliverotto, and the Orsini awaited him, in order to open negotiations which might lead to the termination of the feud. No sooner, however, had his troops entered the city, than, with unparalleled atrocity and perfidy, he seized the chiefs with whom he had come to treat, strangled two of them that very night, and subsequently doomed the Orsini to a like fate, after having made them endure for some time a most painful imprisonment.

There is considerable difference of opinion as to the part played by Macchiavelli in this fearful tragedy. Some would regard him as innocent, and maintain that he was entirely ignorant of the design of Cæsar Borgia ; others affirm, on the contrary, that the crime was perpetrated with his entire concurrence and approval.

Perhaps we will come nearer the truth by steering a middle course, and adopting on this question the views of that eminent historian, Roscoe, in the note to the second volume of the *Life of Leo X.* This writer had in the first volume of the work accused Macchiavelli of full and direct complicity in the crime of Cæsar Borgia. In a note, however, to the second volume he modifies, somewhat, this opinion, though he is far from absolving him from all guilt in this miserable transaction. We shall allow Roscoe to state his opinion in his own words :— "In a former part of this work," he says, "I have charged Macchiavelli with having had a share in the contrivance of the atrocious stratagem by which Cæsar Borgia destroyed Vitelli, the Duke of Gravina, and others, at Sinigaglia, in the year 1502. But the further perusal of the letters of Macchiavelli has induced me to modify this opinion, and enabled me precisely to state the part which he had in this black transaction. By a letter from him to the magistrates of Florence, dated 1st of January, 1502 (but which should be 1503, the Florentines having, until the year 1750, continued the date of the 25th of March), it appears that Borgia had communicated his inten-

tions to Macchiavelli the day before the perpetrating of the deed; and that Macchiavelli had not taken any measures to prevent it, either by expostulating with Borgia, or apprising the parties devoted to destruction; so that, according to the laws of this country, he stands in the predicament of what is called an accessory before the fact. It is true he gives us to understand that he was not apprized of the whole of the intentions of Borgia, but the manner in which he speaks of the transaction afterwards, sufficiently proves that he would not have shrunk from a fuller participation of the crime. His words are—'He sent for me afterwards in the night, and with the most agreeable air in the world, rejoiced with me on his success, saying he had spoken of only part of the design to me the day before, and had not explained it all, which is true.' In the same letter he proceeds, according to the desire of Borgia, to congratulate the Republic on this event, and to represent the advantages which would arise from this union."<sup>1</sup> From this authentic and dispassionate version of the matter, it is clearly evident that Macchiavelli was more or less implicated in the horrible tragedy of Sinigaglia.

Macchiavelli returned to Florence in January, 1503, after having spent three months in treaty with Cæsar Borgia, the only result of his mission being, that he secured for all citizens of Florence and their merchandise a free transit through the Romagna.

For the next eight years (1503-1511) we find Macchiavelli employed in various missions of greater or less importance. In the Autumn of 1503, he was sent to Rome to watch the election of a Pontiff, which finally resulted in the promotion of Julius II. to the papal chair. In January, 1504, we find him sent to France, to induce Louis XII. to check the Spaniards who were advancing from Naples towards Florence and Milan, thereby endangering the safety of those states. In 1507, he was deputed to wait on the Emperor Maximilian of Germany, and protest in the name of the Florentines against the "*requisitions*" (a word which modern Germans have made too painfully familiar to the French) of his imperial majesty, who had ordered the Florentines to defray the expenses of his coronation. In 1510 and 1511, we find him engaged in missions to France, the main object of which was to weaken, by the assistance of the French, the ever-increasing power of Pope Julius II. in Italy. The celebrated battle of Ravenna, however, fought in 1512, decided this issue in a great

<sup>1</sup> See "The Life and Pontificate of Leo X.," by Wm. Roscoe, note 41, to chap. xxi., p. 489. (Bogue Ed.)

measure. The French, as the consequence of the battle, lost Italy, and Julius II., enraged at the aid given to the French by the Florentines, engaged the Spanish Viceroy of Naples to march against them and re-establish the power of the Medici. So prostrate was the government of Florence at the time, that in September, 1512, the Medici were restored to supreme power in that city for which they had done so much, and with which their name must be for ever associated. Thus fell the government of Florence, which, for the last fourteen years of its existence, had been sustained mainly by the skill of Macchiavelli. That his countrymen placed almost unlimited confidence in him, is evidenced by the fact that they employed him on so many missions of trust and importance; but on the other hand, that he was not generally successful, at least in the full sense of the word, in his diplomatic missions, is, we think, equally evident. Nor could it be otherwise; for duplicity and cunning, though they may seem for a while triumphant, almost invariably end in failure; while, on the other hand, though she may meet with passing reverses, it is always safe to say, "*magna est veritas et preavalebit.*"

It was but natural that the new government should be anxious to keep Macchiavelli as far removed as possible from Florence. He had been the mainstay of the late government, and it was manifest that the Medici could not retain power in the state if a man of Macchiavelli's influence and unscrupulousness chose to plot against them. He was, therefore, exiled, but the sentence was after a short time commuted to a simple prohibition against entering the palace. A conspiracy formed for the purpose of overthrowing the power of the Medici was discovered in the year 1513, and as Macchiavelli was implicated in it, he was subjected to imprisonment. The interest of his friends, however, after some time, procured his release.

On his restoration to freedom, Macchiavelli did not elect to engage again in politics. He retired to his country house at San Cassiano, about eight miles from Florence, determined to devote his time to literary pursuits. It was in this retirement that he composed his celebrated work, *Il Principe*, in which he puts forward those principles which, in his judgment, ought to guide a sovereign in ruling his people. A more infamous work was never, perhaps, penned. We shall say no more of it at present, as we intend to deal with it to some extent further on in this paper. We will only observe that the work was not printed during the author's lifetime, but was intended merely for the private perusal of Giuliano and

Lorenzo de' Medici, that he might thus ingratiate himself with them, and obtain some public office at their hands. "I wish," he says, in a letter dated December 10th, 1513, and addressed to his friend Vittori, Florentine ambassador at Rome, "that these Signori Medici would employ me, were it only in rolling a stone."<sup>1</sup> This sentence thoroughly reveals the character of Macchiavelli. He was insensible to every feeling save that of ambition. If he could obtain power by aiding the enemies of the Medici he was prepared to do so; did he wish to creep into any public office through the influence of that family, he could sink to any depth of degradation, stifle every feeling of honor and self-respect, and become the most obsequious of flatterers.

Macchiavelli's time, during the period of his retirement, was divided between recreation and study. His recreations seem to have been of a somewhat puerile description, for in a letter to his friend Vittori, he tells us that he amused himself by snaring thrushes, and playing at cricca with a butcher, a miller, and two kiln men; "but," he adds, "when evening comes, I return home and shut myself up in my study. Before I make my appearance in it, I take off my rustic garb, soiled with mud and dirt, and put on a dress adapted for courts or cities. Thus fitly habited, I enter the antique resorts of the ancients, where, being kindly received, I feed upon that food which alone is mine, and for which I was born. For an interval of four hours I feel no annoyance; I forget every grief, I neither fear poverty nor death, but am totally immersed." In the original Italian the style is natural and easy, but the letter breathes throughout a contempt for mankind—a feeling of gloomy despair arising from the reverses of fortune—a cold, cutting feeling of irony, and all those sad feelings which may find a seat in a gifted, but never in a great, soul. There was manifestly some void in the heart of Macchiavelli, which alone, when supplied, could lift him up from his existing state of despondency. He had a generous heart, a clear head. One thing was wanting to him—to be a Christian.

In the year 1576 Macchiavelli wrote his "Discorsi su Tito Livio," which is a sort of commentary on the First Decade of Livy, wherein he develops the principles of popular government, and shows himself a most warm supporter of what he is pleased to style "liberty." About the same time he published his "Storie Florentine," a history of Florence from 1205 to 1494. The commencement of this work, in which he describes the origin of the different Italian States, is well

<sup>1</sup> This letter was not brought to light until 1810.

written, and contains much valuable information ; but it lacks impartiality, as he seeks to flatter his countrymen too much, while he unduly depreciates the characters of other peoples. About this time, too, he composed his "*Arte della Guerra*," or Art of War, with various minor poetical effusions ; but we forbear noticing these until we come to treat of Macchiavelli as a writer.

The correspondence which Macchiavelli maintained with his friend Vittori, the Florentine Ambassador at Rome, served to bring him under the favourable notice of Leo X. The death of his nephew Lorenzo de' Medici, on the 28th of April, 1519, imposed on the sovereign Pontiff the necessity of regulating the affairs of Florence, which, though nominally a Republic, had become virtually entirely dependent on the Medici family. This was an affair of considerable difficulty. On the one hand, had Leo so elected, he might have assumed the sovereignty of Florence ; but then such a proceeding would have ill-suited his spiritual character as Pontiff, and would, moreover, be certain to excite the jealousy of other Catholic powers. On the other hand, if he were to restore the Florentines to the full enjoyment of their former liberties, he would thereby surrender all the power and influence which his family had for so many years enjoyed in that state, and that too, when it was far from certain that the Florentine Republic would be equal to the task of preserving its freedom, did the Pontiff think fit to bestow it. In this pressing emergency the Pope had recourse to Macchiavelli, whose experience in public affairs and intimate acquaintance with the state of his native city pointed him out as one pre-eminently fitted to be consulted on such a critical occasion. Macchiavelli sent Pope Leo a memorial still extant (*opere di Macchiavelli publicate da Baretti iii. i.*), in which he gives him his views on the "situation." In the memorial Macchiavelli maintains that of the three forms of government—Republican, Monarchical, and Mixed, the intermediate is the most dangerous. His reason is this—a Republic can be dissolved in one way only—viz., by merging into Monarchy. A Monarchical government, strictly so called, can be destroyed only by a Republic ; but a mixed government, such as Florence was under the Medici, might be destroyed by either of two courses—viz., by leaning too much towards Republicism, or by favouring despotism. Macchiavelli, therefore, advises the Pontiff either to assume absolute sovereignty in Florence, or else make it a free or perfectly independent Republic. He proceeds to say that the choice must be

determined by the character of the people to be governed, and he hesitates not to suggest that a Republican form of government would be best suited to the Florentines. He next sketches the outlines of a form of government which he calls a "Republic," but in which, with his usual sycophancy, he gives such powers to the Pope and the Cardinal de' Medici that, at least during their lives, it would be nothing better than autocracy of the purest type. "If this plan," he says himself, "be considered without reference to the authority of your holiness, it will be found in every respect sufficient to answer the purpose intended; but during the lifetime of your Holiness and the Cardinal, it is a Monarchy, because you command the army, you control the criminal judicature, you dictate the laws, insomuch that I know not what more can be required in a state." The system, however, prepared by Macchiavelli, did not meet with the approval of Leo X., and he permitted the Florentines to retain their established form of government, merely reserving to himself such powers as would suffice to repress their internal dissensions, and secure the rights of the Medici family and of the Holy See.

The next important event in the life of Macchiavelli occurred in the Pontificate of Clement VII. At this time, the Emperor Charles V., and the Constable of Bourbon, were leading the imperial troops to sack Florence and Rome. Macchiavelli was left at the former city to urge on the work of fortification, which task he executed with great energy. Meantime Bourbon did not attack Florence, but pushed on to the sack of Rome, which city he took by assault, attended by circumstances of appalling barbarity. The Italian armies began to advance towards Rome to deliver the sovereign Pontiff, who was besieged in Castel San Angelo. Macchiavelli followed in their train, but hearing that a successful revolution at Florence, May 16th, 1512, had overthrown the power of the Medici, he hastened to that city, full of hope that he would be employed in some capacity by the new government. In this, however, he was deceived; as the Florentines, disgusted with his political perfidy, refused to repose confidence in a man who had given repeated proof that he sought power, not to advance the interests of his country, but to gratify an insatiable ambition. Thus distrusted and despised by his former friends, Macchiavelli fell ill, and after a sickness of only two days' duration, died June 22nd, 1527, in the 59th year of his age. A letter from one of his sons to Vittori announcing the event, states that he died in the greatest poverty, and fortified by the last sacraments. Let us hope that the latter



statement is accurate, though we fear it wants confirmation. He was buried in the church of Santa Croce in Florence, where a monument was erected to his memory by Earl Cowper, anno 1787.

Having traced Macchiavelli's personal and political history, we must next analyze the political maxims which are identified with his name, but to do so in the present number would extend too far the limits of this paper.

W. H.

*(To be continued.)*

## LETTERS OF BALMEZ.

### XV.—FATE OF CHILDREN WHO DIE WITHOUT BAPTISM.

MY ESTEEMED FRIEND—I confess the difficulty proposed in your last letter, though not so insurmountable as you imagine, is, superficially considered, plausible enough. It has, besides, the peculiar circumstances, of being apparently founded on a principle of justice. This makes it the more dangerous ; because the principles and sentiments of justice are so deeply engraven on his soul, that man, when he can depend on them, believes himself authorised in attacking everything.

I admit at once that justice and religion cannot be enemies ; and that any belief whatever opposed to the eternal principles of justice, should be rejected as false. Having thus admitted one of the bases on which your difficulty rests, I cannot admit the force of the difficulty itself, for the simple reason that it is founded on purely gratuitous suppositions. I do not know in what catechism you can have read that the Catholic dogma teaches that children who die without baptism are tormented for ever in the fire of hell. On my part, I must frankly confess, I had no knowledge of the existence of such a dogma, and, consequently, it has not produced in me the horror you experienced. I am inclined to suppose you suffer, like many others, from a great confusion of ideas on this important and delicate subject, and I feel the necessity of arranging them in some way for you, as far as the hurry of discussion to which the incessant shifting of my adversary condemns me, will permit.

It is absolutely false that the Church teaches as an article

of faith that children who die without baptism are condemned to the punishment of fire, or any other pain of sense. It is enough to open the works of our theologians to find it acknowledged by them that the pain of sense applied to such children is no dogma of faith ; but, on the contrary, the great majority of them defend the opposite opinion. It would be easy to adduce innumerable texts in support of this assertion ; but I consider it unnecessary, for you can assure yourself of the truth of the fact by hurriedly running over the index of any theological work, and examining the opinions there put forth.

I am aware there have been some respectable authors who opined in favor of the pain of sense ; but I repeat they are in a great minority ; and above all, I insist that the opinion of those authors is not a dogma of the Church, and I reject the charges directed on this head against the Catholic faith. No matter how wise or holy a doctor of the Church may be, his opinion is not sufficient authority to found a dogma : between the doctrine of an author and the teaching of the Church there is the same distance as between the doctrine of man and the teaching of God.

For Catholics the authority of the Church is infallible, because it has the assistance of the Holy Ghost assured to it. We have recourse to it in all our doubts and difficulties, and in this consists the principal difference between Protestants and us. They appeal to the private spirit, which in the end is nothing but the cavillations of weak reason, or the suggestions of pride ; we appeal to the divine spirit, manifested through the channel established by God himself, which is the authority of the Church.

You will ask me what the destiny of those children is who are deprived of glory, and yet not punished with the pain of sense ; and perhaps you may find the difficulty renewed, though in a less painful form, from the mere fact of their not attaining eternal happiness. At first sight it appears very hard to think that children incapable of committing actual sin should be excluded from glory, because their original sin was not blotted out by the regenerating waters of baptism ; but entering more deeply into the question, we discover in this neither injustice nor harshness, but solely the result of an order of things established by God, and of which no one has a right to complain.

Eternal felicity, which according to the Catholic dogma, consists in the intuitive vision of God, is not natural to man or to any creature. It is a supernatural state, at which we cannot arrive but through supernatural aid. God, without

being harsh or unjust, might not have elevated any creature to the beatific vision, but have established rewards of a purely natural order either in this life or in the next. Hence it results that the privation of the beatific vision in a certain number of creatures, does not argue injustice or harshness in the decrees of God; on the supposition that it might have occurred with regard to all created beings, and would have occurred if the infinite goodness of the Creator had not desired to raise them to a state superior to their nature.

I foresee you will reply that the state of things is now very different; and though it is true the beatific vision would not have been a pain to creatures who had no knowledge of it, yet it is a pain now, and a grievous one, to those who feel themselves excluded from it. I admit that this privation is a pain of original sin, but not that it is as grievous as you wish to suppose. To hold this it would be necessary to determine how far those who suffer it are aware of the privation, and the disposition they are in to lament the loss of a good they could have attained through baptism.

St. Thomas very seasonably remarks there is a great difference between the effect the loss of the beatific vision must produce on children, and that which the damned experience from it. The latter had free will, with which, aided by grace, they could merit eternal glory. The former departed this life before they came to the use of reason: it was possible for those to obtain that of which they feel deprived, but not so for those who, without the concurrence of their will, found themselves translated to another world, in which there are no means of meriting eternal blessedness. Children who die without baptism are in the same case as those who are born in an inferior station, in which they cannot participate in certain social advantages enjoyed by their more fortunate neighbours. This difference does not afflict them, and they resign themselves without difficulty to the state in which they were born.

As regards the knowledge unbaptised children have of their situation, it is probable they do not even know there is such a thing as beatific vision, and so cannot be afflicted at their privation of it. This is the opinion of St. Thomas, who holds that these children have a general but not a specific knowledge of felicity, and consequently do not grieve at having lost it:—*"Cognoscunt quidem beatitudinem in generali, secundum communem rationem, non autem in speciali, ideoque de ejus amissione non dolent."*

"To be for ever separated from God must be a great affliction to these children; because, as we cannot suppose them deprived of all knowledge of their Author, they must have a

lively desire of seeing Him, and must experience profound pain on finding themselves excluded from that good for all eternity." This argument supposes the very fact denied above, viz., that these children have a knowledge of the supernatural order. St. Thomas denies it roundly: he says they are perpetually separated from God by the loss of glory of which they are ignorant, but not as regards the participation of natural good which they know:—"Pueri in originali peccato decedentes sunt quidem separati à Deo perpetuo, quantum ad amissionem gloriæ quam ignorant; non tamen quantum ad participationem *naturalium bonorum*, quæ cognoscunt."

Some theologians, among whom Ambrose Catherinus is reckoned, have gone so far as to hold that these children have a sort of natural blessedness, but do not explain in what it consists, for the simple reason that in cases like this, one can argue from conjectures alone. Nevertheless, I will remark that this doctrine has not been condemned by the Church; and it is worthy of note, that St. Thomas himself, so measured in all his words, says that these children are united to God by the participation of natural good; and so can enjoy Him by a natural knowledge and love:—"Sibi (Deo) conjungentur per participationem *naturalium bonorum*; et ita etiam de ipso *gaudere poterunt naturali cognitione et dilectione* (2 D. 33, Q. 2 ar. 2 ad. 5).

Now you see the matter is not so terrible as you imagined, and the Church does not delight in representing the children who die without baptism as consigned to fearful torments. St. Thomas very appositely compares the pain of these children to that of those who, in their absence, are despoiled of property without their knowledge. In this explanation the reality of the pain is reconciled with the absence of affliction in him who suffers it; and the dogmas of original sin and of the pain which follows it remain intact, while we are not compelled to imagine an immense number of children tormented for all eternity, when on their own part they were unable to commit any act that could deserve it.

I have thus far confined myself to the defence of the Catholic dogma, and to the exposition of the doctrines of theologians; and I think I have shown that as the former limits itself to the simple privation of the beatific vision through effect of original sin unremoved by baptism, it is far from contradicting the principles of justice or involving the harshness of which you accused it. Naturally, theologians avail themselves of this latitude to emit various opinions more or less well founded; and on which it is difficult to form a fair judgment, as we require data revelation alone could supply.

us with. However the doctrine of St. Thomas, which says that these children can have a knowledge and love of God in the purely natural order, and so rejoice in Him, appears very rational. As they are free and intelligent creatures, we cannot suppose them deprived of the exercise of their faculties ; for then we should be compelled to consider their minds as inert substances, not by nature, but because their intellectual and moral powers were smothered. And as, on the other hand, it is admitted they do not suffer the pain of sense, nor grieve from that of loss, we must necessarily allow them the affections which in every being naturally result from the exercise of its faculties.

I remain your most affectionate friend,

J. B.

#### XVI.—FATE OF THOSE WHO LIVE OUTSIDE THE PALE OF THE CHURCH.

MY ESTEEMED FRIEND—I am exceedingly glad my last letter removed the horror with which you heretofore regarded what you considered the Catholic dogma in relation to children who die without baptism, and showed you that you attributed to the Church a doctrine she never recognised as hers. Your evident mistake on this point will render it less difficult to persuade you you are equally mistaken in regard to her doctrine about the fate of those who die outside her bosom. You believe it is a dogma of our religion that all who do not live in the bosom of the Catholic Church will, *for that mere fact*, be condemned to eternal punishment : this is an error we do not profess, and cannot profess, because it is offensive to divine justice. In order to proceed with proper order and clearness, I must briefly explain the Catholic doctrine on this head.

God is just ; and being so, He cannot and will not chastise the innocent : where there is no sin, there is not and cannot be any penalty.

Sin, St. Augustine says, is so voluntary, that if it cease to be voluntary, it is no longer sin. The will required to render us culpable in the eyes of God, must be free. To constitute a fault, the will would not be sufficient, if it were not free.

The exercise of liberty cannot be conceived, if it be not accompanied by corresponding deliberation ; and this implies a knowledge of what is done, and of the law which is observed or infringed. An unknown law cannot be obligatory.

Ignorance of the law is culpable in some cases ; that is to say, when he who labours under it could have conquered it, then the infraction of the law is not excusable through ignorance.

The Church, the column and foundation of truth, the depository of the august teaching of her Divine Master, does not admit the error that all religions are indifferent in the eyes of God, and that a man can be saved in any of them, and so is not obliged to seek the truth in a matter of such consequence. The Church most justly condemns these monstrosities, and cannot do less than condemn them under pain of denying herself. To say that all religions are indifferent in the sight of God, is equivalent to saying that all are true, which, in the end, is no more than to say that all are equally false. A religion which, while teaching dogmas opposed to those of other religions, should regard all as equally true, would be the greatest of absurdities—a living contradiction.

The Catholic Church considers herself the true Church, founded by Jesus Christ, illumined and vivified by the Holy Ghost, the depository of dogmas and morals, and charged with the duty of conducting men by the path of virtue to eternal blessedness. On this supposition she proclaims the obligation under which we all stand, of living and dying in her bosom, professing one faith, receiving grace through her sacraments, obeying her legitimate pastors, and particularly the Roman Pontiff, the successor of St. Peter, and Vicar of Jesus Christ on earth.

This is the teaching of the Church ; and I see nothing solid that can be objected to it, even examining the question within the sphere of philosophy. Of the principles enunciated above, some are known by simple natural reason, others by revelation. To the first class belong those which refer to divine justice and the liberty of man ; to the second those which treat of the authority and infallibility of the Church. These latter, considered in themselves, contain nothing contrary to the divine justice and mercy ; because it is evident that God, without being wanting to any of these attributes, could have instituted a body as the depository of the truth, and subjected it to the laws and conditions He should deem fit in the inscrutable secrets of His infinite wisdom.

Up to this we have examined the question of right, or doctrine, if you will ; let us descend now to the question of fact, in which your difficulties are founded. We must not lose sight of the difference between these two questions : doctrines are one thing, their application another. The former are clear, explicit, conclusive ; the latter partakes of the obscurity to

which facts are subject, the exact appreciation of which depends on many and various circumstances.

We hold it as certain that no man shall be condemned solely for not belonging to the Catholic Church, if he have been in invincible ignorance of the truth of religion, and consequently of the law which obliged him to embrace it. This is so certain that the following proposition of Baius was condemned: "Purely negative incredulity is a sin." The doctrine of the Church on this point is founded on very simple principles: there is no sin without liberty; there is no liberty without knowledge.

When, in relation to this question, does the knowledge necessary to constitute a true fault in the eyes of God, exist? Who are invincible, who in invincible ignorance? Among schismatics, among Protestants, among infidels, how far does invincible ignorance go? Who are culpable in the eyes of God for not embracing the true religion, and who innocent? These are questions of fact, to which the teaching of the Church does not descend. She says nothing about these points: she limits herself to establishing the general doctrine, and leaves its application to the justice and mercy of God.

Allow me to call your attention to this difference, which is not always attended to as it should. Infidels shower on us questions about the fate of those who do not belong to the Catholic Church, and, as it were, require us to save them all, under penalty of accusing our dogmas of being offensive to the justice and mercy of God. With this they spread for us a net into which the incautious may easily fall, by running into one of two extremes, either by sending to hell all those who do not belong to the Church, or by opening the gates of heaven to men of all religions. The first can spring from zeal to save our dogma about the necessity of faith for salvation, the second from a spirit of condescension, and the desire of defending the Catholic dogma from the imputation of harshness or injustice. I believe there is no necessity of running into either of these extremes, and that the Catholic's position is much less embarrassing than would appear at first sight. Is he asked about doctrine, or, to use other words, about the question of right? He can present the Catholic dogma with entire security that no one can accuse it of being contrary to reason. Is he asked about the question of fact? He may frankly confess his ignorance, and can involve in it the infidel himself, who certainly knows no more about it than the Catholic whom he attacks.

To convince you of how unembarrassed our position is, so that we know how to take our stand and defend ourselves

constantly in it, I shall present you with a dialogue between an Infidel and a Catholic :—

*Infidel*—The Catholic dogma is unjust, because it damns those who do not live in the Church, although there are many who can have no knowledge of the true religion.

*Catholic*—That is false ; when there is invincible ignorance there is no sin, and the Church, far from teaching what you say, rather teaches the contrary. Those who have invincible ignorance of the divine origin of the Catholic Church, are not culpable in the eyes of God for not entering it.

*Infidel*—But when—in whom is this invincible ignorance found ? Mark a limit which can separate these two things, according to the different circumstances in which men and nations may be placed ?

*Catholic*—Will you have the goodness to mark it for me ?

*Infidel*—I do not know it.

*Catholic*—Nor I, and so we are equal.

*Infidel*—True ; but you speak of damnation, and I do not.

*Catholic*—Certainly ; but recollect that we only speak of damnation with respect to the culpable, and I think no one will dare deny that sin deserves punishment ; but when you come to ask me who and how many are culpable, the ignorance is equal on the side of both. I confine myself to the doctrine : as to its application, I limit myself to asking who are the culpable. If you cannot tell, it is unjust of you to require me to do so.

From this short dialogue we see there are here two things : on the one hand, the dogma, which, besides being taught by the Church, is in conformity with sound reason ; on the other, the ignorance of men, who are not sufficiently acquainted with the secrets of conscience to be ever able to exactly determine in what individuals, in what people, in what circumstances, does ignorance cease to be invincible, and constitute a grave fault in the eyes of God.

There is nothing more easy than to form conjectures about the fate of schismatics, of Protestants, and even of infidels : there is nothing more difficult than to lay these conjectures on solid foundations. God, who has revealed to us what is necessary for our sanctification in this life and our happiness in the future, has not thought fit to satisfy our curiosity by making us acquainted with things which would be of no service to us. These shades with which the dogmas of religion are surrounded, are highly advantageous to us, by exercising our submission and humility, by placing our ignorance before our eyes, and by reminding us of the primitive degeneration of the human race. To ask why God has brought the light of



truth to some nations, and allowed others to continue in darkness, is equivalent to investigating the reason of the secrets of Providence, and trying to rend the veil which covers the mysteries of the past and future from our eyes. We know God is just, and at the same time merciful: we feel our weakness, and are aware of His omnipotence. In our mode of conceiving, we often meet with serious difficulties in reconciling justice with mercy; and we can scarcely understand how a being supremely weak is not made the victim of a being infinitely strong. These difficulties are dissipated before the light of a severe, profound reflection, exempt from prejudices with which the inspirations of sentiment blind us. And if, owing to our weakness, some shadows still remain, let us wait, and they shall vanish in the other life, when, freed from this mortal body that weighs down our soul, we shall see God as He is in Himself, and witness the friendly embrace of Mercy and Truth, and the sanctified kiss of Justice and Peace.

I remain your most affectionate,

J. B.

## ST. AIDAN, BISHOP AND PATRON OF FERNS.<sup>1</sup>

ST. Aidan,<sup>2</sup> one of the most illustrious saints who adorned the Irish Church in the sixth century, was born at Innis-Breagh-Muigh, a small island in Brackley Lough,<sup>3</sup> in the territory of east Breffny (the north-west of the modern county of Cavan), about the year 530. His father's name was Sedna, through whom his lineage went back to the Colla Uais,

<sup>1</sup> See on the subject of this article an important and interesting paper of Miss Stokes, "*On two works of ancient Irish Art, known as the Breac Moedog, and the Soiscel Molaise*," communicated to the Society of Antiquaries, London, and published in the *Archæologia*, 1871, vol. xliii.

<sup>2</sup> This is the usual Anglicised form of the saint's name. The original Irish name was *Aedh*, sometimes written *Aodh*, which in various Latin works became *Aeda*, *Aidus*, *Aiduus*, *Aedeus*, *Oedeus*, or *Edus*. The diminutive termination, *an* or *og*, being often added in Irish proper names, we find our saint in some ancient tracts called *Aedhan* or *Oedhan*, and *Aedhog*, which in Latin was modified into *Aedan*, *Hedanus*, *Aidanus*, and *Edanus*. See "*Reeves' Proceedings of the R. I. A.*, Dec. 14, 1863;" *Colgan*, "*Acta SS.*" p. 216. Dr. Todd writes: "His Irish name was *Aedhan*, the diminutive of *Aedh*, or *Hugh*; from which he was called indifferently, *Aedan* or *Aedhog*, i.e., 'little Aodh,' a mode adopted by the Irish of expressing affection."—*Martyrology of Christ's Church, I. A. S.*, 1844, p. xlvii.

<sup>3</sup> *Colgan* writes: "*Insula Brechmuigh est Diaecesis Kilmorensis sita in stagno quodam in regiuncula Breffniæ, Tellach-ethach vulgo appellata.*" *loc. cit.*

the ancestor of the most illustrious clans of the Oirghialla ; whilst through his mother, Ethne, he was connected with the race of Amhalgaidh, whose descendants gave name to the territory of Tirawley in the county of Mayo.

The name of Aedh (*i.e.* fire), which was given to him at baptism, as well as its endearing form, Moedoc,<sup>1</sup> had its origin in two visions of a heavenly light which a little before his birth, were seen by his parents, and foreshadowed his future greatness. Some holy men being asked to explain these visions, replied—"As a star led the wise men to worship Christ, so shall a son be born to you full of the fire of the Holy Ghost."

The spot where the saint was born continued for a long time illumined with a more than human splendour : also, the flagstone on which the water of his Baptism was poured, was regarded as hallowed in a special manner,—it was jealously guarded in his church for a thousand years, and popular tradition preserved the memory of innumerable cures performed at it through the intercession of St. Aidan. The Martyrology of Donegal also records that Ethne, when giving birth to our saint, held in her hand a spinster's distaff, which was a withered hard stick of hazel, but subsequently it put forth leaves and blossoms, and was covered with goodly fruit ; and the writer of the martyrology adds, "this hazel is still in existence as a green tree, without decay or withering, producing nuts every year in Innis-Breach-mhaige."<sup>2</sup>

From his infancy he was remarkable for miracles, and ere he attained the years of manhood, his fame for sanctity was widespread throughout all Ireland.<sup>3</sup> Two facts connected with his youth are mentioned in his ancient life, which merit special mention. On one occasion he had retired to a lonely spot, where he was engaged in study and prayer. Thither a weary deer fled, as if seeking his protection from the hounds that pursued it. Our saint, taking the waxen tablet on which he wrote, placed it between the horns of the animal, and this sufficed to save it from its pursuers and render it invisible till the hounds passed by. Another time, some pious men, directed

<sup>1</sup> *Moedoc* is a contraction for *Mo-Aedh-og*, *i.e.*, "My little Aedh." Colgan thus writes : "Venerationis et amoris causa solebant nominibus propriis praefigurere syllabam *mo* ; vel ubi incipiebant nomina a vocali solum praefigebant litteram *m* : et hinc Aedhoc, Oedhoc, appellabant Maedhoc et Moedhoc." *Ibid.* Thus, according to the ordinary changes, the name became *Maedoc*, *Maedhocc*, and *Maodhog* ; in Latin *Modocus*, *Maidocus*, and in English, *Maidoc*, *Modoche*, *Modock*, *Madoes*, *Mogue*, and *Moeg*.—See *Alban Butler's* "Lives," &c., at January 31 : *Reeves*, *loc. cit.*

<sup>2</sup> *The Martyrology of Donegal*, edited by DD. Todd and Reeves, for the I. A. S., in 1864, p. 33:

<sup>3</sup> "Coepit fama sanctitatis ejus multum ubique terrarum Hiberniae vulgari."—*Colgan*, *Acta SS.* p. 208.

by heaven, came to St. Aidan asking him to choose for them a spot where they might lead a life of penance, and await their resurrection. St. Aidan asked them had they heard the bell of any monastery as they travelled along. They replied that they had not; then, setting out with them, he pointed out the place which God had marked for their resurrection, and there these holy men continued for the remainder of their lives in the practices of piety and penance. Miss Stokes, in the valuable paper on the shrine of St. Moedoc, already mentioned, having referred to this fact, adds the following remarks:—

“Among these early Christians it was a favourite custom to seek the knowledge of the place they should be buried in from some holy man gifted with the spirit of prophecy, that in that spot they might erect their church and monastic establishment, there to live, and there to remain after death, until the day of the resurrection; and with them the burying-place was not called grave, or tomb, but ‘the place of resurrection,’ as if in the minds of these men the thought of death and the fear that springs from the contemplation of it, had been absorbed in the first fresh joy of the hope of the life eternal.”

It was at the school of Clonard that the youthful Aidan was trained in the higher paths of perfection and of science. St. Finnian, a little time before, had founded that great monastery, and so many were the saints who came forth from his school to adorn our island by their virtues and learning, that he is styled in our annals “the foster-father of the saints of Ireland,” and his monastery was celebrated as “a holy city full of wisdom and virtue.”<sup>1</sup> “Like the sun in the firmament (thus runs his ancient life), St. Finian enlightened the world with the rays of his virtues, wholesome doctrine, and miracles. For the fame of his good works invited many illustrious men from divers parts of the world to his school, as to a holy repository of all wisdom, partly to study the sacred scriptures, and partly to be instructed in ecclesiastical discipline.”<sup>2</sup>

In this holy school of Clonard, St. Aidan formed a close friendship with St. Molaise of Devenish, and several facts mentioned in the ancient lives of both saints prove that that friendship lasted till death. On one occasion we find St. Molaise advising a sorrowing woman to turn for assistance to “Moedoc the most blessed.” Her sons had been drowned

<sup>1</sup> *O'Donovan's Annals of the Four Masters*, ad. an. 548, and *Martyrology of Donegal*, p. 335.

<sup>2</sup> *Ware's Antiquities*, p. 241., *Cogan's Diocese of Meath*, I, 9, seq.

in Lough Erne, and she had sought help of many saints, in the hope that at least their bodies might be found. St. Molaise told her to go to the shore of the lake, and there to await the coming of Moedoc. She hastened to the place, and straightway Moedoc came to her, and then, weeping bitterly, she told her sad tale. Moedoc, knowing that his friend St. Molaise had prophesied the return of her sons to life, and trusting in his sanctity, boldly entered the waters of the lake, and drew forth the young men alive, "wherefore their father, who was a powerful chieftain, offered to the saint one of his sons, with his children and posterity, as a perpetual gift to St. Moedoc for the honour of God."<sup>1</sup>

On another occasion, towards the close of their school-days, the devoted friends Moedoc and Molaise were seated beneath the shadow of two trees, and they prayed to God to make known to them whether they might continue together, or whether it was His will that they should separate and work apart. While they thus prayed, the tree which stood over St. Molaise fell towards the north, while the tree beneath which St. Moedoc was fell towards the south. Then, filled with the divine spirit, they said one to another—"This token for parting is given to us by God, and we shall go as these trees have fallen;" so "embracing each other, and weeping, the two friends parted, and St. Molaise turned towards the northern region of Ireland where he founded the celebrated monastery of Devenish in Lough Erne, while St. Moedoc went southwards, where, in after times, he became the founder of Ferns, in the province of Leinster."

Whilst yet a youth, St. Aidan was led away a hostage with many more of the territory of the *Hua-Briun*,<sup>2</sup> by Ainmuire, who subsequently was monarch of all Ireland. Our saint, when brought before him, appeared beautiful with the comeliness of God's grace (*apparuit gratia Dei in vultu pueri Moedoc*), so that the prince said to his attendants: "This youth is comely indeed; should he consent to remain with me, he must be one of my royal court; but if he is anxious to depart, let him be at once set free and restored to his parents." The blessed Aidan, filled with the Holy Ghost, replied: "O king, if thou wishest thus to favour me, I pray thee, through the mercy of that God whom alone I wish to serve, to set free all those who have been my companions as hostages under thy charge." Ainmuire granted the request, only asking in return the prayers of Aidan, foretelling at the

<sup>1</sup> *I. i. S. Maidoc*, ap., Colgan, p. 209, Stokes loc. cit., p. 3.

<sup>2</sup> The *Hua-Briun* were the descendants of Brian, son of Eochaidh Maghmedhon and at this time ruled over part of Breffny.

same time that one day he would be a great pillar of the Irish Church.<sup>1</sup>

Abiding for awhile in his native district, many resorted to him for counsel, and wished to become his disciples. Desiring to shun such honours, he was preparing to depart, but Aedh Finn, the chieftain of the Hy-Briuin, opposed his project, being unwilling that his territory should be deprived of the presence of the saint. "Do not detain me," said the holy man to Aedh, "and I pray that the blessings of Paradise may be your eternal portion." No entreaty however could avail, and it was only by a special manifestation of divine power that St. Moedoc could at length obtain permission to depart. The chieftain who thus sought to detain our saint in the district of Breffny, had been baptized by him, and in Baptism received the surname of Finn, *i.e.* "the white," or "beautiful," whereas hitherto he had borne the name of Aedh Dubh, *i.e.* "Aedh the black." From him the two great families of the O'Reilly's and the O'Rorke's are descended, both of whom continued for centuries to honour St. Moedoc as their Patron.

The life of St. Aidan also mentions another instance in which, at this period of his life, heaven interposed in his favour. He was journeying along Mount Beatha (famous for its shrine of St. Dympna,) on the confines of Monaghan and Fermanagh, wishing to arrive at *Ardrinnygh*, to visit there a holy man named Airedum, who enjoyed great fame for sanctity;<sup>2</sup> but darkness set in, and he could no longer discern the path to pursue his journey. Betaking himself to prayer, he found himself borne by the hands of angels to the centre of the town he sought for, and in memory of this prodigy a cross was subsequently erected on the spot, which, at the time when the life was written, was still called "the Cross of St. Moedoc."

The monastery of St. David, at Kilmuine, in Wales, was at this time a favourite resort for Irish pilgrims. Thither too went St. Aidan, and during the years that he resided there, such was the odour of his sanctity, and such was the esteem in which he was held by that great master of virtue, St. David, that his history became thenceforward interwoven with the history of Menevia, and his abode in Britain is not

<sup>1</sup> *Columnam magnam Ecclesiae*, Colgan, "Acta SS.," p. 208. Some have supposed, from the words of the Life, "Rex Temoriae Anmyreus," that Ainmuire was already monarch of Ireland when Aidan was led away a hostage by him. This, however, is wholly inconsistent with the chronology of our saint's life, as we will see further on. Ainmuire did not become monarch of Ireland till the year 568 (*Reeves* "Adamnan," p. 32), but the writer of our saint's life, even when speaking of earlier events, might well style him so, from the dignity to which he afterwards attained.

<sup>2</sup> *Capgrave* in vit. S. Aidi. St. Airedum is mentioned in the Martyrologies of Tallaght and Marian O'Gorman, on 26th of August.

only related in his own acts but in those of St. David and St. Cadoc. Among other remarkable facts we find it recorded that the Anglo Saxons made an inroad at this time into Wales. The Britains, though taken unawares, rushed to arms, and sent messengers to St. David, praying him to send St. Aidan to the field of battle to bless their army. At the bidding of the abbot, the blessed Aidan hastened thither and prostrated himself in prayer, whilst the Britains rushed on to battle. The invaders were at once seized with panic and fled. For two days the victorious Britains pursued them with great slaughter, whilst not one of their own men was slain. And the Life adds: "the Anglo Saxons abstained from further inroads as long as Moedoc continued in Menevia, for they were persuaded that the miracle was due to his prayers."

After some years spent in the practice of piety, under the guidance of St. David, our saint, with the sanction and blessing of the holy Abbot, and accompanied by other Irish religious of the same monastery, returned to his native land. As he approached the coast of Hy-Ceinnselach (the modern county of Wexford), he saw some travellers attacked and plundered on the shore. He at once sounded his bell, which being heard by the plunderers, their chief cried out, "This is the bell of a man of God, who wishes us to desist from our deeds of plunder." Thereupon they allowed the travellers to pursue their way unharmed, and themselves hastened to the sea-shore to welcome the man of God. One of them, named Dymma, even rushed into the sea, and bore St. Aidan on his shoulders to dry land. Nor satisfied with this, he devoted himself and his territory of Ardladhrann, in Hy-Ceinnselagh, to the service of God and of St. Aidan. Our Saint erected a church and monastery there, and such was the fame of his miracles and sanctity, that the faithful from all the surrounding country soon flocked to him to receive lessons of eternal life.

It is not certain at what time St. Aidan founded the church of Ferns, but probably this foundation, which was cherished with special predilection by our saint, must be reckoned among the first of the thirty churches which, as Colgan assures us, were erected by St. Aidan in the territory of Wexford. The Irish name of *Fearna* is supposed by some to mean "the Land or Field of the Elder Tree," whilst others, with Colgan and Ware, derive it from the hero *Ferna*, son of Carill, King of the Desies, who was here interred, being slain in battle by Gall, son of Morna.<sup>1</sup> In the "*Leabhar Breac*" there is a

<sup>1</sup> *Colgan*, "*Acta*," p. 216: *Ware*, *Bishops*, p. 435. Lynch, in his MS. History, also writes: "*Ferna prius dicta Merhose in Comitatus Wexfordiensis regione, dicta Kinsalach, sita, nomen a Ferna heroe Carilli regis Desiarum filio sortita est.*"

marginal gloss on the Felire of St. Ængus, which, in two short verses, thus recounts the happy privileges of Ferns :—

“ Plain of Ferna, Plain of Ferna,  
Where the chaste Moedoc shall be ;  
Plain where are hounds and troops ;  
Plain that will be filled with sacred chaunting !

“ Moedoc shall sing hymns and the Psalter ;  
The desire for constant chaunting is awakened  
By that plain of heavenly sounds :  
O Lord, who rulest the elements !”<sup>1</sup>

In the “ Irish Life of St. Molaise,” of which a copy is preserved in the Royal Irish Academy, we read that that saint, when he had resolved on setting out on a pilgrimage to Rome,<sup>2</sup> to bring back thence relics and some clay to hallow his monastery of Devenish, proceeded first to visit his friend, St. Moedoc, at Ferns. It was on this occasion that the two saints entered into a new covenant of friendship, binding themselves that whosoever should merit the blessing of one, should inherit the other's blessing also ; and whosoever should incur the displeasure of one, should incur, at the same time, the other's displeasure likewise. We are not told how long St. Molaise sojourned at the shrines of the Eternal City, but his life adds, that “ having accomplished his visit to Rome, he again has-

<sup>1</sup> O'Curry, in his MS. Analysis of the *Leabhar Breac* in the Library of R.I.A., remarks that these verses belong to an historical poem of the eighth or ninth century, which under the form of a prophetic announcement of Finn, before the arrival of St. Patrick, describes the intervening events. Six verses of the poem are given in the *Book of Lismore*, fol. 120, A. (R.I.A.), the first of which presents some interesting readings, varying from our text. It is thus translated by O'Curry:—

“ Ath-Ferna (*i.e.*, ford of Ferna), Ath-Ferna,  
Where yet will be Moedhoc the good  
This day though numerous its troops,  
More numerous will be its heavenly songs.”

<sup>2</sup> “ After many prodigies, Molaise determined to go to Rome, that he might perfect his life there, and might bring over some of its clay and relics to Erin.”—MS. Life, R.I.A. The old Latin Life also records the same fact : “ Beatus Lasrianus divino Spiritu instinctus Sedem Apostolicam visitare proposuit. Iter igitur aggrediens, collactaneum suum, Sanctum scilicet Edanum, antequam transfretaret, visitavit Cui S. Edanus dixit : si mihi dimidiam partem tribuas reliquiarum, pericula viarum tuarum in humeris meis suscipiam. Illis ergo talia mutuo promittentibus et invicem benedicientibus, S. Lasrianus prospero navigio ad portum pervenit desideratum.” *Bollandus*, tom. 3. Januar. p. 734. Another curious fact connected with St. Molaise of Devenish, is preserved in the Ware Extracts from the ancient Register of Clogher, in the Library of T.C.D., viz., that on his return to Ireland, he received from the Holy See special authority not only in regard to his own Monastery of Devenish, but for all Ireland :—“ Damhynis, vulgo Devenish, cujus patronus est S. Lasrianus Abbas, non solum Ergalliae sed totius Hiberniae principatum habens tamquam Sedis Apostolicae Legatus.”

tened to St. Moedoc, and presented to him a portion of the relics which he had brought thence," and the names of these holy relics are then given, viz., relics of SS. Peter and Paul, of SS. Lawrence and Clement and Stephen, of the Blessed Virgin Mary and St. Martin, and many other relics.

The Life further adds that St. Molaise, having given these relics to his friend, St. Moedoc exclaimed, "*Is Breac go maith uait me anossa*," i.e., "Now, indeed, I am well speckled by thee," as if he said, "You have given me such a corselet of relics, that I am now all over ornamented and protected by them." And St. Molaise then said, "*Breac Moedoig* (i.e., the speckled or variegated shrine of Moedoc) shall be the name of the reliquary for ever."

This shrine, or "*Breac Moedoig*," is still happily preserved, and has been admirably illustrated by Miss Stokes for the Royal Society of Antiquarians, in the paper already more than once referred to in the preceding pages. The following is her account of the manner in which it passed into the "*Petrie Collection*," now accessible to the public in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy. The *Breac Moedoc*, she tells us, "was bought some years ago by Dr. Petrie, from a jeweller in Dublin, into whose possession it came in the following manner :—The shrine had been preserved for many centuries in the Church of St. Moedoc, at Drumlane, where it had remained in the keeping of the Roman Catholic Parish Priest. It was occasionally lent for swearing the accused at trials, and so great was the reverence felt for it, that the people believed a false oath taken thereon would be surely followed by some singular judgment. About the year 1846 it was lent to a person named Magauran, from the parish of Templeport, he having deposited the usual pledge of a guinea for its safe restoration ; tempted, however, by the Dublin jeweller's offer of a larger sum than that which he had given in pledge, he broke faith with the priest, and sold the sacred relic."<sup>1</sup>

The following is Miss Stokes's description of this interesting reliquary of our early Church :—"The *Breac Moedoc* is in form a box, the body or foundation of which is of pale bronze, covered with gilt plates. The height of this reliquary is  $7\frac{1}{4}$  inches, length  $8\frac{7}{8}$  inches, breadth of the base  $3\frac{1}{2}$  inches. For about one-third of the height the sides of the box are vertical, they then slope inwards until they meet at a very acute angle, so as to resemble the roof of a house. Thus, the general form is much like the *chasses* or shrines of Limoges work of much later date, of which many examples exist and have been figured.

<sup>1</sup> "On two Works of Ancient Irish Art," &c., p. 5, seq.



"It is not improbable that the form of an early church was intended to be represented in miniature by these shrines. The outlines of that under our notice recall such buildings as the Oratory on MacDara's Island, the Church of St. Benignus on the Island of Aran, the Oratory of Killaloe, and that of St. Columba at Kells, all having the simple quadrangular form which characterizes the primitive churches of Ireland, none of which were octagonal, circular, or cruciform, nor had they the couched semicircular apse of the Roman basilica. They are narrow, with a high-pitched roof, reminding us of a singular representation in the "Book of Kells" of the Temptation of our Lord, where He is led to the pinnacle of the Temple, in which the form of the Temple is exactly similar to that of these early churches and of the *Breac Moedog*. And, while on this point, it may be interesting to remark that the Rev. Mr. O'Reilly, P.P., of Drumlane, writing of this shrine, in March, 1866, observes :—"It is said, by the people of this parish who saw it, to resemble very closely in shape the great Church of Drumlane, now in ruins, of which it is here generally believed to have been the plan in miniature."

A drawing of St. Mac Dara's Church, and also a sketch of the Oratory at Killaloe, referred to in this passage, are given in "Petrie's Round Towers," page 187 and 273; and it appears from another drawing of the ruins of the Church of St. Kenanach, in the middle Island of Aran, given in the same work, page 186, that it, too, bore precisely the same features, and thus we have another example to corroborate the statement made by Miss Stokes.

"The front of the Reliquary was covered with figures, twenty-one in number; only eleven in four groups remain entire, together with the feet only of another group of three figures . . . The six lower figures on the shrine, are of pale bronze, while the five upper ones appear to be of the same metal, though much redder in colour, from the deficiency of tin in the alloy. The ends are now robbed of all ornament, with the exception of one figure, of bronze gilt (representing the Royal Psalmist), seated, and playing on a harp. The back (of the Reliquary), was evidently exactly similar to that of the Shrine of St. Patrick, and, indeed, the design is such as is usually found on the least important side of all early reliquaries, namely, a parallelogram of pierced rectangular crosses. The pierced work, it should be mentioned, is of bronze; the border, of which only three fragments remain, has a ground of red enamel; the margins, the knots, and squares, being of bronze gilt; while the pattern within the squares is formed by four smaller squares of blue glass, apparently cast

in a mould, and disposed alternately with five others of red and white enamel. The *fylfot* in the boss, which still remains in the centre of the border of one side, is enamelled in blue, on a gold ground, surrounded by alternate lines of the same colour."

The front of the *Breac Moedog* is divided into three tiers, or rows of figures. The lower tier has three compartments, and each compartment had originally three figures. The central and right compartments are still entire, but only the feet of the three figures of the left compartment remain. The central compartment presents to us our Saviour, with the Apostles, SS. Peter and Paul. The Redeemer holds in his right hand the Book of the Law, and in the left a vase, resembling the ancient Irish Chalices, of which some interesting specimens are preserved in the Royal Irish Academy. The arcade in which he stands is ornamented with birds, which, in our early church, were symbolical of the angelic choirs. Two of these winged beings have human heads, and seem to typify the cherubim.

St. Paul is at the right of our Saviour, and holds a sword in his right, and a sceptre in his left hand. St. Peter stands at the left of the Redeemer, and it must be held in mind that this position, being to the right of the spectator, was the post of honour in many ancient monuments : he holds a sceptre in his right, and a crozier in his left hand. These sceptres of SS. Peter and Paul, the Princes of the Apostolic Body, "seem bursting into leaf and fruit, and are not new in the sacred figures of Irish art. Christ is seen to hold such a one in the last judgment, as represented on the cross of Clonmacnoise; while, in the Book of Kells, they are borne in the hands of angels, at the feet of the Blessed Virgin and Child."<sup>1</sup>

There seems to me but little room for doubt that the whole series of the apostles was represented in the figures of the lower tier. Allowing two figures to the corresponding part of the shrine at each end, we would have precisely thirteen figures, including our blessed Lord. Now the sword and sceptre sufficiently determine one of the princes of the apostles, the Apostle of nations; the position of the other figure, his sceptre, and with it the pastoral staff, and independent of all this, the baldness and general outline of the features, mark him out as the apostle Peter, prince and supreme pastor of Christ's fold. In the three figures that still remain in the adjoining compartment, St. John is easily recognised by his youthful appearance, being represented beardless and bearing a cruciform crozier in his hand. St. Matthew, too,

<sup>1</sup> Miss Stokes, page 10.

bears a book clasped in both hands, his usual characteristic symbol in ancient art. Speaking of this last-mentioned group, Miss Stokes observes, "the remains of an inscription running over the heads may be traced, but, unfortunately, it is so much broken away that no attempt can be made to decipher it. The borders round the ends of the dresses are of extreme interest, being formed of designs most characteristic of Scoto-Celtic art, patterns formed of angular lines and intersected bands. On one of these figures (*i.e.* St. John), as also in one of those of the other group (*i.e.* St. Paul), the collar brought round the neck and knotted over the breast, so as to form a *triquetra*, at once recalls to mind the figures of the Evangelists in the Book of Dimma, who wear the triquetra thus as a symbol of the Trinity."

In the *Codex Maelbrihte*, in the British Museum, is preserved an Irish poem on the personal appearance and on the manner of death of our Saviour and the Apostles. Dr. Reeves, commenting on this poem in 1851, remarked that "it seemed to be framed according to certain rules which guided the ancient Scribes in the illumination of their biblical manuscripts, and may possibly find a partial illustration in the figures which appear in the Book of Kells, and other manuscripts of that class." (*Proceedings of R.I.A.*, January 13, 1851, vol. v. 45).

Now the features of the figures on the lower tier of the *Breac Moedog* correspond so perfectly with the description of our Saviour and the apostles in this poem, that we would almost be led to suppose it was specially composed to record the artistic details of this ancient reliquary. The following verses are fully descriptive of the figures still preserved:—

"Despicable all faces but the face of God ;  
His was not a face adorned but by one complexion—  
An auburn, tripartite head of hair had he,  
And a beard red and very long.

"The face of the apostle Peter was most venerable ;  
His glossy hair was of shining grey ;  
Fair and old was the favored man ;  
Short and close was his beard.

"Paul the apostle, brilliant was his face,  
With beautiful glossy hair ;  
Until his companions had cut it off,  
The beard of Paul was very long.

“ John of the bosom, the adopted of the living God ;  
Lightly auburn was his hair,  
Calm and placid was his countenance ;  
He was very gentle, young, and beardless.

Black curly hair upon the head of Mathew,  
Without the sign of a tyrant's beard.

Thomas, choicest of faces was his face ;  
Brown and curly was his hair without doubt ;  
It was no blemish to my companion  
That coarse and short was his clean beard.”

The second, or central division is only capable of receiving two compartments, each with a group of three figures. One of these groups is still preserved, and presents, in an arcade, three female figures with hands gracefully clasped upon the bosom. While there is more or less difference in the dress of the male figures in this shrine, the dress of these three females is uniform: their countenances are peculiarly sweet, and there is something in their attitude so noble and divine that we have no hesitation in reckoning this group among the most perfect works of art of our early Church. We probably will not err in supposing that the central figure is the Blessed Virgin Mary, Mother of God, and that the figures on either side are St. Brigid, the Mary of Erin, and St. Ita, the contemporary of our Saint Aidan, and celebrated in our annals as the Brigid of Munster.

“ It is curious to notice that the hands are reversed from their natural form, as if taken from a mould in which they were correctly represented. The very long faces and low broad forehead remind one forcibly of the type of female face which we find in the Book of Kells. The pellet-moulding round the arch and down the sides is remarkable, as also a design formed by the geometrical arrangement of a leaf filling the space between the arches,” (page 13.) That the Blessed Virgin and the Apostles were represented in the figures of this Reliquary becomes the more probable when we reflect that their sacred relics were preserved within the venerable shrine.

The uppermost tier or division of the *Breac Moedoig* allows only of two compartments, and as these are smaller than those of the middle tier, they may possibly have contained only two figures each. It was perhaps to this tier that the group with two figures, now loosely appended to the middle

compartment originally belonged. The ornaments of this group are thus described by Miss Stokes. "In noticing the details of this group, that which strikes us most is the scroll running up, at the right side of the first figure. It is a beautiful example of the divergent spiral, or trumpet pattern. At the base of this scroll is the triquetra, and this favourite design, symbolical of the Trinity, is found in another form between the feet of the two figures. Knots of other kinds and a diaper background complete the ornamental work of this group. The costume of the figures appears to be merely the alb, with an embroidered border, and the chasuble, which in its primitive form was circular, with an aperture in the centre for the head: it was when worn caught up on the arms, over which it fell in folds."—Page 13.

In one of the individuals represented in this group, there is a special expression of pain, or "impassioned sorrow," as Miss Stokes expresses it, wholly absent from all the other figures. His right hand, too, is raised towards his head, which is bent to recline on it. It may safely be affirmed that it was the desire of the artist in the painful attitude of this figure to present a characteristic token of the saint whom he represented. Now a curious passage in the Life of St. Aedh MacBric, informs us that "a certain man who suffered exceedingly from headache, went to St. Aedh, saying: O holy man of God, I am greatly tortured with this headache, pray for me. The Bishop replied: you cannot be freed from that pain unless it come upon me, but great will be your reward if you bear it patiently. He answered: such pain is beyond my strength. St. Aedh then said: the pain which now agonizes you shall come into my head. And at once the headache became the portion of the Bishop, and the poor man went away free from it, returning thanks to God. Then the saint of Christ assumed his neighbour's suffering, that thus through Christ, he might succour him, and for Christ's sake endure a martyrdom. And since that time many are freed from headache, by invoking the name of St. Aedh, as was witnessed in the above event."<sup>1</sup> Colgan marks this saint as "*patronum capite dolentium*," and in a Latin poem published by Mone, from a MS. of Reichenau, of the eighth century, the intercession of St. Aedh MacBric is invoked as a special protector against headache.

Perhaps then in the two figures of this group we may be allowed to recognise St. Aidan of Ferns, and with him his synonym saint, St. Aedh MacBric; the similarity of name may the more easily have suggested this combination, as

<sup>1</sup> Colgan, *Acta*, page 420.

St. Aedh Mac Bric, like the great patron of Ferns, was bound by special ties of friendship with St. Molaise of Devenish.

Miss Stokes (page 14), thus concludes her remarks on the ornamental figures of the *Breac Moedog*: "In the description, hitherto given by other writers of the drawing of the human figure in Irish art, whether in metal work, stone, or painting, no language but that of contempt has been used. One writer, speaking of the extraordinary rudeness of this art, characterises the features in all the representations of Christ crucified as *utterly expressionless*; while another describes a miniature belonging to this school, as the purest type to be found of *all that is false and debasing in art, and significant of an utterly dead school, a school of dead barbarism, whose work belongs to the hopeless work of all ages*. But we shall be grievously disappointed if they who see these four groups from the shrine of St. Moedoc fail to perceive in them some elements of nobleness, and some food for reverence. In the forms and faces of the female figures, there is not only strong individuality of character, but this character is one of sweetness, benevolence, and simple goodness, carried out not only in the expression of the faces, but in the mere attitude of the figures, and the quiet clasping of the hands upon the breast. The impassioned sorrow of (St. Aedh MacBric), and the contrast between his earnest tearful gaze, and the cheerful common sense expressed in his companion's face—the solemn and severe dignity of the other six holy men who stand below, the strength of their firmly-closed mouths, and wistful outstretched gaze—their wild and wavy hair blown in great masses round the head, the mystic breastplate, and borders of their robes, all tell of the existence of a dramatic, as well as a religious element in early Irish art, which elevates above that which is purely decorative, and is as much beyond the art of the mere savage or barbarian, as the faith which teaches of goodness and purity and love transcends the dark superstitions of heathenism."

P. F. M.

(To be continued.)

## DOCUMENT.

BRIEF OF OUR MOST HOLY FATHER PIUS IX.,  
ON THE RECENT OUTRAGES AGAINST THE  
JESUITS IN ROME.

*Venerabili Fratri Nostro Constantino S. R. E. Cardinali  
Patrizi Episcopo Ostiensi et Veliterno Sacri Cardinalium  
Collegii Decano Vicario Nostro Generali in spiritualibus  
Romae ejusque Districtus.*

## PIUS PP. IX.

VENERABILIS Frater Noster, Salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem. Ecclesia Dei, tanquam Regina circumdata varietate, sicuti nobili diversorum Regularium Ordinum ornamento decorata fuit, sic sedulam semper opem adhibuit ad propagandam divini Nominis gloriam, ad christianae reipublicae negocia expedienda, et ad inducendum etiam vel provehendum in populis, doctrinae et caritatis ope, civilis vitae cultum. Quotquot idcirco fuerunt unquam osores Ecclesiae, Regulares Ordines maxime sunt insectati, et inter eos primas odii sui partes tribuere consueverunt Societati Jesu, utpote quam operosiores suisque propterea consiliis infestiores existimarunt. Id in praesentiarum rursum fieri dolentes conspicimus, dum civilis Nostrae ditionis invasores praedae inhiantes, exitiosae semper ereptoribus, familiarum omnium Religiosarum suppressionem a Patribus Societatis Jesu exordiri velle videntur. Cui quidem facinori ut viam sibi sternant, invidiam ipsis conflare nituntur apud populum, eosque simultatis accusant cum praesenti regimine, ac potissimum insimulant ejus potentiae apud Nos et gratiae, quae Nos eidem regimini faciat infensiores, quaque sic occupemur, ut nonnisi uadentibus ipsis, quidquid agimus perficiamus. Quae stulta calumnia, si in summum vergit contemptum Nostrum, qui prorsus hebetes ducimur et inepti cuicumque ineundo consilio, absurda prorsus evincitur, cum noverint omnes, Romanum Pontificem, divino implorato lumine et auxilio, id facere et praecipere, quod rectum et utile judicaverit Ecclesiae : in gravioribus vero negociis eorum opera uti consuevisse, cujusvis demum sint gradus, aut conditionis, aut Regularis Ordinis, quos materiae, de qua agitur, peritiores, sententiam suam sapientius ac prudentius proferre posse arbitrat. Profecto Patres etiam e Societate Jesu haud raro adhibemus, et varia munera, ac illud inprimis sacri ministerii eis committimus, qui in hisce obeundis, probatius semper Nobis faciunt studium illud et zelum, quorum gratia crebras et am-

plissimas a Decessoribus Nostris promeruerunt laudes. Verum aequissima ista dilectio Nostra et existimatio Societatis, egregie semper de Ecclesia Christi, hac Sancta Sede, et christiano populo merita, longe abest a servili illo obsequio, quod comminiscuntur ipsius obtrectatores; quorum calumniam a Nobis et a demissa optimorum Patrum devotione indignanter propulsamus. Haec vero tibi significanda duximus, Venerabilis Frater Noster, ut et insidiae Societati structae compertae fiant, et sententia Nostra turpiter insipienterque detorta ac subversa restituatur, et inclytae eidem Societati novum praesto sit propensissimae voluntatis Nostrae testimonium. Liberet utique hac occasione nacta, te diutius distingere de aliis quotidie increbrescentibus doloris Nostri causis; at cum adeo ampla sit earum seges, ut epistolae finibus concludi non valent, unum attingemus commentum concessionum, quas dicunt *guarentigie*, ubi nescias, num primas teneat absurditas, an versutia, an ludibrium, et cui jamdiu operosum et inutile studium impendunt Subalpini Gubernii moderatores. Coacti enim a communi catholicorum expostulatione et politica necessitate ad larvam quandam Regiae potestatis Nostrae servandam, ne cuiquam obnoxii videamur in exercitio supremi regiminis Ecclesiae, id assequi se posse censuerunt per concessionem. Atqui cum concessio suapte natura postulet potestatem concedentis in eum cui conceditur, eundemque, saltem quoad rem concessam, subiciat illius ditioni et arbitrio; necessario fit, ut ipsi operam perdant in adstruendo summae potestatis Nostrae fastigio per ea adminicula, quae ipsum omnino subruant et deleant. Intima vero concessionum indoles est eiusmodi, ut unaquaeque peculiarem servitutem inducat; quae durior etiam fit ab invectis deinde emendationibus. Hostile demum et dolosum ingenium, quod ex iis, licet insidiosae velatum, erumpit, sic illustratur a jugi factorum serie, ut neminem sanae mentis decipere possit, et apertissimam ludificationis speciem iis conditionibus affingat. Verum si Ecclesia referre debet imaginem divini auctoris sui; nonne Nos, qui, licet immerentes, Christi vices gerimus in terris, ei gratias agere debebimus, quod irrisoriis regni insignibus et Nos circumdari sinat? Profecto sic ipse vicit mundum; atque ita etiam per Sponsam suam Ecclesiam rursus de mundo triumphum agat. Interim copiosa tibi, Venerabilis Frater Noster, adprecamur caelestia munera; eorumque auspicem et praecipuae Nostrae benevolentiae pignus Apostolicam Benedictionem tibi peramanter impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum die 2 Martii Anno 1871 Pontificatus Nostri Anno Vicesimoquinto.

PIUS PP. IX.



## CORRESPONDENCE.

## DONALDUS, ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN.

TO THE EDITOR OF "THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD."

SIR,—The question of who was the immediate predecessor of Matthew De Oviedo, in the See of Dublin, has been much discussed, some Protestant writers going so far as to deny the existence of any such in communion with Rome, from the apostacy of Hugh Curwen, at the accession of Queen Elizabeth. But there is now no doubt on the subject, from the many incidental allusions in the state papers in the Record Office, London, and in Simancas, in Spain. Dr. Moran, in his "History of the Catholic Archbishops of Dublin," page 84, quoting from the *Bull*, appointing De Oviedo, May, 1600, shows that the See had become vacant by the death of *Donaldus*, of good memory, the late Archbishop. This fixes the Christian name, and the brief, appointing Francis Ribera, to be Bishop of Leighlin, dated 14 September, 1587, expressly states, that at that date, there was a Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, to whom the Pope had written to favour and protect Ribera, the See of Leighlin being in his province. (Dr. Brady's Irish Reformation, fifth edition, pp. 90 and 105.) Dr. Moran conjectured that this *Donaldus* was the celebrated *Donaldus M'Conghaill*, Bishop of Raphoe, but as he died, according to the Four Masters, 29 September, 1589, and as reference is made to the Archbishop subsequent to that date, his claim falls to the ground. The cause of obscurity on this subject arose from the well-known persecution which awaited Catholic bishops within the power of the Government, and the almost absolute necessity to conceal their names, places of refuge, and acts. In the volume of the Carew Calendar, published by Mr. Brewer in 1869, p. 54, there is given an article under the date 1600, entitled "An Abstract of several Treasons committed by Florence M'Cartie," being what purports to be extracts from letters. In one of these, reference is made to Owen M'Kegan usurping the name of Bishop of Rosse. This was Eugene MacEgan, Vicar-Apostolic and Bishop Elect, who was slain by the English in 1602. Of course all the Catholic and valid bishops were styled "usurpers" by writers in English pay. Another of the charges is, "Florence received letters from

Thomas Shelton and from *Donnaught M'Cragh*, usurping the name of the Archbishop of Dublin, whereby it appeared that the traitors had commended Florence his service to the King of Spain, and that done upon Florence his own entreaty." Then follows "Examinations, proving Florence M'Cartye his treasons. Florence, upon his first coming into Ireland, had secret conference at Dreshane with James FitzThomas and Cragh, the usurped Bishop of *Corke*, and then combined with them in their rebellion." The Bishop of Cork here alluded to, was Dermod, otherwise Darby M'Cragh, appointed in consistory 7th October, 1580, Bishop of Cork and Cloyne, and who lived into the succeeding century.

Mr. Brewer, in a foot note to this passage, states that "*Corke*" has been substituted for "Dublin," by Sir George Carew. Now this correction being by Carew himself, who, from his position as President of Munster, and having a whole *posse* of spies and traitors in pay, had a complete knowledge of the country, and his having permitted the statement respecting *Donnaught M'Cragh*, to remain unchanged, indisputably proves that Carew believed M'Cragh to have been recognised as Archbishop by the Catholics. In my opinion there can be no doubt he was the Donaldus of Dr. De Oviedo's Brief; Donaldus and Donadus are simply Latinized forms of the Irish proper name Domhnall. This is the only entry I can find in this volume of the Carew Calendar, nor do I find any other after a hurried glance in the Life and Letters of Florence MacCarthy Reagh himself, published by Daniel MacCarthy (Glas), in 1867: but I see in it a note of the death of Michael Walter, Bishop of Kerry, as occurring about November, 1599. Florence writes he was born at Limerick, and in Lenihan's History of that city, a Michael *Waters* is returned as serving the office of bailiff, analogous to the present city sheriff, in 1599. Waters is probably a mistake for Walter, as in 1614, Michael Walter, perhaps the same, is stated to have served as Mayor for five months, when he was deposed for not going to church. I hope some of your correspondents will further investigate the question of the Archbishop of Dublin.

J. W. HANNA.

## ROMAN CHRONICLE.

1. *Address of the Roman Nobility.*—2. *Pope's Allocution to the Lenten Preachers.*—3. *Loyalty of the Roman People.*—4. *Loyalty of the Bolognese.*—5. *Prince Rospigliosi.*—6. *Deputation from Austria.*—7. *Seizure of Religious Houses in Rome.*—8. *False Allocution of the Pope.*—9. *Appointment of Bishops.*—10. *Festival of St. Patrick in Rome.*—11. *The Disturbances in the Gesù, and the Chaplain's Report.*

1. The Roman Patriciate have published an Address, directed to the several Catholic Associations of the world, which does them immortal honour, and which deserves to be registered in every Catholic publication. We subjoin it in full :—

“The strong proofs of attachment you have given to the Holy Father's sacred person, and the imprescriptible rights of the Holy See, have profoundly moved the hearts of the Catholics of Rome, who feel that their own duties are even more onerous than yours. The immense majority of them have always remained faithful, and with the help of God are firmly resolved never to alter their line of conduct. In testimony whereof, they call on the history of the past, and the facts of the present day, unaltered by calumny and passion. The clergy, as well as the laity, the nobles as well as the citizens, the man of science, and the artist, are alike moved by the voice of conscience, of gratitude, and of honest patriotism. And, therefore, as in the present state of matters, no other means than protestations and daily proofs of loyal attachment, in spite of sacrifices and insults, remain to them, they unite themselves in heart with you, and with one soul raise their voices in prayers to God to obtain the cessation of this cruel trial to which God has subjected His Church, and the City of Rome, chosen by Him as the seat of His Vicar on Earth. Perseverance in prayer, faith inviolate, and firm hope, will hasten the hour of His mercy.”

Signed—

Sigismond Prince Chigi.  
Orinete Marchese Cavalletti.  
Matteo Matthieu Antici Mattei.  
Tomaso Prince Antici Mattei.  
Don Filippo of the Dukes of  
Sçotti.

Prince Campagnano.  
Marchese Patrizi.  
Prince Aldobrandini.  
Prince Rospigliosi.  
Pietro Aldobrandino Prince  
Sarsini.  
Commendatore Di Rossi,

Prince Clemente Altieri.  
 Prince Lancellotti.  
 Duke Pio Grazioli.  
 Camillo Prince Massimo.  
 Prince of Arsoli.  
 Prince of Orsini.  
 Marchese Fillipo Mattei Antici.  
 Prince Enrico Barberini.  
 Maurizio Cavaletti.  
 Prince Eugenio Ruspoli, K.M.  
 Annibale Count Moroni.  
 Prince Giovanni Ruspoli.  
 Livio Prince Odescalchi.  
 Carlo Count Cardelli.  
 Prince Giovanni Chigi.  
 Marchese Lavaggi.  
 Commendatore Datti.  
 Duke Giuseppe Caffarelli.  
 Count Francesco Sermi.  
 Professore Gugliardi.  
 Professore Jacometti.  
 Barone Visconti.

Padre Angelo Secchi, S.J.  
 Marchese Luigi Serlupi-Crescenzi.  
 Marchese Angelo Vittelleschi.  
 Professore Benzoni.  
 Marchese Lepri.  
 Don Alfonso Theodoli.  
 Prince Borghese.  
 Prince Viano.  
 Francesco Marchese Serlupi.  
 Prince Giustiniani-Bandini.  
 Giuseppe Macchi Count Cellere.  
 Prince Baldassare Boncompagni (Piombino).  
 Duke Salviati,  
 Fillipo Count Cini.  
 Pio Marchese Capranica.  
 Alessandro Capranica.  
 Marchese Sacchetti.  
 Marchese Camillo Sacchetti.  
 Virginio Count Vespignani.

2. On Thursday, the 16th of February, the Holy Father delivered his customary Allocution to the parish priests and Lenten preachers of Rome. The just praise which he accords to the people of Rome for their loyalty and true Catholic spirit, is another evidence of the falsehood and shamelessness of the Italian press. We quote a few extracts :—

“In the days of Pagan Rome, it was said, *Facere et pati fortia, Romanum est!* A father of the Church, in one of those apologies which he addressed to the persecutors of Christianity (and we have them to-day just the same), applied those words to the Christians, and wrote—*Facere et pati, Christianorum est!* Now, as we observe the actual conduct of the Roman people, I feel we can justly speak of them in the same language. When I say the Roman people, I do not mean the worshippers of Jupiter and Mercury, but the true adorers of Jesus Christ, and venerators of most holy Mary and the saints. Are not we ourselves witnesses of all that is being done in opposition to evil? Noble associations have been formed to write up and defend truth, and succour the needy. The churches are crowded, the word of God is sought after with avidity, the sacraments received with great devotion. *I do not go abroad*, but you all know how much is

doing at present in Rome to counteract by good works the efforts of falsehood and vice. Well, then, precisely because *I do not go abroad*, let the parish priests and preachers say that the Pope cannot but bless this people, approving and encouraging them. Say, moreover, that fathers of families should not venture to bring their children to the theatres, where performances are enacted insulting to religion and morality, and where licentiousness and blasphemy reign triumphant. Such places are forbidden to a Christian family; they could not be spectators of representations against God, their faith, the Church, and every law however sacred. Say, also, that I am proud of, and thank the Romans for, their patient endurance of the present trials, especially of such a number holding official appointments, who, for honour, loyalty, and conscience sake, prefer every privation to betrayal of their trust or felony. Tell them that I know it all, and that I mean to bless them as those who *do* and *suffer* like true Romans."

3. These earnest words, pronounced by the most august authority on earth, are more than a sufficient vindication of the Roman people from the calumnies circulated against them by their unscrupulous invaders, but in order to satisfy the most sceptical mind, we are enabled to furnish exact data, which establish beyond question the unflinching loyalty of the immense majority of the Romans to their imprisoned sovereign. The *Tablet* of February 25th gives the following statistics, favoured by a person in Rome who can speak with certain knowledge.

Out of 46 magistrates, five only have transferred their allegiance to the new Government. The Piedmontese have requested the 41 to remain in office till March. In the "*Finance Department*," out of 1439, 344 only have gone over to the Italian Government, 1135 have preferred to give up office, and are now without any income or means of livelihood. In the "*Internal Department*," out of 53, only 17 remained in office. "*The Military*"—out of 586 officers, only 58 have retained their position. The others, 528, have preferred to quit the army, though they were offered the same rank in the Italian Army. They too are now without means of support. "*The Schools*"—The schools under ecclesiastical management (limited to the Departments of Literature and Philosophy), included a total of 1783 scholars; viz., "*La Pace*" 98; "*The Apollinare*," 700; the Roman College, 985. The Piedmontese have taken away this last from the Jesuits, and to the Government Lyceum, established instead, has been added a department, called the Technical, or "*commercial*," for boys who, under ecclesiastical management, were elsewhere

provided for. Now, observe, even with the bringing in of these "*commercials*," by the report just published by Brioschi, it is shown that only 656 scholars attended the new Lyceum, of these 250 are Jews, hitherto not admitted to these schools: of the remaining 406, the "*commercials*," viz., 280, should be subtracted, and there will remain 126 to be compared with 1783, under the Pontifical "*regime*." Finally, observe that with the new government a great number of officials have come to Rome, with their families, and of course they send their children to the schools set up by the new government. The failure in not attracting scholars to the new Lyceum schools, is the more remarkable, as, by a special enactment, attendance at the Lyceum schools has been made a necessary condition for eligibility to public offices of any kind.

*The Journals*—The Catholic Roman Journals opposed to the Piedmontese Government are 10, viz., the *Osservatore*; *L'Imparziale*; *Il Buonsenso*; *La Frusta*; *La Stella*; *La Metropoli*; *Il Veridico*; *Il Salvatore*; *La Vergine*; and *La Famiglia*. The new Government and Democratic Journals are 7, viz.: *La Gazzetta Ufficiale*, *Il Tempo*, *La Nuova Roma*, *La Capitale*, *Il Tribuno*, and *La Liberta*, of these last, 3 are paid by government, 2 by Mazzini, and 1 by the moderate party. The Catholic journals are all self-supporting. The number of subscribers to the Catholic journals is much greater than to the others, e.g., the two popular papers are the *Frusta* and *Tribuno*; the former (Catholic) prints 6000 copies, the latter (revolutionary) only 1400.

*The Aristocracy*—The splendid address which commences this Chronicle, is proof positive as to how the Roman aristocracy feel. The names of the few noble families who support the invasion can soon be quoted. They are as follows:—

Prince and Princess Pallavicini (*Née* Piombino).

Duke and Duchess di Teano (*Née* Piombino).

Duke and Duchess di Piombino.

Prince Doria, the father only.

Duke and Duchess di Regnano (*Née* Doria).

Duke and Duchess di Sermoneta, Duke and Duchess di Teano (*Née* Wilbraham), father and son.

Duke and Duchess Cesarini Sforza (*Née* Colonna); Duke and Duchess di St. Fiore (*Née* Santa Croce), two brothers.

Count and Countess Locatelli (*Née* Gaetani), daughter to Sermoneta.

Count and Countess Carlo Locatelli.

Marchesa Lavaggi, her husband is on the Pope's side.

Countess de Celere, her husband is on the Pope's side.

Marquis and Marchesa Calabrini.

All the other Roman nobles, and they form a great majority, are with the Pontifical Government. On November 3, 1870, an address was presented to His Holiness, signed by two hundred and forty Roman ladies of rank. The signatures represent about one hundred and fifty Roman Patrician families. The address with the names has been printed; about 5,000 of the Bourgeoisie united with the Patricians in expressing their sympathy. The only families who have opened their saloons, either during the Carnival or before it, are Prince Doria, Duke of Teano, and Prince Pallavicini. Not one of the Pope's party has given an evening reception since the 20th of September, and all the families who could conveniently leave Rome during the Carnival have done so.

4. On the occasion of the entry of the Prince and Princess of Piedmont, the Roman nobility presented a second address, worded in the most fervent style, and signed still more numerous than the previous one. Scarcely a day passed during the month of February that groups of Civil Service officials and others, who had resigned their appointments, did not wait on the Holy Father, and, together with an address, present a substantial Peter's Pence offering. But a deputation from Bologna, now ten years under the rule of Piedmont, gave the greatest consolation to the Holy Father. He received the deputation on the 23rd of February. The concourse of illustrious personages, both Italians and foreigners, was considerable; all the ante-chambers were thronged. The deputation was composed of:—Alfonso Rubbiani, President of the Circle of St. Petronius; Marquis Hannibal Maroigli; Prince Alfonso Hercolani; Marquis Alexander Guidotti; Count Vincent Ranuzzi; Marquis Alfonso Malvezzi; Marquis Francis Malvezzi; Dr. Peter Gardini; Count Mark Bentivoglio; Dr. Guido Bagni, President of the Circle of St. Blaze in Ceuto. The Holy Father entered the Audience Chamber about noon, followed by a numerous suite, including Cardinals Guidi, Milesi, Barnabo, Bilio, Catarini, Borromeo, Capath, Amat, Bonaparte; General Kanzler, Prince Chigi, Marquis Cavaletti, and Monsignors Ricci, Rocca, Negrotto, Casali, De Bisogno, Negrone, and De Merode. The Pope looked in excellent health—his countenance beaming confidence and resignation. As soon as he had ascended the throne, the President of the Circle of St. Petronius read the address.

He then presented the Holy Father with three large volumes, containing 31,854 signatures, collected in the city and suburbs of Bologna, and the Treasurer of the Circle, Marquis Francis Malvizzi, laid at the feet of the Pope a purse of 13,173 francs (nearly £530). The volumes were splendidly bound in red

morocco, and bore the arms of Pio IX. and those of Bologna, with an inscription in letters of gold—"Pio IX., Bononia Fidelis." The purse, the gift of a noble lady, was exquisitely embroidered in gold. The members of the deputation were then presented to the Holy Father, who admitted each to kiss hands. In the course of his reply the Holy Father said: "Blessed be God who permits so many scandals, *ut veniant bona*; and if youth is an active element in revolutions, we behold, on the other hand, to our great consolation, a powerful reaction amongst Catholic youth in many parts of Italy and other nations in favour of the Church. The chief sin of young men is human respect, and consequently young Catholics do well to commence by frankly manifesting their faith and their devotion to holy Church. The examples of Bologna have exercised great influence in the other cities of the Romagna; and if the revolution had its origin in Bologna, it is with unfeigned pleasure that we now see the reaction of the Catholic spirit against the principles of the revolution lead off from the same city. Wherefore, with all the fervour of my heart I bless you and all whose names are signed in that most voluminous list of good Catholics—*Benedictio Dei, &c.*" The Holy Father then passed through the ante-chambers, where, amongst others, he encountered four Franciscan friars of Bologna about to leave for the Indian mission. In another room were collected quite a crowd of English and Americans, principally the latter, and mostly Protestants. The Holy Father addressed them in French, and alluded to his having read with pleasure, many years ago, the book of a distinguished Irish author—Thomas Moore—entitled, "Travels of an Irish gentleman in Search of a Religion," and he supposed that many of those whom he now addressed were engaged in such travels: such persons he would counsel to search their own hearts with sincerity and confidence, and God would lead them to the profession of the truth. When he raised his hands to bless them, all, without exception, went on their knees. Some of them, although Protestants, offered considerable sums towards the Peter's Pence. Then, preceded by two noble guards, and followed by the suite of Cardinals, &c., already mentioned, and the Bologna deputation, the Holy Father went down to the gardens for his usual walk. After a considerable round of the garden he entered the library, and inviting all to sit down, entered into three quarters of an hour's familiar conversation, occasionally alluding to a "*ray of hope*." He subsequently retired to his own apartments.



5. Prince Joseph Rospigliosi of Rome has written to the *Nazione*, deploring that he should have been classified amongst the nobles of doubtful fidelity to the Holy Father. He glories in the fact of having served the Holy Father faithfully in the regiment of Zouaves.

6. The Austrian Catholic Deputation, numbering 43, was received by the Pope, on Monday, the 5th of March. He made, in his usual happy style, a most apposite reply to their affectionate address. They presented a considerable sum of money for Peter's Pence.

7. By a Royal Decree, dated Florence, March 4th, 1871, the following Roman Convents are seized on by the Government, as a first instalment :—

1st. *Santa Maria in Vallicella*, oratory and house of the Fathers of St. Philip Neri.

2nd. *Santi Dodici Apostoli*, Convent of Franciscans, Minor Conventuals.

3rd. *SS. Silvestro e Stefano in Capite*, Convent of the Poor Clares.

4th. *San Silvestro in Monte Cavallo*, house and garden of the Fathers of the Mission (Vincentians).

5th. *Santa Maria delle Vergini*, Convent of Augustinian Nuns.

6th. *Sant' Andrea della Valle*, house of the Teatines.

7th. *Santa Maria sopra Minerva*, head house of the Dominican Fathers.

8th. *Sant' Agostino*, Convent of the Augustinian Fathers.

8. The *Agenzia Stefani*, the great telegraphic agency of Italy, invented an allocution of the Pope, supposed to be delivered at the Consistory of the 6th of March. The telegraphic summary was copied into all the Catholic papers of the provinces, not excluding the well conducted *Unita Cattolica*. This last concludes a scathing article against this base trick, in the following terms.

"There was no consistory at the Vatican, but only a private Council of the Cardinals to provide for several vacant sees. And Pius the Ninth did not utter a word. And yet the *Agenzia Stefani* not only gave us the summary of the pretended allocution, but added that it was drawn up by three Jesuits. We purpose consulting our legal adviser, to see if we have grounds for an action against the *Agenzia Stefani*. But for the present we may remark that now it is plain to all that the Catholic world may be deceived by the actual rulers in Rome. Several foreign journals copied the telegram; and the responsibility of it falls upon the government that allowed

it to go abroad. Which means this, that it is in the power of Lanza, Gadda, and the like, to tell the universe that the Pope has said so and so, when he has preserved complete silence. Can this state of things last? Is the government of the Church possible, when the Pope suffers such a cruel imprisonment?"

9. Among the Bishops precognised by the Holy Father, on the occasion of this pro-consistory, we are happy to find the Rev. James Rickard, D.D., appointed Bishop in the Vicariate Apostolic of the Eastern District, South Africa; Rev. George Conroy, D.D., Bishop of Ardagh; Rev. Hugh O'Rorke, Professor in St. Patrick's, Maynooth, Bishop of Clonfert, and Rev. James MacDevit, Professor in All Hallows College, Bishop of Raphoe.

10. The Festival of our glorious Apostle St. Patrick, was this year attended with unusual honours in Rome. The Cardinal Vicar of Rome, Cardinal Patrizi, issued an *Invito Sacro* or Pastoral Notice to the People of Rome, relative to Ireland's festival. He mentioned that "Ireland was justly proud of her Apostle, which merited through his labours the title of the Island of Saints; and which through centuries of trial still preserves the fruits of his Apostolic zeal, and the memory of his example." He reminds the Roman people that the Festival of St. Patrick, preceded by a devout Triduum will be celebrated, in the Church of S. Agata a Monti attached to the Irish College, and adds that the Holy Father grants a Plenary Indulgence on the Feast, and an Indulgence of seven years and quarantines for each attendance at the Triduum.

11. The riots which took place in the Piazza and Church of the Gesù, on the 9th and 10th March, have attracted so much attention that we deem it requisite to give a detailed and impartial account of these sad occurrences. The *Pall Mall Gazette*, in a Roman correspondence copied into the *Saunders's News-Letter*, of Dublin, has put in circulation a multitude of falsehoods, that would not be easy to overtake at this distance. However, in order that we may appear impartial, we select the history of these riots from the revolutionary Journals of Rome, principally two, *La Libertà*, edited by a Jew, and subsidized by the Italian Government, and *L'Italia Nuova*, a rabid Anti-Catholic Paper. *La Libertà*, in its number of the 10th of March, traces the origin of the disturbances that occurred at the Gesù, on the day previous, to the fact of some young Liberals, in National Guard uniform, entering the church, behaving disrespectfully during the sermon of Father

Tommasi, and expressing aloud their disapprobation of some principles advanced by him ; whence, on leaving the church, an altercation arose between these young nationals, and a few pious Catholics. Words and blows followed on both sides, and the police had to interfere. "We cannot," adds the *Liberta*, "but disapprove of National Guards going to the sermon in uniform, or being permitted to mark their disapprobation of the words used by the preacher." The *Nuova Roma*, of the 12th, blames the Liberal party for "provoking the Clericals by their exclamations of dissent during the course of the sermon." Notwithstanding that the Liberal party were thus blamed for *provoking* the disorders of the 9th, they resolved to continue them on the 10th. The *Liberta* of the 11th again speaks:—"To-day again fresh disorders at the Gesù. Two of our staff, eye-witnesses, give the following report. The sermon of Father Tommasi was no way extraordinary ; it was on confession, and he made no allusion whatsoever to politics. The church was less crowded than usual. Meanwhile, groups of young men, known for their liberal opinions, were gathering in the Piazza, and the streets adjacent, until, about the conclusion of the sermon, quite an unusual crowd had formed." The *Italia Nuova* of the 12th, adds : "These young men were armed with sticks ; they were not in uniform, and waited patiently outside the Gesù from eleven o'clock. It is certain that the Questor knew full well what was in the wind, because he already sent an increased police force, and some carbineers ; and orders had reached the 62nd regiment, quartered in the adjoining convent, to hold themselves in readiness. Immediately after twelve, the sermon being over, the congregation began to leave the church, the great majority being *caccialepri* (an opprobrious epithet for the Catholic young men of Rome), armed with sticks. Their adversaries who waited for them outside, commenced to hiss them, and close round them, until coming within reach of each other, a vigorous onslaught with the sticks was made by both sides. The police promptly intervened, and the carbineers succeeded in separating the combatants, forcing the *caccialepri* to re-enter the church, and warning off their adversaries. The troops arrived at this moment, and were placed at the disposal of three Delegates of Public Security, who ordered them to clear the Piazza, and leave a free passage for the people to leave the church. This, however, was a slow process. The bugle was sounded repeatedly, the usual intimations given, and the bayonet charges ordered, however we have not to deplore any killed or wounded : the advances

with fixed bayonets were made more for formality than else. Seven or eight were arrested because they did not disperse when summoned. But in the church, the officials of the Questor arrested eleven or twelve *suspected* persons, and carrying sticks. It was rumoured that arms were also found, but I cannot confirm that rumour, *not having seen any*; I saw about twenty sticks, more or less formidable looking."

From this information, derived exclusively from hostile sources, we may infer as follows :—

1st. That the disorders of the 10th, were a revenge for the insult of the 9th, provoked by the Liberals themselves.

2nd. That the Liberals were armed with sticks to attack, and the Clericals for defence.

3rd. That Father Tommasi's sermon had no reference to politics.

4th. That the Liberals "*began*" to hiss and close around the Clericals.

5th. That the troops entered the church, and, leaving the crowd to fight outside, arrested within the sacred edifice eleven or twelve "*suspects*," Catholics of course.

6th. That the Clericals had arms, but nobody saw them.

7th. That the troops charged with the bayonet, but only for formality sake.

8th. That the Questor was fully informed of the intentions of the Liberals, but made no effort to prevent their being carried out.

If we add to all this, the courageous exploit of arresting at the foot of the High Altar a priest celebrating Mass, clad in the sacred vestments, and with the chalice in his hand, we may be able to form some idea of what the Italian Government mean by moral order, and guaranteeing the liberty of the Church. We give the priest's report, as drawn up by himself :—

"On Friday, the 10th inst., the Lenten sermon being concluded, I, the undersigned, Ordinary Chaplain at the Church of the Gesù, according to custom, went to the High Altar to celebrate the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass. Continuing the Holy Sacrifice, I was very much distracted by the disturbance, the cries, and the clash of weapons, every moment increasing within the church; and I discovered that the soldiers had even entered the sanctuary, and were upon the very steps of the altar; and I was better enabled to observe this when I turned round to give Holy Communion to some of the faithful, and found I could not descend from the altar, while the faith-

ful could with difficulty approach the last step of the altar to receive Holy Communion. Then I saw soldiers of every description with pistols, sabres, and guns, who ordered the devout persons assisting at the Holy Communion to retire and leave the Church. Seized with Catholic zeal, I turned to the soldiers who were round me within the sanctuary, and told them to go back, because that was not the proper place for them, and that they were all excommunicated. When mass was concluded, with the chalice in one hand, and my biretta in the other, wishing to return to the sacristy, and not being able to do so from the crowd of soldiers that surrounded me, I begged them to allow me to pass, but no one moving, I was obliged to open a way with the hand in which I held my biretta. Laid hold of by the chasuble, and stopped at the door leading from the high altar to the sacristy, I was told that I was under arrest, whilst I had yet on the sacred vestments. On my declining to lay aside the sacred vestments before speaking with the Superior of the church, a National Guard said—*‘Let us tie him just as he is, dressed like Pulcinella, and lead him handcuffed through Rome.’* A delegate answered that that could not be done. The same fellow rejoined—*‘Oh yes, let us take him as he is, because he has eaten that . . . . .’* (I cannot write it). One of the Royal Carbineers (I believe an under officer because of the braid on his arm) turning to me said—*‘That he would put the handcuffs not only on me, but also on that hangman Pius IX., and drag him through all Rome.’* One of the delegates asked me if I wished to put on a citizen’s dress, and I refused, saying that I was not ashamed of my habit. Thus, escorted by a delegate and a municipal guard, I was brought to Monte Citorio, and, after three hours delay, was interrogated by Questor Berti. He dismissed me, making me wait another half hour in an ante-room, and then politely told me I could return home, adding, that the Catholic party (the forty-six of the plebiscite) would do well to be moderate and have more prudence, and cease to insult those of the opposite party.

“D. RAFFAELE COLALTÌ, Chaplain at the Gesù.”

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# MONASTICON HIBERNICUM,

OR,

## A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE ANCIENT MONASTERIES OF IRELAND.

[N. B.—The text of the “Monasticon” is taken *verbatim* from Archdall: the notes marked with numbers are added by the Editors.]

### COUNTY OF CORK.

*Kilcrea*,<sup>7</sup> five miles west of Cork, in the barony of Muskerry.  
*Nunnery*; St. Cyra, or Chera,<sup>23</sup> was abbess here; where her  
feast is celebrated October 16th.<sup>2</sup>

*Franciscan Monastery*; was founded in this town under the

<sup>7</sup> *The Earls of Clancarty had a strong castle here.*    <sup>2</sup> *Calendar.*

Continuation of Note 22, p. 292.

from yourself? You shall have a place of resurrection on the brink of the sea said Senan, but I fear the tide will take away your remains. I fear not, said she; for my hope is in the Lord God, and I have confidence in your great sanctity that you will put a protection over my body. The holy virgin was standing on the water, and her *Trosdan* under her bosom as if she had been on the dry land all this time while Senan was conversing with her, and at last Senan permitted her to come in on the brink of the island, and Cannera scarcely reached the island alive. Senan then went into the church and brought communion and sacrament with him to Cannera, and she then died and was buried in the strand on the south side of the island, where her grave is. Any person in the state of grace who goes to the stone which is over her grave, and who prays there with fervent piety, beseeching her intercession with the Trinity for him, if he be going on sea, he will return by the grace of God, and he will not be drowned in any part of the world.”—*Life of Saint Senan*. *O’Looney, MS., C.U.I.*, chap. 5, pp. 30, 31; see also *Book of Lismore*, fol. 64, l. a.

<sup>23</sup> *Cill Chera*. The following passage from an account of the Saints of Erin in “*Leabhar Breac*,” in the Royal Irish Academy, p. 21, col. 4, mentions this place, and preserves the names of some of the ancient churches and distinguished saints in this part of the country:—

“Nine persons of the race of Conaire, *i.e.*, Senach, son of Coirill, and Eolaing, from Athbii Bolc in Muscraídh Mittaine, and Odran, from Lathrach Odran in Muscraídh Tire; these are the three *seniors* of the race of Conaire.

“Creschad from Cill Chera, Gobinait, the sharp-beaked *Caillech* (nun), from Buirnech (Mourn) in the boundary between Muscraídh Mittaine and Eoganacht Locha Lein, and Sciath, daughter of Meachair, in Fert Sceith in Muscraídh Aeda; these are the three virgins of the race of Conaire.

“Lachtain of Achad Ur, and of Aie Cind Chaille in Ossory, and from Bealach Abrath, in Sliabh Cain, Finan Cam Chind Ettig, in the boundary of Ely and Fer-cell; Senan of Inis Cathaigh; these are the three candles (luminaries) of the race of Conaire.

“Nine persons of the race of Conaire,  
By learned persons called  
Three candles, three seniors, three virgins,  
Commemorated by the learned sages.

“These are the three seniors  
Who spoke with Christ in conversation—  
Senach, son of Cairill, without tribulation,  
Eolaing, and Odran.

invocation of St. Brigid by Cormac M'Carthuigh, the Great, Prince of Desmond, in the year 1465.<sup>a</sup> He was murdered by Owen his brother,<sup>b</sup> and was buried here in the middle of the choir, with the following inscription on his tomb :

Hic jacet Cormacus fil. Thadei, fil. Cormaci, fil. Dermitii magni M'Carthy, Dnus. de Musgraigh Flayn ac istius conventus primus fundator. an. Dom. 1494.<sup>c</sup>

Thomas O'Herlihy, bishop of Ross, was interred here in 1579,<sup>d</sup> and the Roman Catholics repaired this house in 1604.<sup>e</sup>

A great part of this building still remains, with the nave and choir of the church ; on the south side of the nave is an handsome arcade of three Gothic arches, supported by marble columns, more massive than those of the Tuscan order ; this arcade continues to form one side of a chapel, being a cross isle. In the choir are some old tombs of the family of Clancarty, &c. The steeple, a light building about eighty feet high, and placed between the nave and choir, is still entire, and supported by Gothic arches. From the gateway, on either side, to the high road, are high banks entirely formed of human bones and skulls, which are cemented together with moss : besides these, and great numbers strown about, there are several thousands piled up in the arches, windows, &c. The river Bride runs near this ruin. The lands were granted to Lord Muskerry, but after the wars of 1641, Oliver Cromwell gave them to Lord Broghill.<sup>f</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Act. SS., p. 15. <sup>b</sup> War. Annal. <sup>c</sup> War. Mss., vol. 34, p. 164. <sup>d</sup> War. Bps. p. 589. <sup>e</sup> Smith, vol. 2, p. 101. <sup>f</sup> Smith, vol. 1, p. 210, 211.

“ These are the three *Cailechs* (nuns)  
Who freely gave their love to Christ—  
Ciarascach, Gobinait, with devotion,  
And Sciach, daughter of Meachair.

“ These are the three candles  
Who saved middle Munster—  
Lachtain, the fair, the good instructor,  
Finan Cam, and Senan.

“ Senan of Sliabh Luimnigh, who is not weak,  
Lachtain from Bealach Abrath,  
With the King of the elements, a deed not concealed,  
And Finan-Cam-Chind-Ettig.

“ They are alike in state with the King of Heaven,  
Alike their right and their family,  
Alike the union they have consummated  
In heaven and on earth,” &c., &c.

The seven sons of Torben, son of Nuachadh, *i.e.*, Lilan, from Ath-na-Ceall, on the brink of Abhan Mor (Blackwater) ; Silen and Cellan, from Ath-na-Ceall also ; Senan Liath, from Cill T-Senain Leith ; Trian, from Domnach Mor Muscraidhe Mittaine ; Mochoba, from Lismore ; Crocho, from Cill Crochan, in the boundary of Leix and Ossory ; Lachtain, from Achad Ur, in Aes Chind Chaille, in Ossory also. The seven daughters of Torben were, Coirsech, Cersech, Sodelb, Cellsech, from Ath-na-g-cell, &c., &c., &c.

*Kilcruimthir*,<sup>24</sup> near the city of Cluainchollaing, or Kilchuile, in Hy Liathain, the modern barony of Barrymore. St. Abban built a church here and died in a respectable old age A.D. 650. St. Cruimtherfraech gave his name to this church and is honoured there.<sup>b</sup> This place is now unknown.

*Kilfeacle*; or the church of the Tooth, so called from a tooth of St. Patrick, that was preserved there. We cannot find any circumstance on record respecting this abbey, but that St. Beoan of Cluainfiachul, in Muscragia, was a disciple of St. Patrick's.<sup>i</sup> This place is also now unknown.

*Killabraher*; or the Church of the Brotherhood; a ruined monastery between Churchtown and Liscarol, in the barony of Kilmore; it is uncertain to what order it did belong.<sup>k</sup>

*Killeigh*; a small village four miles from Youghal, in the barony of Imokilly.

St. Abban, who died A.D. 650, built an abbey at Killachadh conchean, and made the holy Virgin, St. Conchenna, abbess of it.<sup>l</sup>

*Kil Na Marbhan*; or the Church of the Dead; near Briggoban, or Brigown, in the barony of Clongibbon. This church was also founded by St. Abban.<sup>m</sup>

*Kingsale*; in the barony of Kerrycurry and Kinallea, is a corporation town, sending two burgesses to parliament, and is well known for its excellent harbour and strong fortifications.

*Priory of Regular Canons*; St. Gobban, a disciple of St. Ailb, was patron of the monastery of Kingsale;<sup>n</sup> and in the sixth century we meet with St. Began of Kinnsaile. St. Senan lies buried here: he presided over the Church of Cluan, between the mountains Crot and Mairge, in Munster.<sup>o</sup>

*White Friars*; we have no information about the foundation of this house; but Stephen Prene, the prior of it, obtained, in the year 1350, a quarter of land in Lischan from Robert

<sup>b</sup> *Act. SS.*, p. 615, 623. <sup>i</sup> *Tr. Th.* p. 181. <sup>k</sup> *Smith*, vol. 1, p. 326. <sup>l</sup> *Act. SS.*, p. 632. <sup>m</sup> *Id.*, p. 527. <sup>n</sup> *Id.*, p. 750. <sup>o</sup> *Id.*, p. 573.

<sup>24</sup> *Kilcruimthir* was situated about a mile and a-half north of Fermoy, on the old road to Ballyhindon Castle; it is now an old ruin and burial ground. It was the parish church of *Hi Maoile Machaire*, in the ancient territory of Fermoy. See note under *Fermoy*.

The genealogy of St. Cruimthir Fraech, from whom this place has its name, is thus preserved in *Leabhar Breac* in the Royal Irish Academy, p. 16, col. 4:—Cruimthir Fraech, son of Carthach, son of Nedi, son of Onchon, son of Findloga, son of Find Fir, son of Causcrach, &c.

The following passage from an ancient Irish life of St. Aban, mentions this and other churches in the same country:

"And Aban then returned into the territory of Corca-Duibhne, and he blessed Bourneach and he gave it to Gobnait; and he blessed Cill-Aithfe, on Magh Conchon, and he gave it to Fionnan, and Fionnan foretold the coming of Aban many years before he was born. He blessed *Cul* [Cill] *Cullainge* and Brigobann, and Cill Cruimthir and Cill na Marbh, and he blessed Cluain Aird Mo Beococ, and Cluain-Fionnglaise, and he left Beccan in it; and he left the office of the Holy Church in every church of them."—*Life of St. Aban*. O'C., MS., C.U.I., p. 54.



Fitz-Richard Balrayne.<sup>p</sup> Part of the ruins of this monastery still remain in the north end of the town.<sup>q 25</sup>

*Legan*; there was a monastery here, of which John de Comp-ton was prior in the year 1301.<sup>r</sup> We have no other account of it, but that, at the suppression of religious houses, the prior of St. John in Waterford was found to be seized of this priory.

*Lueim*; there was a monastery here, of which the only account we have is, that it was situated near the city of Cork, and that David de Cogan was patron in the year 1318.<sup>s</sup>

*Maur*, see *Carigiliky*.

*Middletown*; <sup>t</sup>a market and borough, pleasantly situated in the barony of Imokilly. An abbey was founded here A.D. 1180, by the Fitzgeralds; <sup>u</sup>or, according to others, by the family of Barry; <sup>w</sup>it was supplied with monks of the Cistercian order from the abbey of Nenay, or Magio, in the county of Limerick, and was called the abbey of St. Mary of Chore, or of the Chore of St. Benedict.<sup>x</sup>

Donald was abbot of this house, and was succeeded by Robert, who governed the abbey A.D. 1309.<sup>y</sup>

1476. Gerald, bishop of Cloyne, appropriated several vicar-ages to this abbey.<sup>z 26</sup>

*Monanimy*; is seated on the river Blackwater, in the

<sup>p</sup> War. Mss., vol. 34, p. 108. <sup>q</sup> Smith, vol. 1, p. 227. <sup>r</sup> King, p. 141. <sup>s</sup> Id., p. 142. <sup>t</sup> Was called by the Irish *Castre ni chora*. <sup>u</sup> War. Mon. <sup>w</sup> Allemande. <sup>x</sup> War. Mon. <sup>y</sup> King, p. 376. <sup>z</sup> War. Bps., p. 563.

<sup>25</sup> *Cluain*. This is probably the place referred to in the following passage of the Irish life of St. Findbarr:—

After St. Barra had built the church of Achadh Duirbchon, near Cuas Barra, he crossed the Abhan Mor to Cill-Cluana, and he built a church there, and remained there for some time, till two pupils of St. Ruadan of Lothra, *i.e.*, Cormac and Baoithin came to him, and soon after Ruadan himself came to him there. After this, Ruadan's pupils came to ask him for a place for themselves, and Ruadan said to them, "Go forth to where the tongues of your bells will sound, and it is in that place your resurrection will be on the last day, and remain in that place. They then went forth till they reached Cill Cluana (the Church of Cluain), where Barra was, and the bells sounded there, and the clerics became very much disheartened, as they did not expect to get this church or place. Barra saw this, and said to them, "Be not disheartened," said he, "for I will give up this church and all the wealth and property that belong to it, to God and to you;" and so Barra gave his church to them, and the above-named clerics remained in that church. And Barra built twelve churches more after this before he came to Cork, and gave them all in charity and love of God. And he was then led by the angel to where Cork is to-day, where he settled down in the seat of his resurrection."—*O'Curry, MS. C. U. I.*

<sup>26</sup> *Middletown*; The Inquisition given in the text thus commences in the copy of R. I. A.:—Inquisition the Tuesday next after the nativity of the Virgin Mary, 31st Henry VIII., finds the abbot was seized of the abbey, dormitory, cloister, chapter-house, an hall, &c.

Inquisition 3rd May, 1612, finds that Sir John Fitz Emund Gerrald, knight, was, at his death, seized of this monastery, and of the possessions thereunto belonging, containing three carucates of land, and of an hundred acres of land in this county, and Coglebane, one carucate. A mill on the River Awnye Corrg.

Inquisition 26th January, 17th Elizabeth, finds that the castle and townland of

(To be continued.)

## THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

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MAY, 1871.

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MACCHIAVELLI.

(Continued).

IN the last Number of the RECORD we endeavoured to trace the personal and political career of Macchiavelli ; the present paper will deal with his writings, which have, indeed, made his name widely known, whether favourably or otherwise, our readers must decide for themselves when they shall have finished the perusal of this notice.

The works of the Florentine diplomatist may be divided into two classes, viz., those treating *ex professo* of politics, and those which are purely literary. The former have made him famous ; the latter are known only to the "*virtuosi*" in literature, and the most that can be said of them is, that they prove him to have been a man of some literary taste. We shall dispose of the minor works first, and purpose doing so very briefly, devoting the greater portion of our paper to Macchiavelli's political treatises, and the soundness of the views put forward in them.

Macchiavelli was not only a writer of prose, but of poetry as well. His poems must be regarded, however, as the productions of a licentious and irreligious young man, who was vain enough to think he might attain a high position in the world of letters by employing his talents in a field which had been already cultivated with distinguished success by many of his countrymen, under the patronage of the Medici at Florence, and of Leo X. at Rome. Of their claim to a place in *Italian* literature we cannot presume to speak, having never read them except through the medium of a French translation. But the learned historian, Roscoe, who had read them in the original, thus pronounces his judgment on the subject :—"Of the poetical works of Macchiavelli in his native tongue, several

pieces remain, which are distinguished rather by vigour and conciseness of expression, than by poetical ornament."<sup>1</sup> Nor could it well be otherwise; for Macchiavelli, though a vigorous word-wielder in prose, and possessed of a sharp, clear intellect, was yet of too cold and frigid a disposition ever to become a successful votary of the Muses. He lacked both fancy and imagination; and, if we are to credit Roscoe (*loc. cit.*), his verses lacked the grace of harmony as well.

If we except his correspondence with Vettori and some other friends, the prose works of Macchiavelli—at least such of them as deserve special notice—may be reduced to three, viz., the "Discourses on Livy," "The History of Florence," and "The Prince."

The first-mentioned is a commentary on the first decade of Livy, in which the author, taking for his theme the principal facts recorded in the pages of the great Roman historian, furnishes us with his own views on the origin of civil power, and the means by which sovereignty may be acquired, and its possession secured to the ruler. The work is, in truth, nothing else than a foreshadowing of those pernicious doctrines embodied at a later period in "The Prince," and when treating of that celebrated composition we shall have occasion sometimes to allude again to the "Discorsi sù Tito Livio."

The history of Florence, in eight books, comprises the transactions of that state from its origin in 1205 to the death of Lorenzo the Magnificent in 1492. The commencement of the work, describing the origin of the Italian sovereignties, is well written, combining the clearness of Livy with the terseness of Tacitus, and would well repay the labours of the historical student. Whoever would read even these chapters, must, however, be constantly on his guard against the poisonous maxims of a false philosophy, which here and there lie hid as wasps in a garden of flowers. In the *Storie Fiorentine*, as in all Macchiavelli's other works, the reader is at once struck with the intimate acquaintance he manifests with history, and more particularly with that of ancient Rome and of the Italian states. He scarcely ever treats of any event without illustrating it with one or more facts drawn from history, and from a combination of apparently similar facts producing similar results, he draws conclusions which he would seem to regard as infallible for the guidance of men's actions in the future. We may call this "the Macchiavellian system of the philosophy of history," and it has been praised by some writers who, we suspect, knew far more of romance

<sup>1</sup> See Roscoe, *Life of Leo X.*, vol. ii., p. 493, note 47 (Ed. Bogue).

than of history, or philosophy either. Thus, the elder Disraeli, in that very curious work, *The Curiosities of Literature*,<sup>1</sup> writes, "Macchiavel seems to have been the first writer who discovered the secret of what may be called *comparative history*. He it was who first sought in ancient history for the materials which were to illustrate the events of his own times, by fixing on analogous facts, similar personages and parallel periods. . . . His profound genius advanced still further; he not only explained modern by ancient history, but he deduced those results or principles founded on this new sort of evidence, which guided him in forming his opinions." We by no means object to the system of the "Philosophy of History." On the contrary, we believe history philosophically studied, to be a true and a grand science, if that study be carried out on true principles, not based on sophistry. We have read more than once—and to read was to admire—Bossuet's magnificent *Discours sur l'Histoire Universelle*, which is generally admitted to be the most perfect practical *exposé* of the philosophy of history extant. We know that the Catholic Church has spread her protecting ægis over this study, and we know by our own experience that in Rome, the centre of Catholic unity, and the fount of Catholic truth, many months of the scholastic year, in every seminary, are spent by the students of history in learning the true principles on which this science is based. But we *do* most strenuously object to the system of Messrs. Macchiavelli and Disraeli—a system which would banish God and providence from the world, and leave everything to blind chance. In reply to the remarks of these *soi-disant* philosophers we shall cite the words of Frederick Von Schlegel,<sup>2</sup> who thus corrects the supporters of the Macchiavellian doctrines—"He who regards everything in humanity, and the progress of humanity, in a mere natural or rationalist point of view, and will explain everything by such views; who, though perhaps not without a certain instinctive feeling of an all-ruling Providence and a certain pious deference for its secret ways and high designs, yet is devoid of a full knowledge of, and deep insight into, the conduct of Providence—he to whom the power of evil is not clear, evident, and fully intelligible; he will ever rest on the surface of events and historical facts, and satisfied with the outward appearance of things, neither comprehend the meaning of the whole, nor understand the

<sup>1</sup> See page 444 of "The Curiosities of Literature" (Ed. Routledge).

<sup>2</sup> He who wishes to study this question would do well to read Schlegel's truly admirable 1st Lecture in "The Philosophy of History," which serves as an introduction to the entire work.

import of any part. But the matter of greatest moment is to watch the spirit of God, revealing itself in history, enlightening and directing the judgments of men, saving and conducting mankind, and even here below admonishing, judging and chastising nations and generations; to watch this spirit in its progress through all ages, and discern the fiery marks and traces of its footsteps. This threefold law of the world, these three mighty principles in the historical progress of mankind—the hidden ways of a *Providence* delivering and emancipating the human race—next, the *free-will of man* doomed to a decisive choice in the struggle of life, and every action and sentiment springing from that freedom—lastly, *the power permitted by God to the evil principle*, cannot be deduced as things absolutely necessary, like the phenomena of nature, or the laws of human reason. It is only when we have gone very deeply into the varied and complex nature of the circumstances of any age, and examined in their manifold bearings those historical phenomena which attend or produce the critical turning points, the decisive eras of history, that we can clearly discover the spiritual elements—the great ideas which lie at the bottom of a mighty revolution in society. In every other abstract science, an exception from the rule appears a contradiction; but in the science of history, every real exception serves but the better to make us comprehend and judge the rest.”<sup>1</sup> We shall leave our readers to decide for themselves whether the views of the English novelist and panegyrist of Macchiavelli, or those of the German philosopher, merit best the attention of a Christian who would study the philosophy of history.

We now come to consider Macchiavelli's most famous work, “The Prince.” It was composed at his country house (or, rather cabin, for he himself styles it “*tugurio*”) of San Cassiano, about eight miles from Florence, whither he had retired when the government in whose employ he had been had fallen by the restoration of the Medici to power in September, 1512. In this famous composition the author aims at setting forth his views regarding the different kinds of sovereignties, and the principles which should regulate the conduct of princes in governing their states. In the eleven first chapters he treats (a) of the different kinds of principalities, and the means by which they are acquired; (β) of hereditary principalities; (γ) of mixed principalities; (δ) how principalities should be governed; (ε) of new principalities acquired by foreign aid or good fortune; (ζ) of those who have attained sovereignty by their crimes; (η) of civil principalities; (θ) of ecclesiastical principalities. In chapters 12, 13, 14, he treats of military governments, and of

<sup>1</sup> See “The Philosophy of History,” by Frederick Von Schlegel. Lecture xv.

the duties of a prince towards his soldiers, and of their duties in return towards him. From chapter the sixteenth to the end of the treatise he discusses the various qualities of princes, and the duties incumbent on them. Such as, "Of liberality and economy;" (ch. xvi.) "Of cruelty and clemency; and whether it is better to be loved than feared;" (ch. xvii.) "Whether princes ought to be faithful to their engagements;" (ch. xviii.) "That it is necessary to avoid being hated and despised;" (ch. xix.) "Whether fortresses and some other things are really of service to a prince;" (ch. xx.) "How a prince ought to avoid flatterers;" (ch. xxi.) "Of ministers;" (ch. xxii.) "By what means a prince may become esteemed;" (ch. xxiii.) "How far fortune influences the things of this world; and how far she may be resisted;" (ch. xxv.) "Exhortation to deliver Italy from foreign princes (ch. xxvi.).

From the headings of the chapters which we have given, it will be perceived at a glance that the author's purpose when writing *The Prince*, was

1. To describe, according to his views, the nature of different governments.
2. To point out how supreme power might be obtained in a state.
3. To teach by what means the possession of power might be secured to any particular prince or family.

Before we proceed to treat of Macchiavelli's views on these subjects, or to discuss the arguments by which he strives to support them, we must bring one or two preliminary matters under the notice of our readers.

A question which has given rise to no little controversy is this:—in writing *The Prince*, was Macchiavelli sincere? Did he really mean that sovereigns should put in practice the atrocious maxims which he inculcates in that book? In a word, was he actuated by good or bad motives when he deliberately sat down after his game of "Cricca," at San Cassiano, to pen the pages of *The Prince*?

Some writers have maintained that Macchiavelli in writing "Il Principe" was actuated by an excellent motive, viz.—that of deterring princes from the commission of crime, by painting it in all its odious deformity. Thus one of his most warm apologists in the "Elogii Toscani" writes—"If it be contended that this work is fit for the perusal of all sovereigns, as well legitimate as usurpers, and that he intended to give an eulogium on tyranny, he can neither be defended nor excused. But how can it be thought possible that Macchiavelli, who was born under a Republic, who was employed as one of its secretaries, who performed so many important

embassies, and who in his conversation always dwelt on the glorious actions of Brutus and Cassius, should have formed such a design."<sup>1</sup> And Lord Bacon<sup>2</sup> writes, "Our thanks are due to Macchiavelli, and to similar writers, who have openly and without dissimulation, shown us what men are accustomed to do, not what they ought to do."

Now we would be pleased indeed could we only persuade ourselves that Macchiavelli was actuated by such good motives, when he composed his "Prince." It is not only permitted, but laudable, nay even sometimes *necessary*, to paint vice in its most odious colours, in order to deter men from committing it. Juvenal is sometimes exceedingly coarse in describing Roman licentiousness, but any intelligent reader of his satires can perceive at a glance that he detested those vices which he so graphically describes. The great Apostle of the Gentiles in some of his Epistles, more particularly in that to the Romans, occasionally describes, in rather strong language, the vices of his age, but he distinctly informs us that his object in so doing is to rebuke, not to encourage them.

This being premised, we proceed to enunciate two propositions, of the truth of which we hope to convince our readers:—

I.—That the motive which Lord Bacon and others attribute to Macchiavelli in writing *The Prince* is irreconcilable with the established canons of criticism.

II.—That in the treatise *The Prince*, Macchiavelli *meant what he said*; and intended the maxims there laid down to serve for the guidance of Lorenzo de Medici in his political conduct. Let us come to proofs.

(a)—If Macchiavelli seriously meant the description of political profligacy contained in *Il Principe* to excite solely feelings of horror and disgust, why, we ask, did he not state so plainly "a limine?" or at least why not give his readers some clue by which they might discover that such was his real purpose? for the relations of mankind, whether domestic, social, or political, are of too sacred a character to be lightly trifled with, or treated of in ambiguous terms. Yet, (b)—Macchiavelli not only *does not* disavow such principles as those he inculcates in *The Prince*, but a tone of emphasis runs

<sup>1</sup> Vide Elogii Toscani iii. 89.—The defence set up for Macchiavelli in the text is exceedingly weak. His entire life, as detailed in the last "RECORD," shows that he could be either a Despot or a Red Republican, just as it suited his interest, and perhaps the very best answer to the argument given above, can be found in Macchiavelli's own words. "If I taught princes how to be tyrants I taught the people how to slay them."

<sup>2</sup> "De augment. scient." vii. In. op. iii. 137,

through the entire work which clearly indicates that he entirely approves of them. Nay more (c)—the principles which he inculcates in *The Prince* had been previously advanced in the *Discourses on Livy*, and he even sometimes refers to the *Discourses* for the further elucidation of the meaning of some passages in *The Prince*. Ex. gr., compare the “Discorsi su Tito Livio,” iii. 42, and *Il Principe*, cap. 18, in both of which identically the same principles are laid down regarding the question “Whether a Prince ought to be faithful to his engagements.” Compare also the “Discorsi,” lib. ii., cap. 13, and *Il Principe*, cap. 18. Now who, we ask, will be rash enough to assert that the “Discorsi” were not penned by Macchiavelli in downright sober earnestness?

(d)—Again, Macchiavelli's intimate friend, Biaggio Buonaccorsi, in a letter to Pandolfo Bellucci, thus writes of *The Prince*:—“I send you a little work lately published by Niccolo Macchiavelli, in which you will find described with brevity, but with great clearness, all the qualities incidental to principalities, the methods of preserving them, the failings to which they are liable, with *accurate observations upon history, ancient and modern, and many other most useful features, from all of which, if you read the book with your wonted attention, you will derive great benefit.*”<sup>1</sup> From this extract it is quite evident that Buonaccorsi did not regard Macchiavelli's work as a satire, but as a *bona fide* code of instruction for princes; and knowing the Florentine statesman *intimately* as he did, Buonaccorsi must be at least a tolerable interpreter of his sentiments.

(e)—But perhaps the most conclusive proof of all, and one which will, to our mind, incontestibly establish at once *both* our propositions, may be drawn from Macchiavelli's dedicatory epistle to *The Prince*, addressed to Lorenzo de Medici, and which, notwithstanding its length, we here subjoin in full, because of its importance.

“*Niccolo Macchiavelli, Citizen and Secretary of Florence, to the Most Magnificent Lorenzo de Medici.*”

“Those who court the favour of princes generally present them with whatever they possess that is most rare, curious, or valuable, as horses, armour, embroidered cloths, precious stones, &c., according to the dignity of the personage they seek to propitiate. For my part, my anxiety to present myself to the notice of your Highness, with the best proof of my devotion, has not enabled me to discover anything that I esteem more or account so valuable as a knowledge of the

<sup>1</sup> See Baudin. monumen. ined., in prae. 37.



actions of celebrated men—a knowledge acquired by a long experience of modern times, and a diligent perusal of the ancients. *The observations which I have made with all the accuracy, reflection, and care of which I am capable, are contained in the small volume now addressed to you.* And although I have not the vanity to deem it worthy of your acceptance, yet I feel persuaded that your goodness will not refuse the offering, since it is impossible to present you with anything more valuable than a work which will place before you, in a small compass, all the experience I have acquired during many years of continual meditation and suffering in the school of adversity.

“You will find in this fragment, neither a glowing and lofty style, nor any of those meretricious ornaments, with which authors seek to embellish their works. Its interest must depend upon the *importance of the subject, the solidity of the reflexions, and the truth of the facts recorded.*

“It will, perhaps, appear presumptuous in me, a man of humble birth, to propose rules of conduct to those who govern; but as the painter, when about to sketch a mountain in our country, places himself in the plain, and in order to draw the scenery of a vale, ascends an eminence, even so, I conceive, that a person must be a prince to discover the nature and character of a people, and one of the people to judge properly of a prince.

“I am, therefore, bold enough to hope that *you will* accept this feeble tribute, in reference to the intention with which it is offered; and if you condescend to read it with attention, you will have evidence of *my ardent desire to see you fill with glory those high destinies to which fortune and your splendid talents have called you.*

“If, from your elevated position, you should condescend to look down on a person in my lowly station, you will see how long and how unworthily I have been persecuted by the extreme and unrelenting malevolence of fortune.

“NICCOLO MACCHIAVELLI.”

Such is the dedicatory epistle prefixed by Macchiavelli to “The Prince;” and we unhesitatingly ask any candid reader, whether, after having perused it, he will not join with us in asserting that it was the author’s object in this treatise, to teach princes how to acquire and retain power by *fair means or foul*, and that he was impelled to its composition by a desire to ingratiate himself with the Medici family, and obtain some position under them in the Government of Florence.

We now proceed to examine what those principles are which Macchiavelli proposes for the adoption of princes, if they would secure power, and retain it. They may all be summed up in this one sentence—THE END JUSTIFIES THE MEANS. A prince ought not hesitate to commit the most heinous crimes—to violate the most sacred promises—to trample on the most unequivocal rights—to sanction the most flagrant injustice, provided power can thereby be obtained and secured.

Such is an epitome of the principles laid down by Macchiavelli, for the guidance of princes; and if we only succeed in establishing, by extracts from “*Il Principe*” itself, that we have impartially represented the spirit of that work, we presume our readers will join with us in affirming that the name of Macchiavelli ought to be consigned to eternal infamy. Let us come to proofs:—

First of all, in chapter xv. of the Prince we find this general principle laid down—“*A prince who wishes to maintain his power, ought to learn that he should not be always good, and must use that knowledge as circumstances and the exigencies of his own affairs may seem to require.*” This, we take it, is but a more explicit form of expressing the idea that *the end justifies the means*.

Hence, true to this general principle, we find Macchiavelli advocating:—

(a) *Murder and cruelties*, of the most atrocious description, whenever they may serve to work out one’s projects. Thus (“The Prince,” chapter viii.), after narrating the many murders, cruelties, and crimes, perpetrated by Agathocles, a Sicilian, who, in ancient times, usurped the throne of Syracuse, and similar enormities committed about the time at which he wrote, by Oliverotto da Fermo, he proceeds to defend both these monsters, on the ground that their crimes were expedient, or, as he himself naively puts it, *well-applied*, and sums up thus: “*Whence I conclude that the usurper of a state should commit all the cruelties which his safety renders necessary at once, that he may never have cause to repeat them.*”

Again, in the same work (chap. xvii.) we find this very remarkable but characteristic passage—“*When a prince is at the head of his army, and has under his command a multitude of soldiers, he should make little account of being esteemed cruel; such a character will be of use to him, by keeping his troops in obedience, and preventing every species of faction.*”

Everyone who has read anything of history is acquainted with the infamous character of Cæsar Borgia. Should any-

one wish to read it sketched by a master hand, let him consult the first volume of the *Life of Leo X.* by Roscoe. Borgia was simply a lawless bandit, whose hands were red with the blood of his victims, whose days were spent in murder and rapine, and whose nights were passed in shameless debauchery. And yet this is the model which the Florentine secretary would propose to princes for imitation. Thus, he writes in chap. vii. of *The Prince*—"If we examine the whole conduct of Borgia, we shall see how firm a foundation he laid for future greatness. This examination will not be superfluous; *for I know no better lesson for the instruction of a prince than is afforded by the actions and example of the Duke,*<sup>1</sup> for if the measures he adopted did not succeed, it was not his fault, but rather owing to the extreme perversity of fortune!" And again, towards the close of the same chapter, he writes—"Upon a thorough review, therefore, of the Duke's conduct and actions, I cannot reproach him with having omitted any precaution; and I feel that he merits being proposed as a model to all who by fortune or foreign arms succeed in acquiring sovereignty." Whence it follows, in the judgment of Macchiavelli, that to be a model prince one must be a model villain.

(b.) *The observance of treaties, good faith,* and such matters, are treated with the greatest contempt by Macchiavelli. He would have his model prince shun them as a something defiled. This is how he treats the subject in chap. xviii. of *Il Principe*—"Now, as a prince must learn to act the part of a beast sometimes, he should make the fox and the lion his patterns. The first can but feebly defend himself against the wolf, and the latter readily falls into such snares as are laid for him. From the fox, therefore, a prince will learn dexterity in avoiding snares; and from the lion, how to employ his strength to keep the wolves in awe. But they who entirely rely upon the lion's strength, will not always meet with success; *in other words, a prudent prince cannot and ought not to keep his word, except when he can do it without injury to himself, or when the circumstances under which he contracted the engagement still exist.*" Lest anybody might be inclined to suppose that this sentence was penned inadvertently by Macchiavelli, that worthy man proceeds to inform us in the very next paragraph, that the sentiment just quoted is his deliberate conviction, for he adds, "I should be cautious in inculcating such a precept if all men were good; but as the generality of man-

<sup>1</sup> Caesar Borgia was commonly known among his contemporaries as Duke Valentino.

kind are wicked and ever ready to break their words, a prince should not pique himself in keeping his more scrupulously, especially as it is always easy to justify a breach of faith on his part."

(c). *Cunning* is, next to force, the great *piece de resistance* in the Macchiavellian system. In the "Discourses on Livy" (lib. ii., chap. 13) he writes thus, "I do not think there is a single instance on record of a man, who, from an obscure station, arrived at great power by the single means of avowed and open force; but I have seen others succeed by *cunning* alone, as, for instance, John Galeazzo de Visconti, who wrested the sovereignty of Lombardy from the hands of his uncle Bernardo. What princes are *obliged* to do in the commencement of their career, republics *ought* continually to practise until they are powerful enough to be able to conquer by force alone; and as Rome, to aggrandise herself, adopted every method by chance or choice, she also practised the political system of deception."

Again, in giving instructions to Raphael Girolami on his appointment as ambassador to the Emperor, Macchiavelli writes to him thus, "It is undoubtedly necessary for the ambassador occasionally to mask his game; but it should be done so as not to awaken suspicion, and he ought always to be prepared with an answer in case of discovery." In chap. xviii. of *The Prince* we find these remarkable sentences, "I could show numberless engagements and treaties which have been violated by the treachery of princes, and that *those who enacted the part of the fox, have always succeeded best in their affairs. It is necessary, however, to disguise the appearance of craft, and thoroughly to understand the art of feigning and dissembling; for men are generally so simple and so weak, that he who wishes to deceive easily finds dupes.*"

(d). *Conscience* must be a very pliable article in Macchiavelli's model prince, for in chap. xviii of "*Il Principe*" we find this doctrine laid down, "I maintain that a prince, and especially a new prince, *cannot with impunity exercise all the virtues because his own self-preservation will often compel him to violate the laws of charity, religion and humanity. He should habituate himself to bend easily to the various circumstances which may from time to time surround him. In a word, it will be as useful to him to persevere in the path of rectitude, while he feels no inconvenience in doing so, as to know how to deviate from it when circumstances dictate such a course.*" But though Macchiavelli would not advise his prince to be over-scrupulous, yet he counsels him to put on the *appearance* of piety: and

(e) *Hypocrisy* must be a leading feature in his character, for in the xviii. chapter of *The Prince* we find this sentence, "*He*

(the Prince) *should make it a rule above all things never to utter anything which does not breathe of kindness, justice, good faith, and piety—this last quality it is most important for him to appear to possess, as men in general judge more from appearances than from reality.*"

We could fill several pages with such extracts, but *cui bono*? The specimens which we have given are, we believe, quite sufficient to induct our readers into a knowledge of the code of political ethics laid down in *The Prince*, and will serve also to give some insight into the character of the famous author of that work. It would be interesting and instructive to review the practical working of the Macchiavellian system of politics. This system has been largely adopted by modern statesmen, and however it may have seemed to prosper for a while, it has invariably ended in failure. The first French empire had its Macchiavelli; everything seemed prosperous for a while, but the system was radically rotten, and St. Helena can tell the final result. The second French empire followed, to some extent, in the track of the first, and the exile of Chiselhurst is in a position to state his views regarding the soundness of that policy. The rulers of the kingdom of Italy have been most devoted adherents of the Macchiavellian system, and a bankrupt exchequer, a discontented population, and a government powerless to enforce law at home or respect abroad, testify to the success of the experiment. Spain has had her Macchiavelli, and the anarchy which has distracted that unhappy country for the past three years, proves that there as elsewhere the system has been fraught with evil. Germany has her Macchiavelli; to-day she is elated with successes which surpassed even her most sanguine expectations. But let her beware, for the day may not be very far distant which may see the victorious Teutons of 1871, craving peace from some stronger and equally unscrupulous power. No! the political system of Macchiavelli is based on iniquity, and can bring nought but evil in its train.

We should extend this paper beyond its just limits were we to discuss further at present the evils of this policy. We purpose, however, returning to the subject in our next number.

W. H.

## LETTERS OF BALMEZ.

## XVII.—THE BEATIFIC VISION.

MY ESTEEMED FRIEND—The concluding words of my last letter have induced you, I see, to ask for some explanation about the beatific vision, because you have never been able, you say, to form a clear idea of what we understand by this sovereign felicity. I am undoubtedly glad to have my attention called to this point, which does not produce in the mind the painful impressions, with which some of those examined in other letters afflict us. In a word, felicity is in question, and this can cause only one unpleasant sensation, viz. : the fear of not attaining it.

As far as I see, you do not comprehend “how a simple knowledge can constitute perfect felicity, and yet the intuitive vision of God can be nothing else. It cannot be denied the exercise of our intellectual faculties affords us some enjoyments; but it is also certain that these require the concurrence of sentiment, without which they are cold and severe as reason, from which they spring.” You wish “that we, Catholics, would note this characteristic of our mind, which, though it comes at objects by means of the understanding, does not intimately unite itself to them, so as to produce enjoyment, till sentiment steps in to realise that mysterious expansion of soul, through which we adhere to the object perceived, and establish an affectionate compenetration between it and us.” These words of yours are true at bottom, inasmuch as they require, for the felicity of an intellectual being, a union of love, besides the intellectual act. Be the object known what it might, it would never make us happy if we contemplated it with indifference. I unhesitatingly admit that the soul would never be happy, if on knowing the object which is to make her so, she did not love it. Without love there is no felicity.

But though your doctrine is true at bottom, it is applied very inexactly and inopportunately, when you try to found on it an argument against the beatific vision, as taught by Catholics. We make eternal blessedness consist in the intuitive vision of God ; but we do not thereby exclude love, but on the contrary hold that this love is necessarily bound up with the intuitive vision. And theologians have gone so far as to dispute whether the essence of blessedness consisted

in the vision or the love ; but all agree that the latter is a necessary consequence of the former. It is easily seen it is a long time since you threw away mystic books and treatises on religion, when you think to improve the Christian felicity by that philosophical sentimentalism, which is far from rising to the pure sphere of the love of charity which Catholics admit, imperfect in this life, and perfect in the next.

The *simple knowledge* of which you speak, when treating of the intuitive vision of God, makes me suspect you do not comprehend what we mean by intuitive vision, but confound this act of the soul with the common exercise of the intellectual faculties as experienced in this life. Allow me, then, to enter on some philosophical considerations about the different ways in which we can know an object.

Our understanding can know in two ways : by intuition, and by conceptions. We have a knowledge of intuition when the object is presented immediately to the perceptive faculty, without necessity for combinations of any sort to complete the knowledge. In this operation the understanding limits itself to the contemplation of what is before it : it does not compose, nor divide, nor abstract, nor apply, nor do anything but *see* what it has present. The object, as it is in itself, is given to it immediately, is presented to it with all clearness ; and though the operation terminates objectively, and in this sense exercises the activity of the subject, it also influences the latter, mastering and investing it with its intimate presence.

Knowledge by conception is of a different nature. The object is not given immediately to the perceptive faculty : the latter occupies itself with an idea, which, in a certain way, is the work of the understanding itself, which has formed it by combining, dividing, comparing, abstracting, and sometimes running over the long chain of a complicated and troublesome process of reasoning.

Though I am sure the profound difference there is between these two classes of knowledge will not escape your penetration, still I will render it clear by an example within the comprehension of the whole world. Intuitive knowledge can be compared to the *sight* of objects : but the knowledge acquired by conceptions is like the idea we form by means of descriptions. Being a lover of the fine arts, you must have a thousand times admired the treasures of some museums, and read the description of others which were not within your reach. Do you discover no difference between a picture *seen* and one *described* ? Immense, you will tell me. The picture seen displays its beauty to me at a flash ; I do not require to use my productive powers, it is enough for me to look ; I do not

combine, I contemplate ; my mind is rather passive than active ; and if it exercises its activity in any way, it is to expand itself constantly under the pleasing impressions it receives, as plants gently open under the soft influence of the vivifying atmosphere. In the description, I require to collect the elements given me, to combine them conformably to the conditions marked out, and so elaborate the aggregate of the picture, but imperfectly and incompletely, suspecting all the time the difference there is between the idea and the reality—a difference which strikes me instantaneously, as soon as an opportunity presents itself, of viewing the picture described.

This example, though inexact, gives us an idea of the difference there is between these two classes of knowledge, and shows us the distance between the *knowledge* and the *vision* of God. In the former we have united in one conception the ideas of a being necessary, intelligent, free, all-powerful, infinitely perfect, the cause of all things, and the end of all : in the latter the divine essence will be immediately presented to our mind, without comparisons, without combinations, without reasonings of any sort. Intimately present to our understanding, it will master and invest it ; the eyes of the soul cannot be directed to any other object, and then we shall purely and ineffably experience that *affectionate compenetration*, that intimate union of seraphic love, described with such magnificent touches by some of the saints, who, filled with the divine spirit, felt in this life a presentiment of what they were soon to experience in the mansions of the blessed.

You must allow me to tell you, I wondered to find you did not feel the beauty and sublimity of the Catholic dogma concerning the felicity of the saved. Prescinding from all religious considerations, what can be imagined more grand or elevated than to constitute supreme happiness in the intuitive vision of the infinite Being? If this idea had sprung from some philosophical school, there would not be tongues enough to praise it. The author of it would be the philosopher *par excellence*, worthy of apotheosis, and of having incense burned to him by all lovers of the sublime. The vague idealism of the Germans—that confused sentiment of the infinite that breathes in their enigmatical writings—that tendency to confound everything in a monstrous unity, in an obscure and unknown being, which is called absolute ; all these dreams, all these ravings, meet with admirers and enthusiasts, and profoundly move some men's minds, simply because they touch on the grand ideas of unity and infinity ; and can no claim be laid to admiration and enthusiasm by the teaching of the Catholic



Church, which, while it represents God as the beginning and end of all existences, displays him to us in a particular manner as the object of intellectual creatures, like an ocean of light and love in which all those shall be submerged who shall have deserved it by the observance of the laws that have emanated from His infinite wisdom? Is not the august dogma which represents to us all spiritual beings as drawn from nothing by an all-powerful word, and endowed with an intellectual spark, the participation and image of the divine intelligence, through which, while dwelling for a short time on one of the globes of the universe, they can merit being united with the Being that created them, and living afterwards with Him in intimacy of knowledge and love for all eternity, worthy of admiration and enthusiasm, even if regarded as a simple philosophical system?

If this is not grand—if this is not sublime—if this is not worthy of exciting admiration and enthusiasm, I know not in what, sublimity and grandeur consist. No philosophical sect—no religion, has conceived such an idea. It may well be said, the first words of the catechism contain infinitely more wisdom than is to be found in the most lofty conceptions of Plato, surnamed the *divine*. It is lamentable that you who boast of being philosophers should treat with levity mysteries so profound. The more one meditates on them the stronger grows the conviction that they could have emanated from infinite intelligence alone. In the midst of the shades which surround them—through the august vales that cover their ineffable depths from our view, we discover rays of purest light suddenly bursting forth and illumining heaven and earth. During the happy moments in which inspiration descends on the brow of mortals, treasures of infinite value are discovered in that which the sceptic disdainfully regards as the miserable pabulum of superstition and fanaticism. Do not allow yourself to be mastered, my dear friend, by those low prejudices which cloud the intellect and clip the wings of the mind; meditate profoundly on religious truths: they do not fear examination, for the harder the proof is to which they are subjected, the more complete is the victory they are certain to achieve.

I am, &c., &c.,

J. B.

## ST. AIDAN, BISHOP AND PATRON OF FERNS.

(Continued.)

AS the *Breac Moedhog* preserves to us the memory of St. Aidan, so another shrine, called the *Soiscel Molaise*, has come down to us a memorial of his friend St. Molaise, of Devenish. This venerable work of early Irish art, now preserved in the Royal Irish Academy, derives its name from the Irish word for gospel (*i.e.*, *soiscel*, pronounced "seeshkel"), because it formerly contained a copy of the Gospels, which for centuries was cherished with religious reverence in the monastery of Devenish, as written by, or belonging to, their great founder St. Molaise. "It is a small box or *cumdach* (writes Miss Stokes), of yellow mixed metal, such as that made to hold the gospel of St. Moling, or the Book of Dimma, in Trinity College Library, Dublin. The date of this reliquary, if so it may be called, can hardly be of a period later than the close of the tenth century. The inscription<sup>1</sup> which it bears, proves that it was executed for the use of Cennfailad, who died early in the eleventh century, as we are told in the Annals of the Four Masters, A.D. 1025—'Cennfaeladh, son of Flaithbheartach, successor of Molaise of Daimhinis, died.'<sup>2</sup> The shrine was preserved by the family of O'Meehan, in the county of Leitrim, who for more than 500 years were representatives, *i.e.*, *comharbas*, of St. Molaise in Devenish. Mr. Meehan, so late as the year 1845, still held the reliquary in his possession. . . . The ornamental portions consist of plates of silver, with gilt patterns, riveted to the bronze box. . . . On one side of the case is seen a robed ecclesiastical figure, holding an object, believed by Dr. Petrie to be a pastoral staff of a very ancient form. Details are revealed, however, by the magnified photograph, which would rather lead us to believe it to be the aspersion in use in the present day in the service of the Roman Catholic Church. A book is held in the other hand. This figure was probably intended to represent St. Molaise himself. The chasuble worn by this ecclesiastic was evidently embroidered. The design upon it would appear to have been palm leaves. The vesture round the neck, giving

<sup>1</sup> The old Irish inscription is still legible, and fixes the date of this shrine with an accuracy which is seldom attainable in the monuments that have come down to us from the early ages of our Church. It has been thus translated by O'Donovan and Petrie:—"A prayer for Cennfailad, the comharb of Molaise, by whom this case was made; and for Gillabaithin, the artificer who made these ornaments."

<sup>2</sup> The Annals of Ulster (ad. an. 1025) give the same entry—"Cennfaeladh, son of Flaithbertach, successor of Molaise of Devenish, fell asleep in Christ."

the appearance of a collar cut in *Vandykes*, is also interesting, and unlike anything we have hitherto seen."<sup>1</sup>

In the life of St. Molaise, it is recorded that though himself wholly devoted to deeds of self-denial and penance, yet he was generous to others, and lavish of hospitality to the pilgrims who flocked to his monastery. Hence, St. Cuimin, of Connor, wrote of him :—

“ Molaise of the lakes loves  
To be in a prison of hard stone ;  
To have a guest-house for the men of Erin,  
Without refusal, without a particle of churlishness.”

Among those many pilgrims were the sons of Declan, who, being requested by St. Molaise to write a copy of the Gospels for him, executed that task in the space of two days and one night, the night being illumined as though it were day through the grace of the saint.<sup>2</sup> Some have supposed that this is the copy of the Gospels which was handed down in the monastery of Devenish, and from which the *Soiscel Molaise* derives its name.

There is, however, another missal, or portable copy of the Gospels, referred to in the life of the Saint, which seems to be pointed out by the ancient compiler as the MS. which was thus held in special veneration at Devenish. St. Molaise arriving in Rome, the city gates, which happened to be closed at the time, were opened at his prayer. It soon reached the ears of the Pontiff that “a wonderful holy cleric of the Gaedhil had arrived.” St. Molaise was accordingly summoned to the presence “of the Abbot of Rome,” who welcomed him and invited him “to say a Mass in presence of the whole community of Rome.” At the appointed time St. Molaise proceeded “to the great altar of Peter in Rome (thus runs the narrative in the ancient life): the altar was prepared in his presence, but no Mass-book was upon it, and no *cruise*,<sup>3</sup> and no bell. Molaise having meditated for awhile, said that he never celebrated Mass without these three things; and forthwith they were sent from heaven upon the altar through his prayers; the Mass-book was not large, and was subsequently called the *soiscel*, and it alone of the three articles Molaise consented to accept of after he had completed the office.

<sup>1</sup> Stokes, “On two Works of Ancient Irish Art, &c.” See page 18.

<sup>2</sup> MS. Irish Life of St. Molaise, in Royal Irish Academy.

<sup>3</sup> I retain the original Irish word, as its meaning has not been as yet clearly defined. Mr. Hennessy translates it *goblet*, in which sense it might, perhaps, indicate a *chalice*; but it seems to me rather to correspond with the Latin *crux*, and to mean a crucifix.

Molaise said he would only have the *soiscel bec* (i.e., the small book of the Gospels), whereupon the Pope said *soiscel bec* shall be its name, and therefore it is called the *soiscel bec* of Molaise. He remained in Rome, and wrote there the rules and laws that were necessary for Erinn. On his return home he found before him the bell and *cruise*; and, though thrice he sent them back to Rome, they were each time miraculously returned to him. Some of the relics that he brought from Rome were deposited in the little *reilig* (i.e., cemetery) of Devenish, to which, in consequence, great privileges were attached."<sup>1</sup>

As the year 571 is the latest date that can be assigned for the death of St. Molaise,<sup>2</sup> we may safely assert that his journey to Rome, and his visit to St. Aidan, and consequently the foundation of St. Aidan's religious establishment in Ferns, must be registered in the Pontificate of Pope John the Third,<sup>3</sup> and not later than 570.

Ferns had long been one of the royal seats of the Kings of Leinster; and when St. Aidan founded his religious establishment there, he received from these devoted princes every aid in his mission of piety and charity. Colman, son of Cairbre, King of Leinster, died in 576, and was succeeded by Brandubh, son of Eathach, of the race of Cathair-Mor, who during his long reign of 28 years, proved himself the constant friend and patron of our saint. In 593 Leinster was invaded by Cumasgach, son of the Monarch of Ireland, who, without receiving any provocation, ravaged the territory around Baltinglass (where Brandubh then resided): he, however, was soon put to flight, and, near the Church of Kill-Rannairech,<sup>4</sup> was slain by the adherents of the Leinster King. The armies of Ulster were at once mustered to avenge the death of Cumasgach, and being led in person by the Monarch himself, threatened to lay waste the whole of Leinster. It was on this occasion that St. Aidan encouraged Brandubh to go forth fearlessly to repel the unjust invasion. As we read in his ancient life,<sup>5</sup> he said to the king, "many saints have served

<sup>1</sup> M.S. Irish Life in Royal Irish Academy.

<sup>2</sup> The Annals of Ulster, ad an. 563, have the entry "The death of Laisre of Damhinish," but, ad an. 570, they give a second entry, "or in this year the repose of Molaise of Daimhinish." *Daimhinish*, in Latin *Bovium insula*, is situated in Lough Erne, near Enni-killen and is still remarkable for its Round Tower. St. Molaise, founder of this monastery, was son of Nadfraich, and his festival is kept on 12th September.

<sup>3</sup> Pope John III. sat in the chair of St. Peter. from A.D. 560 to 573.

<sup>4</sup> *Kill-Rannairech*, now Kilranelagh, is situate near Baltinglass, in the county of Wicklow.

<sup>5</sup> "Ait vir Dei: multi sancti servierunt Domino in terra vestra; ite vos forti animo ad certamen et nos omnes ibi erimus vobiscum." *Vita*, cap. 60.

God faithfully in thy territory ; go forth, therefore, courageously to battle, and we will all be there in spirit to aid thee with our prayers in the combat ;” and the life adds, that throughout all that night, St. Aidan continued at his church in prayer, imploring, with arms stretched out, the blessing of God on Brandubh. The decisive battle was fought in 498, at Dunbolg (*i.e. Fort of the sacks*), which is described as situated south of Hollywood, and not far from the Church of Kil-belat (now Kilbaylet), near Donard, in the county Wicklow. The victory of Brandubh was complete, and the monarch Aedh himself, with many of his chieftains, was slain. The ancient tract called the *Borumha-Laighean*, tells us that when the northern army had advanced as far as Baltinglass, St. Aidan, who was half-brother of the monarch Aedh, went forward in the name of Brandubh to solicit an armistice that, in the mean time, the terms of peace might be arranged ; he however was treated with insult by Aedh, wherefore departing from the hostile camp, he prophesied the ruin and death which should soon be the lot of the ill-fated monarch. The same tale also relates that it was our saint who planned the stratagem to which Brandubh was indebted for his victory. Three thousand six hundred oxen, carrying provision hampers in which armed men were concealed, were conducted towards the place where the troops of Aedh were encamped ; they were at once seized and driven within the camp, when the armed men, at a given signal, threw off their disguise, and gained an easy victory over their astonished enemy. All this time Aidan was in the church absorbed in prayer, and more to his intercession than to the valour of the troops, Brandubh ascribed his brilliant success. A poem was composed on this occasion by St. Aidan, of which the first strophe is preserved in the Annals of the Four Masters:—

“ I implore the powerful Lord : near Cill-Rannairech  
It was he that took revenge of Comasach, and slew Aedh  
Mac Ainmirech.”

It was on this occasion that the king bestowed upon St. Aidan the royal seat of Ferns, its banqueting halls and champions' apartments, its woods and hunting grounds and other lands, all to be devoted to the service of God. A council of the bishops and chieftains of Leinster was also convened, by whom it was unanimously resolved that the archiepiscopate of Leinster should thenceforth be held by Aidan and his successors.

Such an election by the bishops of Leinster was quite

in accordance with the disciplinary code that prevailed at this early period in the Irish Church. As yet, none of our metropolitan sees had been definitively fixed by Rome, but it was deemed expedient, not to say necessary, for the maintenance of discipline, and for the observance of the canonical decrees, that in each province there should be at least one bishop enjoying pre-eminence, and invested with quasi-metropolitan jurisdiction. The MS. "*Liber Canonum*," drawn up as an ecclesiastical code of laws for Ireland before the year 700, expressly sanctions such an election of a metropolitan by the decree of his brother bishops, and it cannot surprise us if, as in the case of St. Aidan, the bishops of the province should be desirous to have their decree sanctioned and confirmed by the temporal authority.

On one occasion, when returning with an immense booty from the northern districts of Ireland, Brandubh was met by a poor leper who asked an alms for the love of God. The king at once bestowed on him a good milch cow, and recommended himself to the prayers of the poor man. Soon after, being encamped on the banks of the Slaney, he was seized with a grievous malady, and seemed, in a vision, to be carried down to the very gates of hell. All the demons were assembled there awaiting their prey, and one fiery dragon rushed forth to devour him. At that moment a comely and joyous priest cast between the dragon and the king the cow which had been bestowed on the poor leper; and, when a second time the dragon rushed on towards the king, the same priest smote the dragon with his staff and put him to flight. The king narrated this vision to his attendants, and recovering somewhat, proceeded to a place called Inver-Graimchin, where again his illness increased. There he was reminded by his attendants of the many miracles performed by Aidan, and how water blessed by him restored many that were sick to perfect health. Wherefore, Brandubh set out to visit the saint, and meeting him near the monastery, cried out, this is the holy priest whom I saw in my vision saving me from the dragon that would devour me; and prostrating himself before Aidan, he confessed his evil deeds and prayed him to impose a salutary penance for the blessing of his soul. At the prayers of the saint his bodily health was also restored to him, and then the king gave to Aidan many presents for the poor, and decreed that himself and his race should be interred in the monastery of Aidan. The ancient writer adds: "to this day Brandubh and his descendants are interred in Ferns."

One of the tributary chiefs of Leinster, named Saran, jealous of the power of Brandubh, and availing himself of the

free access to his presence permitted by that monarch, assassinated him in his royal residence. Thus, adds the chronicler, was the pious king cut off without confession, and without the divine viaticum. St. Aidan hearing this, was filled with grief, and, weeping, foretold that the hand would wither which had thus murdered "the defender of the churches of the kingdom, and the protector of the widow and the poor." The prophecy was fulfilled: and St. Aidan coming to the place where the deceased king lay, offered fervent prayers, and by the power of God restored him to life. But the king said: "I pray thee, father, do not detain me on earth, if through thy prayers the gates of heaven may be now open to me." The saint was rejoiced at these pious dispositions of Brandubh, and the holy viaticum being administered, and prayers being said, the king once more closed his eyes in peace, and his remains were interred in the cemetery at the monastery of Aidan.<sup>1</sup> As for the murderer, seeing what had happened, he was moved with sorrow for his wicked deeds, and coming to the sepulchre of Brandubh, led there a most penitential life in fasting and assiduous watching, till at length he heard a voice from the tomb saying: O, Saran! thou hast obtained mercy from God. He passed the remainder of his life in holiness, but the prophecy of Aidan was verified, that his right arm should be lifeless and withered till his death.

When St. Aidan proposed to build his chief monastery at Ferns, many of his disciples complained that there was no spring of water there to serve for their drink. But the saint directed them to cut down a tree which overshadowed the spot on which they stood, assuring them that they would find there an abundant supply of water. They did so, and a clear fountain gushed forth, which retains to this day the name of Tubber-Mogue, *i.e.*, the fountain of St. Aidan. It was whilst engaged in building this monastery of Ferns, that another miracle was performed by our saint, which continued long to exercise a salutary influence on the Ecclesiastical architecture of the nation. A church was to be erected, thus writes the ancient chronicler, but no builder could be found to guide the religious brethren in this work—wherefore, full of confidence in God, St. Aidan blessed the hands of an untutored man named Gobban;<sup>2</sup> from that moment he became most

<sup>1</sup> "Et tunc. accepto sacrificio, et facta oratione et data indulgentia, Rex Brandubh ad coelum migravit, et sepultus est honorifice in coemeterio Sancti Moedoc, quod est in civitate sua Fearna, ubi genus ejus, reges Laginiensium, semper sepeliuntur." *Vita*, cap. 47.

<sup>2</sup> "Confidens in Deo benedixit manus cujusdam ineruditi, nomine Gobbanus, et statim subtilissimus artifex est factus: postea summa arte illam Basilicam aedificavit." *Vita*, cap. 51.

skilled in all the intricacies of the art, and was able, in a most perfect manner, to complete the church of the monastery. His skill was subsequently shown in the erection of many other famous churches and monasteries, and he is known in the ancient historic tales and legendary poems of our island, as Goban Saer, *i.e.*, "Goban the builder." What was of still more importance, he combined sanctity with his architectural skill: his name is entered in our calendars among the saints of our early church, and it is, probably, from him that Cill-Gobban, now Kilgobbin, near Dundrum, in the county of Dublin, derives its name.

The erection of some of the most ancient of the Round Towers and other stone buildings of our island, is traditionally referred to this disciple of St. Aidan. A few passages from Petrie's *Round Towers* will serve to convince the reader of the important place held by St. Gobban Saer in the traditions of our early Church:—"The great church of Kilmacduagh," he says, "was erected about the year 610, for St. Colman Mac Duach, by his kinsman, Guaire Aidhne, King of Connaught: and the perfect similarity of the masonry of the tower to that of the original portions of the great church, leaves no doubt of their being cotemporaneous structures. In the popular traditions of the country, the erection of both is assigned to the Gobban Saer, and these traditions are not falsified by being at variance with the known period at which he flourished. The doorway of the tower of Glendalough has a perfect similarity of form and style of construction to that of the tower of Kilmacduagh; and it is not unlikely that both are the work of the same eminent builder with whose era the erection of the great church of Glendalough would very well synchronise. . . . It is remarkable, that though the foundation of the church of Antrim is ascribed, perhaps erroneously, to St. Mochaio, a cotemporary of St. Patrick, who died, according to the Irish annalists, in the year 496, the popular tradition of the country ascribes the erection of the tower to the celebrated builder called Gobban Saer, who flourished in the seventh century."<sup>1</sup> Again: "Nor can I think the popular tradition of the country is of little value, which ascribes the erection of several of the existing towers to the celebrated architect, *Gobban Saer*, who flourished early in the seventh century; for it is remarkable that such a tradition never exists in connection with any towers but those in which the architecture is in perfect harmony with the churches of that period, as in the towers of Kilmacduagh, Killala, and

<sup>1</sup> *Petrie*, "Round Towers," pp. 400 and 399.



Antrim. And it is further remarkable, that the age assigned to the first buildings at Kilmacduagh, about the year 620, is exactly that in which this celebrated Irish architect flourished. It is equally remarkable, that though the reputation of this architect is preserved in all parts of the island in which the Irish language is still spoken, yet the erection of the oldest buildings in certain districts in the south and west of Ireland is never ascribed to him, the tradition of these districts being, that he never visited or was employed on buildings south-west of Galway, or south-west of Tipperary."<sup>1</sup>

One of the principal churches or oratories for which Ireland was indebted to Gobban Saer was that erected at Tigh-Moling, now St. Mullin's, by St. Moling, successor of St. Aidan. I shall have occasion hereafter to speak more at length of this oratory. Dr. Petrie having made mention of it, adds: "its artificer was the celebrated St. Gobban, whose reputation as a builder, under the appellation of Gobban Saer, is still so vividly preserved in the traditions of most parts of Ireland, and of whom, in the ancient Life of St. Abban, as published by Colgan, it is prophetically said, that his fame, as a builder in wood as well as stone, will exist in Ireland to the end of time."<sup>2</sup> The ancient Irish Life of St. Abban makes known to us another great church in Leinster, constructed by the miraculous architect, Gobban Saer. This saint, it says, had travelled much in Munster and Connaught, and founded many churches in these provinces; at length he returned to his native province of Leinster, and decided on settling down for the future. "There was a distinguished builder (it thus continues), residing not far from St. Abban, and Gobban was his name; and it was his constant occupation to do the work of the saints in every place in which they were, until at length he lost his sight. St. Abban went to him to ask him to build a church for him. Gobban told him that it was not possible, because of his being blind. St. Abban said to him, you shall get your sight while you are doing the work, and it shall go from you again when you have finished the work: and so it was done, and the name of God, and of St. Abban, were magnified by this."<sup>3</sup> Eugene O'Curry conjectures that the church thus erected by St. Gobban, was situated in the eastern part of the Queen's County, in the barony of Ballyadams, and on the very boundary of Kil-

<sup>1</sup> *Petrie*, "Round Towers," page 343.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, page 343. "Quidam famosissimus in omni arte lignorum et lapidum erat in Hibernia nomine Gobbanus, cujus artis fama usque in finem sæculi erit in ea." *Colgan*, 'Acta,' page 619.

<sup>3</sup> *O'Curry*, 'Lectures,' new series, vol. 2nd, page 44.

dare, where there is a church and parish still called Killabban, *i.e.*, the church of St. Abban.

Before closing this notice of St. Gobban, I may mention that in the distant monastery of St. Paul, in Carinthia, a manuscript of the eighth century preserves a poem in his praise. After mentioning *Tuaim Inver*, "full-flowing with delicious food for noble feasting," it adds :—

"It was *Gobban* that erected there  
A black house of penance, and a tower :  
It was through belief in the God of Heaven,  
That the choicest towers were built.  
The house of the territory of *Feara Flecodh*  
The sanctuary of the Virgin<sup>1</sup> he built :  
Sweeter than the food of the garden,  
Is the reward in the portico of Heaven."<sup>2</sup>

St. Gobban Saer is often, too, commemorated in the poetic legendary tales of our Celtic Bards. Dr. Petrie was over credulous, however, when he received as sober facts, the statements of these legends: many of them are nothing more than tales of fiction ; and Eugene O'Curry, with wise discrimination, in his last volume of Lectures, considers that the only historic conclusions which may be deduced from them are the following : 1st, that his father's name was *Tuirbhi* : 2nd, that his family territory was situate on the sea coast, between the River Boyne and the Liffey : 3rd, that through Teige, the son of Cian, he was descended from the celebrated Munster King, Oilíoll Oluim. "This *Teige*, in the third century, settled in the territory which runs along the coast from the Boind, *i.e.* the River Boyne, to the River Liffey, where his descendants continued to rule as chiefs, until supplanted by the Danes in the ninth century ; and their chief descendants were, in latter times, represented in the family of *MacCormack*."

<sup>1</sup> *i.e.*, The Blessed Virgin, Mother of God. It is in a similar manner that the early Irish writers continually designate our Saviour as "*The Son of the Virgin*."

<sup>2</sup> See the Original Text in Curry's "Lectures," *loc. cit.* page 46.

## ON THE INDULGENCES OF THE ROSARY.

THE following questions have been proposed by a respected correspondent. We have much pleasure in answering them, and also in complying with the suggestion which he makes in his letter.

"Is it necessary to meditate on the mysteries in order to gain the indulgences of the Rosary? I am, of course, aware that the necessity of this meditation is laid down in almost all popular works of instruction on the subject, and that a decree of the Sacred Congregation, dated August 12th, 1726, is usually quoted in support of the statement. Yet it seems difficult to reconcile it with the manner in which these indulgences are mentioned in the official *Elenchus Indulgentiarum*, a copy of which is now sent from Rome to every priest who receives power to bless the rosary beads.<sup>1</sup> In that document, which must, of course, be regarded as having the highest authority on this subject, it is distinctly set forth that the Indulgences may be gained by those who *recite* the Rosary, just as in a subsequent clause it is stated that certain other Indulgences may be gained by those who recite certain other prayers which are specified—for instance, the Seven Penitential Psalms, the *Angelus Domini*, &c.

"In both clauses, the recitation of prayers is mentioned as sufficient for gaining the Indulgences. It is, undoubtedly, sufficient in the latter case. Is it not hard to suppose that in the case of the Rosary, other works of devotion are required in addition to it—certain acts of meditation to which the *Elenchus* does not make the slightest reference? Should we not rather suppose that the earlier decree has been abrogated by the publication of the *Elenchus*?

"Another difficulty. According to several decrees, the beads must be kept in the hands of the person who says the Rosary, each prayer being recited on its corresponding bead. Now this is plainly at variance with the words of the *Elenchus*, according to which the Indulgences are granted to those who recite the prayers—'Vel secum deferendo coronam, vel si quis secum non habeat, eandem in cubiculo vel alio decenti loco suae habitationis retinere et coram eis preces recitare debet.' Which of these authoritative instructions is to be followed?"

<sup>1</sup> *Indulgentiae quas Summus Pontifex vel ab eo delegatus benedicendo Coronas Rosarias, &c. impertitur Christifidelibus.* Romae, 1866.

Our correspondent, who considers that "there is scarcely one of the conditions usually set forth in books of instruction on the Rosary, regarding which it would not be easy to quote similar instances of decrees, at least apparently at variance with each other," concludes by suggesting that "an explanation of the various instructions and decisions relating to the Rosary, and a full statement of the conditions necessary for gaining the Indulgences attached to it would be both useful and interesting to many readers of the *IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD*."

The special difficulties mentioned by our correspondent arise from his having overlooked the distinction between the various classes of Indulgences granted to those who practise this devotion; and to the same cause, no doubt, may be ascribed most of the other difficulties to which he refers. For there are several distinct sets of these Indulgences, regarding each of which the Sovereign Pontiffs and the Sacred Congregation have issued special decrees, prescribing the conditions to be observed in each instance. And in almost every case it will be found that when these decrees differ in respect to the conditions prescribed, they are not in reality at variance with each other, but have reference to different classes of indulgences.

In order, then, to determine how any of the Rosary Indulgences is to be gained, it is obviously necessary to ascertain the class to which it belongs. And since this distinction, notwithstanding its manifest importance, is frequently unnoticed, and is rarely stated with sufficient prominence in popular works of instruction on the Rosary, it may be desirable, in the first instance, to enumerate all the Indulgences attached to this devotion, distinguishing the classes to which they belong, before proceeding, in compliance with the suggestion of our correspondent, to explain the conditions necessary for gaining them.

The Indulgences, then, which may be gained by the recitation of the Rosary are of six classes—(1) the Dominican, (2) the Brigittine Indulgences, (3) the Indulgences called Apostolic, (4) the Indulgence of the Vatican Council, (5) the Indulgences of the Confraternity, and (6) those of the Living Rosary.

I. The Dominican Indulgences. These are usually referred to when the Indulgences of the Rosary are mentioned without any qualification. They are as follows:—

## DOMINICAN INDULGENCES.

<i>Indulgence</i>	<i>Granted by</i>	<i>To those who</i>	<i>Can be gained on the usual conditions</i>
1. PLENARY	Benedict XIII., 13th April, 1726	Say five decades, once each day, for a year.	Once a year, on any day.
2. PLENARY	Pius IX., 12th May, 1851	Not being members of the Confraternity of the Rosary, are in the habit of joining in the recitation of five decades at least three times a week.	Once a month, on the last Sunday.
3. PARTIAL—100 days for each Our Father, and for each Hail Mary	Benedict XIII., 13th April, 1726	Say five decades.	Each time of recitation.
4. PARTIAL—10 years and 10 quarantines	Pius IX., 12th May, 1851	Join in saying five decades.	Each time of recitation.

It will be observed that whilst the partial Indulgences (3) and (4) can be gained by a person who says the Rosary even once, the habitual recitation of it is necessary for gaining the plenary Indulgences (1) and (2). For the first of these, granted by Benedict XIII., the Rosary must be said *every day*. The second, granted by his present Holiness, can be gained by those who are *in the habit* of saying it *three times a week*—"qui ter saltem in qualibet hebdomada . . . recitare pro more habuerint."<sup>1</sup>

There is also an important difference between the Indulgences granted by Pius IX. and those of earlier date. In the Brief of Benedict XIII., granting the Indulgences (1) and (3), no special manner of saying the Rosary is prescribed; but to gain the Indulgences (2) and (4) of Pius IX., at least two persons must *join in reciting* it: the words of the Decree are—"Christifidelibus . . . qui *conjunctim* recitaverint."<sup>2</sup> It is hardly out of place to notice here a slight inaccuracy in the manner in which this condition is stated in the Raccolta, where those Indulgences are said to have been granted to those "who in company with *others* recite," &c.—an expression which plainly implies that they are not gained when only two persons say the Rosary together.<sup>3</sup> Yet this case is, undoubtedly, included in the words already quoted from the Decree by which the Indulgences were granted.

<sup>1</sup> *Decret. S. C. Indulg.* Urbis et Orbis (12 Maii, 1851).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> In the original Italian the words are "in unione di *altri Fedeli*," "in unione di *altri*." *Raccolta di Orazioni e Pie opere*, ecc., p. 160, Romae, 1855.

Another difference between the terms of the Decree and of the statement in the *Raccolta* occurs in reference to the Plenary Indulgence (2) granted by his present Holiness. According to the *Raccolta* it is available for all the faithful ; but the concession, in the original Decree, is expressly limited to persons who are *not* members of the Confraternity of the Rosary :—"Iis fidelibus" are the words of the Decree, "*Sodalitati haud adscriptis*."<sup>1</sup>

Finally, it may be useful to observe, in reference to the partial Indulgence (4), that its extent is incorrectly stated in the English translation of the *Raccolta*.<sup>2</sup>

II. The Brigittine Indulgences, deriving their name from that of the Swedish Saint Birgitta, who devised the peculiar form of Chaplet, to which they were originally attached. They are as follows :—

BRIGITTINE INDULGENCES.

<i>Indulgence</i>	<i>Granted by</i>	<i>To those who</i>	<i>Can be gained on the usual conditions</i>
1. PLENARY	Clement XI., 22nd Sept., 1714	Say at least five decades once every day for a year.	Once a year, on any day.
2. PLENARY	Benedict XIV., 15th Jan., 1743.	Are in the habit of saying five decades once a week.	On the Feast of Saint Bridget (8th Oct.).
3. PLENARY	"	"	At the hour of death.
4. PLENARY	"	Are in the habit of saying five decades every day.	Once a month
5. PARTIAL—100 days for each Our Father and each Hail Mary. Also 100 days for the Creed when it is said.	Leo X., 10th July, 1515.	Say at least five decades.	Each time of recitation.
6. PARTIAL — Seven years and seven quar- antines.	"	Say the whole Rosary of fifteen decades.	Each time of recitation.

It may not be out of place to mention here three partial Indulgences, granted by Benedict XIV. (January 15th, 1743),

<sup>1</sup> The words of the *Raccolta* are "A quelli chi avranno il pio costume di recitare," *Ibid.*, p. 150. No reference is made to the important limitation mentioned above.

<sup>2</sup> "The present Sovereign Pontiff, by a decree dated May 12th, 1851, granted an Indulgence of *seven* years and *seven* quarantines," &c. *The Raccolta*. Authorised translation. London, 1857. The same error is reproduced in the later editions of this work. In the Italian text of the *Raccolta*, the Indulgence is correctly described—"Di *dieci* anni ed. altrettante quarantene."

which do not require the recitation of the Rosary, but can be gained by persons who perform certain other works of piety, *whilst carrying the Brigittine Beads.* They are:—

1.—An Indulgence of *forty* days to all who, at the tolling of the bell for a passing soul, kneel and pray for that soul.

2.—*Twenty* days to all who, being truly sorry for their sins, make an examination of conscience, and say three times the Our Father and Hail Mary.

3.—*A hundred* days to all who hear Mass (feast-day or feria): *or* assist at a sermon: *or* accompany the viaticum: *or* bring back a sinner to the way of salvation: *or* do any other good work in honour of our Lord, the Blessed Virgin, or St. Bridget, provided that they also say three times the Our Father and Hail Mary.

III. The Indulgences, usually called Apostolic. These are enumerated in the official *Elenchus* to which our correspondent refers. They are:—

#### APOSTOLIC INDULGENCES.

<i>Indulgence</i>	<i>Granted to those who</i>	<i>Can be gained on</i>
<b>I. PLENARY</b>	Say five decades at least once a week.	(1) Christmas Day, (2) The Epiphany, (3) Easter Sunday, (4) Ascension Thursday, (5) Whit Sunday, (6) Trinity Sunday, (7) Corpus Christi. (8) The Immaculate Conception <sup>1</sup> of B. V. M., (9) Her Purification, (10) the Annunciation, (11) Her Assumption, (12) Her Nativity. (13) The Nativity of St. John the Baptist. The Feasts of the Apostles—namely, (14) SS. Peter and Paul, 29th June; (15) St. Andrew, 30th Nov.; (16) St. James, 25th July; (17) St. John, 27th Dec.; (18) St. Thomas, 21st Dec.; (19) SS. Philip and James, 1st May; (20) St. Bartholomew, 24th Aug.; (21) St. Mathew, 21st Sept.; (22) SS. Simon and Jude, 28th Oct.; (23) St. Matthias, 24th or 25th Feb.; (24) the Feast of St. Joseph, 19th March, and (25) of All Saints, 1st Nov.

<sup>1</sup> This festival is not mentioned by Bouvier in his enumeration of these Indulgences. The omission arose from his having followed the *Elenchus* of Benedict XIV., which differed in this respect from those recently published. See, for instance, the *Elenchus* in Mgr. Prinzivalli's Authentic Collection, and in the *Raccolta*. In the English translation of the *Raccolta*, the list is, strange to say, given in its older form: the same error occurs in the *Directory of Holy Indulgences*, by the Rev. M. Comerford (Dublin, 1870).

APOSTOLIC INDULGENCES—*continued.*

<i>Indulgence</i>	<i>Granted to those who</i>	<i>Can be gained on</i>
2. PARTIAL—Seven years, and seven quarantines	Say five decades on any other Feast of our Lord or of the Blessed Virgin.	On the day of recitation.
3. PARTIAL—Five years, and five quarantines	Say five decades on any other Feast-day or Sunday throughout the year.	On the day of recitation.
4. PARTIAL — 100 days	Say five decades on any other day.	On the day of recitation.
5. PARTIAL — 100 days	Are in the habit of saying five decades, at least once a week.	On the day of recitation.

An important difference, not unfrequently overlooked, exists between these Indulgences and those previously enumerated. The Dominican, and most of the Brigittine Indulgences, are granted specially in favour of those who practise the devotion of the Rosary. Not so in this case. The Rosary is merely one of several works of piety, enumerated in the *Elenchus*, and the Indulgences may be gained by the performance of any of these, as well as by saying the Rosary. The terms of the concession are:—"A Plenary Indulgence to all those who recite—at least once each week—the Rosary or a third part of it, *or* the Divine Office, *or* the Little Office of the Blessed Virgin, *or* the Office for the Dead, *or* the Penitential or Gradual Psalms, *or who are in the habit* of teaching the catechism, *or* of visiting prisoners or the sick in an hospital, *or* of helping the poor, *or* of hearing Mass, *or* (in the case of priests) of saying Mass," etc.

The Partial Indulgences (2) (3) and (4), can also be gained by those who perform any of those good works. But the clauses regarding the other Partial Indulgence (5) are somewhat different. It is granted "to those *who are in the habit of saying* at least once a week the Chaplet, *or* the Office of the Blessed Virgin, *or* the Office of the Dead, *or* the Vespers, *or* one of the Nocturns, together with Lauds, *or who shall say* the Seven Penitential Psalms, with the Litanies and Prayers."

IV. The Indulgence of the Council. This is a Plenary Indulgence granted by His Holiness, on the 3rd of December, 1869. It can be gained *once a week*, until the close of the



Vatican Council, by all the faithful "who shall recite daily at least five decades of the Rosary, and who, being truly penitent, and having gone to confession and communion, shall make one visit in the same week to any church or public oratory, and there pray devoutly for the happy issue of the Council, and in accordance with the Pope's intention."<sup>1</sup>

V. The Indulgences of the Confraternity of the Rosary, the enumeration of which may be reserved until the conditions necessary for gaining the other Indulgences already enumerated, have been explained.

VI. The Indulgences of the Living Rosary granted by Gregory XVI.<sup>2</sup> It may be well to observe, that some doubts which have been raised as to the authenticity of these Indulgences, are altogether devoid of foundation. Those doubts were proposed some years ago by a Dominican Father Pradel, in a work published with the approbation of the Master-General of the Order of Preachers.<sup>3</sup> But the reasons which he puts forward, are exceedingly frivolous. He argues, for instance, that the authenticity of the Bull of Pope Gregory XVI. cannot be admitted, since it was not recognised by the Sacred Congregation of Indulgences! And again, that the Living Rosary falls under the prohibition of Benedict XIV., who forbade the introduction of other forms of the Rosary:—"Caetera quaecunque rosaria de novo invenienda:"—a difficulty which is completely removed by the subsequent clause, in which the prohibition is restricted to the *unauthorized* introduction of such devotions—"invenienda, sine apostolicae sedis facultate."<sup>4</sup>

A more plausible ground for doubting the existence of these Indulgences might, perhaps, have been found in the fact that they were not mentioned in the *Raccolta*, or in the authentic collections of Monsignore Prinzivalli and of Father Maurel. But their authenticity is now established beyond controversy, as they are inserted in the Appendix to the *Raccolta*, published under the express sanction of the Sacred Congregation of Indulgences.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Breve Apost. *Egregii* (3 Dec., 1869). See IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD, vol. vi., No. lxvi., March, 1870, page 284.

<sup>2</sup> *Continuatio Bullarii Romani*. Brev. Apost. *Benedicentes Domino*. Greg. XVI. (27 Jan. 1832.)

<sup>3</sup> *Manuel du tres saint Rosaire*, par R. P. Pradel. Paris, 1862.

<sup>4</sup> Some further information on this point will be found in a very useful manual, *The Rosary of the Blessed Virgin Mary*, by the Rev. John Ryan, D.D., Dublin, 1866.

<sup>5</sup> "Indulgentiae quae in appendice . . . concessae inscribuntur . . . cum authenticis documentis concordare repertae sunt." *Decr. S. C. Indulg.* (8 Maii, 1865.)

They are as follows, in addition to all the Indulgences which were granted by the predecessors of Gregory XVI. for the recitation of the Rosary :—<sup>1</sup>

INDULGENCES OF THE LIVING ROSARY.

<i>Indulgence</i>	<i>Granted to those who</i>	<i>Can be gained</i>
1. PLENARY	Are enrolled in the Association, observing the prescribed conditions.	Once—On the first festival after the day of enrolment.
2. PLENARY	Say the decade which has been assigned to them, unless hindered by some reasonable cause.	On the Feasts of Our Lord's Nativity, Circumcision, Epiphany, Resurrection, and Ascension ; Corpus Christi, Pentecost Sunday, Trinity Sunday ; all the Feasts of the Blessed Virgin ; the Feasts of SS. Peter and Paul, and of All Saints.
3. PLENARY	„	Once a month, on the third Sunday.
4. PARTIAL — Seven years and seven quarantines	Say their portion of the Rosary on the Sundays throughout the year ; and on festival days, including those feasts on which the hearing of Mass is no longer of obligation ; and during the octaves of Christmas, Easter, Corpus Christi, Whitsuntide, the Assumption, Nativity, and Conception of the Blessed Virgin.	On the day of recitation.
5. PARTIAL—100 days	Say their portion of the Rosary on days on which no festival occurs.	On the day of recitation.

The explanation of the conditions which must be observed, in order to gain the Indulgences of these various classes, is reserved for the next number of the RECORD.

W. J. W.

<sup>1</sup> “Insuper, indulgentias quae pro Rosarii recitatione Romani Pontifices praedecessores nostri decreverunt.” Brev. Apost. *Benedicentes* jam. cit.

## DOCUMENTS.

I.—DECREE OF THE SACRED CONGREGATION,  
DECLARING ST. ALPHONSUS A DOCTOR OF  
HOLY CHURCH.

## DECRETUM URBIS ET ORBIS.

Inter eos qui fecerunt et docuerunt, quosque Dominus Noster Jesus Christus magnos fore vocavit in Regno Caelorum, merito recensendus est Sanctus Alphonsus Maria de Ligorio, Congregationis a Sanctissimo Redemptore Institutor et Sanctae Agathae Gothorum Episcopus. Hic virtutum omnium exempla faciens, veluti lucerna supra candelabrum posita omnibus Christifidelibus, qui in Domo Dei sunt, adeo illuxit ut jam inter cives Sanctorum et domesticos Dei fuerit relatus. Quod autem sancta operatione complevit, verbis etiam et scriptis docuit. Siquidem ipse errorum tenebras ab Incredulis et Jansenianis late diffusas doctis operibus maximeque Theologiae Moralis tractationibus dispulit atque dimovit. Obscura insuper dilucidavit, dubiaque declaravit, cum inter implexas Theologorum sive laxiores sive rigidiores sententias tutam straverit viam, per quam Christifidelium animarum moderatores inoffenso pede incedere possent. Simulque Immaculatae Deiparae Conceptionis et Summi Pontificis ex Cathedra docentis infallibilitatis doctrinas accurate illustravit ac strenue asseruit, quae postea aevo hoc nostro dogmaticae declaratae sunt. Scripturarum denique aenigmata reseravit tum in asceticis lucubrationibus, caelesti quadam suavitate refertis, tum in saluberrimo quodam Commentario, quo Psalmos et Cantica in divino Officio a Clericis recitanda ad eorum pietatem fovendam et mentem erudiendam explanavit. Summam Alphonsi sapientiam jam demiratus fuerat Pius Septimus sa. me., eumque commendaverat quia *voce et scriptis in media saeculi nocte errantibus viam justitiae ostendit, per quam possent de potestate tenebrarum transire in Dei lumen et regnum.* Neque minori laude *inusitatum vim, copiam varietatemque doctrinae* in libris ab ipso conscriptis *prosequutus est* alter Summus Pontifex Gregorius XVI. sa. me. in Litteris decretalibus, quibus Alphonso majores Caelitum honores tribuebantur.

Verum temporibus hisce nostris adeo sapientiam ejus enarrant gentes, et laudem ejus enuntiat Ecclesia, ut plurimi Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae Cardinales, fere omnes totius Orbis Sacrorum Antistites, Supremi Religiosorum Ordinum Moderatores, insignium Academicarum Theologi, illustra Canonico Collegia, et docti ex omni coetu Viri supplices

libellos Sanctissimo Domino Nostro Pio IX. Pontifici Maximo porrexerint, quibus communia exposuere vota, ut Sanctus Alphonsus Maria de Ligorio Doctoris Ecclesiae titulo honoribusque cohonestaretur. Sanctitas Sua, preces benignè excipiens, gravissimum hujusmodi negotium de more Sacrorum Rituum Congregationi expendendum commisit. Itaque in Ordinariis Comitibus ad Vaticanas Aedes infrascripta die collectis Eminentissimi et Reverendiss. Patres Cardinales sacris tuendis Ritibus praepositi, audita relatione Eminen. et Reverendiss. Cardinalis Constantini Patrizi Episcopi Ostiensis et Veliternensis, Sacri Collegii Decani, eidem S. Congregationi Praefecti, Causaeque Ponentis, consideratis Animadversionibus R. P. D. Petri Minetti Sanctae Fidei Promotoris, Patroni Causae responsis, nec non Theologorum pro veritate sententiis; omnibus denique severissime hinc inde libratiss. unanimi consensu rescribendum censuerunt: *Consulendum Sanctissimo pro concessione seu declaratione et extensione ad universam Ecclesiam tituli Doctoris in honorem S. Alphonsi Mariae de Ligorio, cum Officio et Missa jam concessis, addito Credo, Antiphona ad Magnificat in utrisque Vesperis O Doctor, ac Lectionibus I. Nocturni: Sapientiam, et VIII. Responsorio: In Medio Ecclesiae. Die 11 Martii, 1871.*

Postmodum facta horum omnium et singulorum eidem Sanctissimo Domino Nostro Pio Papae IX. per infrascriptum ipsius S. Congregationis Secretarium fideli relatione, Sanctitas Sua S. Congregationis Rescriptum ad probavit et confirmavit; ac desuper Generale Decretum Urbis et Orbis expediri mandavit die 23 iisdem mense et anno.

C. EP. OSTIEN. ET VELITERN. CARD. PATRIZI,  
S. R. C. PRAEF.

Loco \* Sigilli.

D. BARTOLINI, S.R.C., Secretarius.

## II.—PRAYER TO WHICH AN INDULGENCE HAS BEEN ATTACHED BY THE REIGNING PONTIFF.

### ORATIO.

“Clementissime Jesu, salus, vita, resurrectio nostra Tu solus es: Te ergo quaesumus, ne derelinquas nos in angustiis et perturbationibus nostris, sed per agoniam Cordis Tui Sanctissimi et per dolores Matris Tuae Immaculatae, Tuis famulis subveni, quos pretioso Sanguine redemisti.”

DECRETUM. Sanctissimus Dominus Noster Pius PP. IX., in audientia habita ab infrascripto Card. Praefecto S. Congregationis Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis

praepositae die 6 Octobris, 1870, benigne indulsit; ut omnes utriusque sexus Christifideles, qui corde saltem contrito suprascriptam Orationem devote recitaverint *Indulgentiam centum dierum semel in die lucrantur*. Praesenti in Perpetuum valituro absque ulla Brevis expeditione. Contrariis quibuscumque non obstantibus. Datum Romae ex Secretaria ejusdem S. Congregationis die 6 Octobris, 1870.

A. CARD. BIZZARRI, Praefectus.

*Dominicus Sarra, Substitutus.*

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### III.—DECREE OF THE HOLY SEE ON THE TRADITIONALISM AND ONTOLOGIST CONTROVERSIES IN LOUVAIN.

Some doubts having again arisen in Belgium regarding the Decrees of the Holy See in the matter of the Traditionalism and Ontologist Controversies, and some individuals contending that, by the Second Apostolic Constitution, *Dei Filius*, published by the Vatican Œcumenical Council, permission was accorded to Theologians to entertain those theories hitherto condemned by Rome, the Bishops of Belgium deemed it necessary once more to solicit the decision of the Holy See. In reply to their petition, His Eminence Cardinal Patrizi, by order of His Holiness, wrote to each of the Bishops of Belgium on the 7th August, 1870, decreeing:—

“Per memoratam Constitutionem synodalem, praesertim per monitum ad ejusdem calcem relatum, nedum haud infirmari vel moderari, quin imo novo adjecto robore confirmari Decreta omnia utriusque S. Congregationis S. Officii et Indicis hac de re edita, illudque potissimum, quod litteris meis ad singulos in Belgio Episcopos die 2 Martii, 1866, datis continetur.”

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### IV.—DECREE REGARDING SOME OF THE CONDITIONS REQUISITE FOR GAINING INDULGENCES.

“DECRETUM URBIS ET ORBIS.

“*Ex audientia Sanctissimi die 6 Octobris, 1870.*

“Inter ceteras conditiones, quae in adimplendis operibus adjunctis pro acquisitione Indulgentiarum servari debent, ea est ut eadem fiant intra tempus in concessionibus praefinitum. Ut vero Christifideles facilius ad eas lucrandas excitarentur, pluries haec Sac. Congregatio Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praeposita, approbantibus Summis Pontificibus, quoad

praescriptam Confessionem et Communionem, vel benigna interpretatione vel indultis hac in re providendum existimavit.

“Hinc per Decretum diei 19 Maii, 1759, statuit: *Confessionem suffragari si expleatur etiam in pervigilio festivitatis pro qua concessa est Indulgentia*; et item per Decretum diei 12 Junii, 1822, declaravit: *Communionem peragi posse in vigilia festivitatis*.

“Etsi vero haec indulta nullum dubitandi locum relinquerent circa eas Indulgentias, quae pro festivitibus proprie dictis conceduntur, incipientibus nempe a primis vespers usque ad occasum solis ejusdem diei festi; ita ut liberum sit Fideli vel in ipso die festo confiteri, et sacra Synaxi refici, plures tamen exinde dubitationes abortae fuerunt, an idem dicendum foret de aliis Indulgentiis spatio unius diei lucrandis, et ab initio diei naturalis incipientibus, quae videlicet concederentur non ratione festivitatis occurrentis, sed alia qualibet ex causa; quemadmodum usuvenire solet pro sextis feriis mensis Martii, diebus dominicis festum S Aloisii praecedentibus, oratione quadraginta horarum aliisque similibus quibuscumque.

“Itaque SSmus Dominus Noster Pius PP. IX. in audientia habita ab infrascripto Cardinali Praefecto ejusdem Sac. Congregationis die 6 Octobris, 1870, ad removendam omnem dubitandi rationem et ad commodius reddendum Confessionis et Communionis adimplementum benigne declarari et decerni mandavit, prout hoc Decreto declaratur atque decernitur: *tum Confessionem dumtaxat, tum Confessionem et Communionem peragi posse die qui immediate praecedit sequentem pro quo concessa fuerit Indulgentia quaelibet, non solum ratione festivitatis occurrentis juxta allata Decreta, verum etiam quacumque alia ex causa, vel devotionis, vel pii exercitii, aut solemnitatis, uti esset pro memoratis et ceteris hujusmodi diebus, pro quibus Indulgentia cum conditione Confessionis et Communionis concessa iam fuerit, vel in posterum concedatur, licet tempus ad eam acquirendam ab initio diei naturalis et non a primis vespers sit computandum; servata tamen in adimplendis aliis operibus iniunctis regula generali circa modum et tempus in concessionibus praescriptum*.

“Voluitque Santitas Sua nihil innovatum censi quoad Decretum diei 9 Decembris, 1763, favore Christifidelium, qui laudabili consuetudine utuntur confitendi semel saltem in hebdomada cum privilegiis, conditionibus et restrictivis ibidem recensitis. Contrariis quibuscumque non obstantibus.

“Die 6 Octobris, 1870.

“A. Card. BIZZARRI, Praefectus

“A. Colombo, Secretarius.”

## ROMAN CHRONICLE.

1. *Promoters of Disturbances in Rome.*—2. *Arrival of the Garibaldians.*—3. *St. Joseph's Day.*—4. *Invasion of Architects.*—5. *The Roman Municipality.*—6. *Appropriation of the Charity Funds.*—7. *More Officials refusing to serve.*—8. *The Banquets on Good Friday.*—9. *Holy Week and the 12th of April.*—10. *Miscellaneous.*

1. It is now pretty generally admitted, that the Jesuits, clericals—"Caccialepri, et hoc genus omne," have been the promoters of all the mischiefs, violence, and immorality, that have desolated Rome from the bombardment of Porta Pia, down to the meat banquets of last Good Friday. "Let us have no more disorders," writes the *Nuova Roma* of the 14th of March, and it then remarks—"the Jesuits are purposely provoking those disorders in order to make a case with the foreign powers." This sapient advice has produced the extraordinary spectacle of Liberals going about as quiet and gentle as lambkins, notwithstanding that they are every day victims of clerical provocations that would wear out the patience of Job. Look at that affair in the Gesu, on the 10th of March, got up expressly by the Jesuits; but henceforward the war against these disturbers of modern society, is to be carried on with different weapons, "The city now understands," writes again the *Nuova Roma*, "that the most effective weapon against the Jesuits is contempt." The *Opinione* of the 13th of March adopts this line of strategy; and, says the person of its Roman correspondent: "I cannot refrain from crying aloud to good Roman patriots—resist temptation; use moderation and prudence; and reply to provocations with a smile of compassion." What masters in the spiritual life those Italian journalists are!

2. And yet these provocations continue. "Yesterday," writes the *Tempo* of the 26th of March, "a man was found standing in the attitude of prayer, before a picture of the Madonna, at the corner of Castellani's house, a few steps from the Church of Saints Vincent and Anastasius. The bystanders very naturally began to suspect that he must be a hypocrite, sent there purposely by the Jesuits to insult the people." There can be no doubt whatever about it. Luckily for the patience of the Liberals, which was well nigh exhausted by this continual warfare of threats and provocations from the clerical party, their faithful allies, the Garibaldians, or, as they are euphoniously styled, the *reduci* (returns), arrived from

France, in the nick of time, without their red flannel shirts; however, the winter is over now, and they may be supposed not to require warm clothing. These heroes love dangers. They did not meet with any in France. They went in search of Prussians to be sure, but, as far as we can learn, they do not seem to have found any. So they have come to Rome in search of new adventures, to defy the threats and provocations of the Vatican, and, possibly also, to find some of the booty which *La France* tells us the Garibaldian General, Bordone, took from the Prussians. This famous military commander sent from France, as a present to his wife, in Italy, twenty-two cases of spoils taken from the enemy, the result of his heroic exploits during the recent Franco-Prussian war. These twenty-two cases were stopped and examined at the frontier, and what do you think they contained? Ciboriums, chalices, ostensories, and similar *Prussian* flags. The "*reduci*" have a keen scent, and as all the Prussian trophies about Dijon have been appropriated by Bordone, they are beginning to get the odour of convents, monasteries, ciboriums, and chalices, yet to be *annexed* in Rome; consequently, with that courage which has ever distinguished them, they leave French and Prussians to settle their accounts, and are assembling in Rome in great force, and in pursuit of new glories.

3.—The clericals, again, were very near compromising this excellent body of young men just returned from their exploits in France. They (the clericals) were organising a disturbance for the Feast of St. Joseph. However, the authorities were on the alert this time, not like the 10th of March, and forestalled every preparation. This precaution did not, meanwhile, leave them quite free from fears of some mischief brewing; for, on the 22nd of March, we read in the *Tempo* of that date, the following proof of the vigilance of the police, as exercised over those turbulent followers of the Vatican:—On the 19th, some returned Garibaldians wished to celebrate the anniversary of their leader in a vineyard (where else should they go?). Returning to town, they were unexpectedly surrounded by the Guards of the Questura. Would you imagine it? These returned Garibaldians were mistaken for "*Cacciapatri*." As soon as the frustade was discovered, all enjoyed the joke heartily. So that, if they had been really "*Cacciapatri*" returning from the temple of God, after celebrating the Festival of the Patron of the Universal Church, the arrest would have held good, and Europe informed of this fresh clerical provocation; but, thank heaven, they were only Garibaldians returning from their devotions in the vineyard.



Nevertheless, the good people of Rome did celebrate the Feast of St. Joseph in a truly Catholic manner. The churches were crowded throughout the entire day; the number of communicants was something extraordinary, and we may reasonably infer, that the fervent prayers addressed to the Patron of the Universal Church will not long remain unheeded.

4. Since the commencement of the present century, Rome has had to suffer many invasions, from the First Empire down to Bixio and Cadorna, but she is now invaded by an army that threatens to efface every remnant of her former self. Everybody is turning architect in Rome, some for building up, some for levelling, but all for destroying. The courtyard of Monte Citorio is already metamorphosed; the Palazzo Madama follows, and it is not the architect's fault if the Pauline Chapel, in the Quirinal, be not already transformed into a ball room. Money is scarce, and for that we should be thankful. One would imagine that this destructive mania, that has taken bodily possession of Rome's liberators, is a kind of conspiracy of old Imperial Rome, against Rome of the Popes. Every one knows that modern Rome is, for the most part, built from materials supplied by the ruins of the ancient city. If the modern Roman buildings could speak, you might safely predict that they would speak Latin. So say the architects. Travertine, marbles, bricks, etc., could date their certificates of birth from the Colosseum, the baths, the temples, the aqueducts, and forums. Old Rome evidently bought up the architects, and the conspiracy is mature. An architect in himself is a sufficiently dangerous individual; but an architect and an archæologist rolled into one is a social catastrophe. He dreams of ruins, his food is crumbling stone; he cares not for the living, he violates the resting places of the dead in search of hidden architectural treasures. This is all very well when regulated by discretion. But now appears to be the hour for indiscretion. Colossal walls, built up to support the tumbling remnants of the forum, are being removed. Excavations renewed, and mounds of earth piled up on places already opened up; so that strangers, if they wish to see Rome, had better make haste. First of all, the *Via dei tre ladroni* is to vanish; the name is not nice, especially as it leads to the Quirinal, and might be considered personal. Then the *Via Pia* is to be converted into barracks and stables. We will lose thereby four or five churches, and about as many convents; we will also lose a very pretty *chef d'oeuvre* of Bernini; but what of that? We have plenty of Berninis, but we want stables; and so the church and mission-house of San Silvestro, on Monte Cavallo, is to form portion of the royal mews; then,

indeed, there will be some meaning in the name *Monte Cavallo*. Another architect has discovered that, with very little trouble, they can overturn another bit of Rome, and tunnel under the Quirinal, so as to make one long straight street. A third wishes to square Rome, and demolish any amount of houses, churches, streets, &c., so as to make four long straight streets—one from "*Trinità de Monti*" to "*Ponte Sant Angelo*;" another from "*Ponte Sant Angelo*" to the Roman Forum; a third from the Roman Forum to St. Mary Major's; and the fourth from St. Mary Major's to the *Trinità de Monti*. But the *Tempo* of the 28th of March announces: "The works for carrying out the project of enlarging and beautifying the city are suspended, the Municipality having declared that it has no funds to carry them on." Blessed for ever be the architects that study: as the preparing of the plans swallowed up all the disposable funds, none remain for putting them in execution. We think that, when the restoration comes, the Catholic world is bound to present these men of science with an unequivocal token of their esteem and gratitude for having preserved the Eternal City.

5. The peripatetic tendencies of the Giunta, or Municipality or Corporation of Rome, established on the 20th of last September, seem to have no end. The capital of the Catholic world, proclaimed the capital of the Freemason Kingdom of Italy, is, after six entire months, a body without a head. Prince Doria, in conformity with the express wish of Victor Emmanuel, resigned himself to the anomalous position of "*faciente funzione di sindaco*," or Provisional Lord Mayor, and pulled through as well as he could. In January last he wrote to La Marmora to say that he could keep it no longer; alleging as his motives, his own unfitness, the interests of his family, and his anxiety to take his seat in the Senate Chamber, and share in their labours, through reverence for the king, and love of country. Doria's example was followed by Placidi, Angelini, Silvestrelli, Duke Mario Massimo, and Salvati, the Assessors, who all resigned. La Marmora besought of them to remain in office till the 6th of February, and, during this period, they had an opportunity for engaging in a brilliant but unsuccessful encounter with the Minister of Finance. Sella obliged the Roman Municipality to pay as its quota to the tax on consumable goods 3,800,000 francs. The Giunta did not see it, and offered 2,000,000. Sella was immovable, and answered with a dry "*quod scripsi scripsi*." As a last resource, Doria, Alatri, and Placidi went on a deputation to Florence, but to no purpose; and the liberated citizens of Rome had the felicity of paying the entire sum, for love of

country. On the 13th of February, Doria again tendered his resignation, and was followed by a large number of the councillors, but the motion was adjourned *sine die*, and after two or three days noisy debating, the entire business done was to authorize a bond of 500,000 francs, to provide for immediate expenses—to order that slabs, commemorative of the Roman patriots who fell fighting for their country, be placed in the Capitol:—and to remove, at the expense of the Municipality, the remains of Montecchi from London to Rome, and give him a public funeral and monument in San Lorenzo. To provide funds for carrying out the designed improvements in the city was another task. The advocate, Placidi, and Emmanuel Ruspoli, deputy for Rome, could not see why the Giunta, as well as the Government, might not proceed to appropriate convents and monasteries for purposes of public utility. A motion was made to this effect, and the corporation felt they had discovered another Peru. To be able to turn out on the streets the monks and nuns of about 157 religious houses, and appropriate so many vast edifices in central positions, appeared a magnificent project, and an application to the Government was voted almost unanimously. Prince Doria then understood the part that he was called on to play, and was so disgusted with himself, that he finally announced his irremovable resolution to have nothing more to say to the Giunta. He went to Florence, took the oaths as a Senator, and also assumed the office, and most special distinction (*attributissima distinzione*), of Prefect of the Royal Palace, and Grand Master of Ceremonies to the King. "Prosit!" The Giunta still remains unconstituted. Angelini has been persuaded to accept Doria's vacant post (*facendo funzione di sindaco*), assisted by Massimo, Spada, and the Jew, Alatri. They had their first public meeting on the 30th of March, which was remarkable for two facts, the noisy nature of their debate, rivalling the Chambers in Florence, and the truly parliamentary system of winding up the discussion by the imposition of a tax on the Romans of 3,800,000 francs for three years, and 4,000,000 for two subsequent years, to be paid to the Government. There we leave the Roman Giunta.

6. The next patriotic undertaking of the Government Giunta, Questor, and all combined, was to proceed to appropriate the control and management of the several charitable institutions of Rome, known as "*Opere Pie*." The Cardinal-Vicar wrote a splendid protest, which was signed by the suburban Bishops, and followed up by another protest from the Bishops of the Roman Campagna. The Royal Com-

missary, or whatever his title is, that acts as Governor of Rome, sent a reply, which reads very like a spiritual lecture, addressed to Cardinal Patrizii and his brethren in the Roman Episcopacy. The Cardinal answered it with a crushing epistle, and the correspondence terminated there. But the "*Opere Pie*" are taken under the humane care and economical management of the wise, religious, and truly charitable Government of Victor Emmanuel. If the Hon. Member for Cork City should happen to revisit the Eternal City a year hence, he will find ample material for an additional volume on the Institutions of Rome, and it would form a most useful appendix to the latest edition of his valuable work.

7. The employés of the Monte di Pietà—the last to be disturbed—all, to a man, refused to take the oath and serve the new Government, so that the Pontifical Government may now challenge the world to produce a staff of officials in every department so faithful and true. Nine-tenths of all employed, civil and military, by the Papal Government, have proved their loyalty by sacrificing their situations, which, to most of them, was the only means of subsistence for themselves and their families.

8. The freethinkers of the Italian cities filled up the measure of their iniquity by their blasphemous proceedings on last Good Friday. Pisa led the way, and was followed by Venice, Florence, several smaller cities, and lastly, Rome. On Good Friday, a day of mourning for all humanity, a number of these unbelievers proceeded in a most ostentatious manner to a house in the Piazza Barberini, where a sumptuous meat-banquet was served, and toasts proposed of such a blasphemous nature, that the pen refuses to transcribe them. A crucifix was placed in the centre of the table, and in presence of that sacred image, so dear to every Christian, did these misguided men vomit forth their blasphemies. These banquets had their origin, some few years back, in Paris, under the direction of senator St. Beuve, and the inaugural one counted, among its thirteen guests, Prince Jerome Napoleon. To-day Paris is reaping the whirlwind; but, unfortunately, she is blind to the cause of her misfortunes. One of the organs of the Commune, *La Montagne*, published on Good Friday the following fearful words—"The reaction is bestirring itself; the merchants will sell us, and the priests crucify us. Nuns have been arrested who had gunpowder in their tabernacles, and bullets for Rosary beads. Jesus made a treaty of offensive alliance with the two thieves—Vive Jesus and his compeers! Our enemies from Versailles are drunk with brandy and sacrificial wine. They called the Prussians cruel, but the

Prussians were clemency in comparison. An enemy falling into their hands was not shot on the instant. But, no doubt, *Mastai* has promised a plenary indulgence to these unclean assassins." Unfortunate Italy, by making common cause with French impiety, seems to be drawing on itself a similar chastisement. In an address, forwarded to the Commune by the *Internationale* of Florence, we read—"Who are your adversaries? The wretches that crouched before the Man of Sedan—Thiers, Cathelineau, and Charette—who have kissed the slipper of him who still calls himself, doubtless in irony, the unworthy successor of the *unknown* fisherman of Galilee." However, the good Catholics of Italy have been stirred up by this daring act of impiety; and, throughout the length and breadth of the peninsula, crowds of the faithful flocked to the churches for the "*Three Hours' agony*," or the "*Via Crucis*," in reparation to the outraged love of our blessed Lord.

9. Holy Week in Rome this year was particularly gloomy. No functions in St. Peter's or the Sixtine Chapel; no strangers; nothing to remind you of the capital of Christendom. The Pope, in compliance with an earnest request, celebrated private Mass on Easter Sunday Morning in the Sixtine Chapel, and administered Holy Communion to his entire household and other privileged strangers. He is in perfect health notwithstanding his confinement. He received the English deputation on Holy Saturday, and made an appropriate speech in reply. On Wednesday, the 12th of April, the anniversary of his return from Gaeta, the whole morning was passed receiving deputations with addresses. Amongst others, a very numerous signed address from the noble ladies of Rome was presented to him, accompanied with the gift of a valuable carpet, intended to be used in the Loggia of St. Peter's the next time the Holy Father will be enabled to give the "*Benedictio Urbi et Orbi*." In his reply, the Pope made an allusion to the possibility of its being used—not by him, but by his successor—an announcement which moved all to tears. The foreign ladies residing in Rome imitated the example of their Roman sisters, and presented the Holy Father with a costly Baldacchino, to be used on the same occasion as the carpet.

10. At length the Roman Giunta has found a Sindaco. Prince Pallavicini, one of the five nobles who worship the rising sun, has accepted the post, and signalled his advent to office by calling on the Romans to celebrate, with all festivity, the anniversary of the foundation of Rome, the 21st of April. We don't know yet how his appeal was answered.

It was estimated that the number of communions made on

the 12th of April in St. Peter's and the principal churches of Rome, and offered for the Pope, was 25,000. That is the sort of plebiscite the Holy Father can appreciate. The discussion on the Pontifical Guarantees Bill has commenced in the Senate. Terenzio Mamiani, who took the oath of allegiance to Pius IX., and broke it, is the loyal guardian of this measure through the Upper Chamber. The first conscription lists for the Roman provinces have been issued, and are creating the usual amount of dissatisfaction. Heavy penalties are threatened against rescusants. This, together with the taxation, will do good in its own way. We are sorry to conclude our chronicle with the sad news that the distinguished Prefect of the Propaganda, Cardinal Barnabo, has not for some time enjoyed his usual good health: let us hope that this illustrious Prince of the Church may long be spared to watch over the Foreign Missions and other Churches entrusted to his care.

## MONASTICON HIBERNICUM,

OR,

### A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE ANCIENT MONASTERIES OF IRELAND.

[N.B.—The text of the "Monasticon" is taken *verbatim* from Archdall: the notes marked with numbers are added by the Editors.]

#### COUNTY OF CORK:

barony of Fermoy, and about three miles below the town of Mallow. In the King's quit-rent books, the parishes or rectories of Clenor, Carigdownen, Carig, and Templebodane, with the rectory of Cloghan, are charged £3 10s. crown-rent, as belonging to the commandery of Monanimy. No mention is made by any of our writers of this commandery, but at

Continuation of Note 26, p. 344.

Castleredmonde, in this county, was parcel of the possessions of this abbey. At the suppression of the monasteries, the abbot was seized of this abbey, castle, and townland, and are now held from the Queen in capite knight's service, and are now of the annual value besides reprises, of 16s 6d. —[Chief Remem.]

Ath Ubhla, now Appleford, in Fermoy. A passage in the Irish Life of Saint Carthach, or Mochuda, of Raheen, Bishop of Lismore, gives the following account of this and other places in the county of Cork:—"Another time Mochuda went from Rahin into the province of Munster, and he came into *Ciarraighe Cuirche* (now Kerrycurrihy, in the county of Cork), and he met Carby Crimthan, King of Munster, who happened at that time to be at Moy-Cuirche. At this time there came a fiery thunderbolt, which demolished one of the king's castles,

Monanimy we find an ancient castle, with the traces of several large buildings round it.\*

*Mourne*,<sup>b</sup> three miles south of Mallow, in the barony of Barrets. In the reign of King John, Alexander de Sancta Helena either founded this preceptory for Knights Templars, or he was a principal benefactor to it;<sup>c</sup> but on the abolition of that order, it was given to the Knights Hospitallers.<sup>d</sup>

Friar Thomas Fitzgerald was commendator in the years 1326, 1327, and 1330,<sup>e</sup> as was friar John Fitz-Richard in

\* *Smith*, vol. 1, p. 349. <sup>b</sup> Called also *Mora* and *Ballynamona*, and by the Irish *Monaster na mona*. <sup>c</sup> *War. Mon.* <sup>d</sup> *Smith*, vol. 2, p. 18. <sup>e</sup> *King*, p. 38 and 84.

and killed his queen and his son Aedan, and a number of his people, and the king's two favourite chariot horses were also killed by the fall of the castle. The king at once requested Mochuda to resuscitate his queen and his son, and when Mochuda saw the firmness of the king's faith, he made prayers for them, and bade them arise and they arose, and Mochuda restored them in perfect health to the king, and the king gave him extensive lands and many servitors. Another time Cathal MacAedan, king of Munster, was in the land of Cuircne afflicted with various diseases, being deaf, dumb, and blind; Mochuda came to where the king was, and the king and his friends implored Mochuda to relieve his distress. Mochuda made prayers to God for him, and put the sign of the holy cross on his eyes and ears, and mouth, and he was cured of all his diseases and troubles, and the king Cathal gave extensive lands to God and to Mochuda for ever, namely, Cathal Island, and Ross Beg and Ross More, and Pick-Island, (now Spike Island), and Mochuda sent holy brethren to build a church in Ross Beg, in honour of God, and Mochuda himself commenced building a monastery in Pick Island, and he remained there a full year.

"Mochuda then placed three of the disciples above mentioned, namely, the three sons of Nascann, *i.e.*, Bishop Gaban, and Sraphan the priest, and Laisren the saint, in those churches. And it was the holy bishop of Ardomain that gave holy orders to these three in Mochuda's presence, and it was he that was appointed to preserve them in the path of righteousness, and he left two score more of his brethren in his own stead in the monastery of Pick Island. Pick Island is a most holy place, and most pious people reside in it perpetually.

"And Mochuda then returned towards Rahin, and on his way eastward through Munster he passed over a river which was called Neim at that time, but which is called Avonmore to-day, and he saw a large apple in the middle of the ford, over which he was passing, and he took it up and carried it in his hand, and hence *Ath Ubbha*, (now Appleford), in Fermoy, has its name. And the servant asked for the apple from Mochuda, and he did not give it but said:—God will work a miracle with this apple through me this day, for we shall meet the daughter of Cuana Mac Cailchin, with her right arm powerless and motionless, hanging by her side, and she shall be cured through this apple and through the power of God: And this was verified; for Mochuda saw the virgin, with her maiden companions, who were at their sports and amusements on the green of the court, and going up towards her he said:—Take this apple to thyself, my daughter.' She stretched forth her left hand for the apple as was her wont; Mochuda said:—'Thou shalt not get it in that hand, but reach out the other hand for it and thou shalt get it,' And the maiden being full of faith, attempted to reach forth the right hand, and the hand was instantly filled with vigour and life, and she reached it out and took the apple into it.

"There was joy all over the king's palace on this occasion, and all gave praise to God and to Mochuda, for this miracle. and Cuana said on that night to his daughter, make now your selection: and say who you like best of all the princes of Munster, and I will have him married to you; to this the maiden replied: 'I shall have no husband but the man who cured my hand.' 'Hear you that O' Mochuda,' said Cuana. 'Give me the maiden,' said Mochuda, 'and I will

1334,<sup>a</sup> 1335,<sup>b</sup> 1337,<sup>b</sup> and 1339.<sup>1</sup> We shall here give the reader the said Fitz-Richard's appointment to this commandery by the prior of Kilmainham, dated at the commandery of Tully, in the county of Kildare, A.D. 1335.

"We have granted to friar John Fitz-Richard, during life, the whole government and custody of our house of Mora, with the appurtenances thereunto belonging, both in temporals and spirituals, he paying the dues usually paid by that house; and we require, that within the space of the next ten years, he shall, at his own cost and charge, erect a castle there, completely finished both as to size, materials, and workmanship."<sup>k 27</sup>

By an inquisition taken 4th November, 1584, Mourné was found to be an ancient corporation, but soon after the death of the Duke of Clarence, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, in the reign of King Edward IV., Morough O'Brien rebelled, and ruined several walled towns in Munster, particularly Mourné and Buttevant in this county.<sup>28</sup>

The body of the church, 180 feet in length, yet remains, in which are some gravestones of the Barrets, Quinlans, and other ancient Irish families. The foundation walls of the commandery inclosed several acres; it was defended to the south by a strong castle, which was standing not long since, and there were two towers to the west. The possessions were granted to Teige M'Carthy, whose descendants forfeited in the rebellion of 1641; notwithstanding which, that family are at this day styled Masters of Mourné.<sup>1</sup>

*Obakvene*; in a plea roll of the 44th of King Henry III.

<sup>a</sup> *King*, p. 84. <sup>b</sup> *Id.*, p. 61. <sup>c</sup> *Id.*, p. 39. <sup>1</sup> *Id.*, p. 83. <sup>k</sup> *Id.*, p. 39. <sup>1</sup> *Smith*, vol. 1, p. 180.

give her as a spouse to Christ, who cured her hand; and Cuana gave the maiden and her dowry, with an offering of land on the banks of the river Neim, to God and to Mochuda for ever, and his munificence was too great to be described.

"Flandat was the maiden's name, and Mochuda brought her with him to Rahin, where she spent her life most profitably with the other 'Black Nuns,' till Mochuda was banished by the kings of Tara out of his own city, when he took Flandat with him, and the rest of the black nuns, and when he had finished his own city of Lismore, he sent Flandat to her own country, that she might build a church there, and she built a noble church in Chnain Dallain, and it is in Mochuda's parish it is."—*Irish Life of Saint Carthach, O'Curry M.S., Catholic University.*

<sup>27</sup> The rent payable to the Crown for this preceptory was £15, Irish money; and an Inquisition was held 19th March, 30th Elizabeth, to inquire whether Teige MacCarthy had not forfeited his grant by non-payment of the rent. (Chief Remem.)—Ord. Surv., R.I.A., vol. iv., p. 102.

<sup>28</sup> A.D. 824.—Died the Abbot Conmach *McSaerguia* (?); A.D. 839.—Died the Abbot Aidmeadach; A.D. 850.—Died the Abbot Andath; A.D. 866.—Died Feargus, Scribe and Anchorite of this abbey; A.D. 1015.—Died Airheartach Mac Coise, Overseer of Ross Alitri; A.D. 1055.—Died Columb O'Cathail, Deacon of this abbey; A.D. 1085.—Died Neachtain McNeachtan; A.D. 1095.—Died Columb O'Hanadan, the Airchennach.—Ord. Surv., R.I.A., vol. iv., p. 110.



we find an abbey of this name, said in the record to be in this county.<sup>m</sup>

*Omolaggie* ; 28th June, 20th Queen Elizabeth, a grant was made to the provost and fellows of the Holy Trinity near Dublin, of twenty acres of land contiguous to a cross, and parcel of the possessions of the abbey of the Corbe of Omolaggie in this county. See the abbey of Cong, in county of Mayo.<sup>mm</sup> We can find no other vestige of this house.

*Quchwill* ; This abbey is mentioned to have existed in this county, A.D. 1355,<sup>n</sup> but we know no more of it.

*Ross* ;<sup>o</sup> a small market-town and an episcopal see, now united to the diocese of Cork, and situate on an arm of the sea, in the barony of Carbury.

St. Fachnan mongach, or the Hairy, abbot of Moelanfaidh, in the county of Waterford, was abbot of this monastery, and principal of the school founded there ; his festival is held on August 14th ;<sup>p</sup> a city grew up here, in which there was always a large seminary of scholars.<sup>q</sup> St. Fachnan mongach was succeeded by St. Conall,<sup>r</sup> and we are told, that St. Brendan taught the liberal arts in this school,<sup>s</sup> in which St. Finchad, a celebrated disciple of St. Finbar, was a student.<sup>t</sup><sup>29</sup> Some of the natives of Ireland did not seem to show much respect to it, for, in the year 1131, the people of Conaught, under the command of Donogh M'Carthy, plundered this residence of religion and learning ; but these foes to everything that was good, were soon after all justly defeated, and Hugh, the son of Constantine O'Connor, and O'Cachy, the chief poet of Conaught, were killed.<sup>u</sup> Cornelius was prior in 1353,<sup>v</sup> as was Odo in 1378.<sup>x</sup>

This monastery has been generally given to the regular canons following the rule of St. Augustin ; but it appears, from two instruments published by Hugh Ward, that it did belong to the order of St. Benedict, and that they professed obedience to the Benedictin abbey of St. James, without the walls of the city of Wurtzburgh, in the province of Mentz in Germany.<sup>y</sup> The ruins of it still remain.<sup>z</sup>

<sup>m</sup> *King*, p. 133. <sup>mm</sup> *Aud. Gen.* <sup>n</sup> *Id.*, p. 142. <sup>o</sup> *Was anciently called Ross alithri, Ross elihir, and Ross ylider.* <sup>p</sup> *Calend. Vet.* <sup>q</sup> *Act. SS.* p. 196. *Tr. Th. Index. Usher. War. Mon. and Bps.*, p. 583. <sup>r</sup> *Act. SS.* p. 471. <sup>s</sup> *War.*, vol. 2, p. 242. <sup>t</sup> *Act. SS.* p. 471. <sup>u</sup> *Annal. Inisfal.* <sup>v</sup> *Vard. vita Rumoldi*, p. 292. <sup>x</sup> *Id.*, p. 293. <sup>y</sup> *Id.* <sup>z</sup> *Smith*, vol. 1, p. 268.

<sup>29</sup> Inquisition, last day of Easter, 29th Elizabeth, finds that the 7th day, nineteenth of her reign, a grant was made of this abbey to James Goulde, gent., at the annual rent of £9 4s., with a clause of re-entry.—*Ord. Surv.*, R.I.A., vol. iv., p. 112.

(To be continued.)

## THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

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JUNE, 1871.

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### ST. AIDAN, BISHOP AND PATRON OF FERNS.

THE Latin Life of St. Aidan merely records the fact, that our Saint, anxious to perfect himself in wisdom and holiness of life, set out on a pilgrimage, accompanied by twelve chosen companions. From other ancient documents, however, we are able to glean some details connected with this pilgrimage. Among the companions of St. Aidan, were two other great Saints of our early Church, St. Eulogius and St. Finbar. The Monastery of Menevia was the first stage of their holy pilgrimage; and, having passed some time there to receive the lessons of spiritual perfection from St. David, they pursued their course to Rome, there to offer, at the shrines of the Apostles, the pious tributes of their devotion and love.<sup>1</sup>

More than once, however, St. Aidan made the journey to Wales to visit St. David, and the closest spiritual friendship seems to have united together these holy founders of Ferns and Menevia. On such occasions Aidan took part with the other brethren of the Monastery of Menevia<sup>2</sup> in their task of manual work; and a wood, situated in the Valley of Saleunach, about two miles from the Monastery, is pointed out as the place appointed for St. Aidan's labour. Sometimes, too, he was engaged in transcribing the Sacred Scriptures—a duty

<sup>1</sup> *Vita S. Finbarri.*

<sup>2</sup> According to Usher, there was a monastery here before the time of St. David, called *vallis Rosina*, founded by, or at least hallowed by the presence of, our Apostle St. Patrick.—“Works,” vol. vi., p. 540. John of Teignmouth thus commemorates the religious fervour of the monks of Menevia:—“David constructo in valle Rosina monasterio, talem coenobialis propositi rigorem decrevit, ut monachorum quisque, quotidiano desudans operi, manuum labore suam in commune transigeret vitam, dicens : Qui enim non laborat, ait Apostolus, non manducet. Indequ monachi illi, divinis ex toto mancipati officiis, a populari frequentia in angulari quadam solitudine super Hibernicum mare longe remoti, quatuor his curis, manuum scilicet labore, lectione, oratione, et pauperum refectione, vitam feliciter exegere.”

specially dear to all the early and mediaeval monasteries. It is recorded that, on one occasion, when engaged in copying the Gospel of St. John, he was summoned away to some other religious exercise, and, on returning, as a reward for the promptness of his obedience, he found the unfinished column completed by an angel, in letters of gold. This precious MS. was long preserved at Menevia, encased in silver and gold. Giraldus Cambrensis<sup>1</sup> states, that even in his own time it was regarded as something sacred, so much so, that none would dare to open its pages, or unloose its clasps. Elsewhere this same writer commemorates St. Aidan amongst the holy men who, by their sanctity and miracles, adorned the Monastery of Menevia; and he ranks him as companion of the great saints Teliau and Ismael, and foremost among the most faithful disciples of David.<sup>2</sup> He adds, that on the return of St. Aidan to Ireland, no sooner had he completed his great Monastery of Ferns (called *Fernas*, by Giraldus, and *Guerwin*, by Ricemarch), than he laid down for his religious the same rule and observance which he had learned at St. David's, and which he had found by experience to produce such abundant fruits of virtue and sanctity at Menevia.

Companion of Aidan at Menevia was St. Modomnoc, who seems to have accompanied our holy Bishop on his return to Ireland. St. Modomnoc, whilst in the monastery, had its many hives of bees for his special charge, and now, that he entered the boat to sail for Ireland, swarm after swarm of St. David's bees came to settle in the boat with him. Three times this was repeated, when so often Modomnoc returned on shore unwilling to deprive Menevia of its honied treasure; but the bees would not be separated from their kind patron, and, at length, with the blessing of St. David, he set sail, bearing with him his long cherished charge. From that time, say our chroniclers, the hum of St. David's bees has not ceased in Ireland. St. Modomnoc "of the bees," is honoured on the 13th of February in Tybroughney, on the banks of the Suir, near Piltown, county Kilkenny. There was also a monastery in olden times at *Lann-beachaire* (i.e., "the church of the beehive"), now Lambeccher, in Fingal, county Dublin. Its name was probably derived from some fact connected with this journey of St. Aidan and Modomnoc.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Giraldus Cambrensis. Vita S. Davidis*:—"Vocatur autem a comprovincialibus textus iste *Evangelium Imperfectum*, qui usque in hodiernum signis clarus et virtutibus, in maxima non immerito reverentia a cunctis habetur."

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* "Sanctus Aidanus, qui et Hibernice Maidocus, virtutibus insignis, et divinis affatim eruditus disciplinis, &c."

<sup>3</sup> *Mason*, "History of St. Patrick's Cathedral," *Rees'* "Essay on the Welsh Saints," page 228.

A little before St. David's death, that aged founder of Menevia bade farewell to St. Aidan, and, imparting his blessing, said: "May an unbroken fraternity, in heaven and on earth, ever subsist between me and thee, and between our spiritual children." This spiritual relationship seems to have subsisted indeed for centuries, and during the several years that St. Aidan survived St. David, the religious of Menevia venerated St. Aidan, and showed all honour to him, as one who had merited the special love and friendship of their great founder. In the glosses on the Felire of St. Ængus, in the *Leabhar Breac*, we meet with a few facts which serve to illustrate this connexion between the great Monasteries of Ferns and Menevia. Thus, in the gloss, on 31st January, we read that "fifty Bishops of the Britons of Cill-Muine (*i.e.*, Menevia) visited Moedhoc of Ferns: on this pilgrimage they came, because Moedhoc was the disciple of David of Cill-Muine." The following curious story is added regarding these pilgrim Bishops:—"The pilgrims coming to Moedhoc, were conducted to the guest's house, and it was the Lent-time of spring. Fifty cakes and leeks, with watery whey, were set before them for dinner. 'Why have these things been brought us?' said the Bishops; 'we shall not partake of them, but let beef or pork be brought to us.' Moedhoc permitted the oconome to comply with their request; but the next day, coming to the strangers, he said to them—'you must be reprimanded for eating meat, and refusing the bread, in this time of Lent.' The Bishops replied: 'it was not your learning, O Maedhog, that inspired you with such a sentiment; for it is with the milk of their mothers that the swine and cow are nourished, and they eat nought but the grass of the field: but three hundred and sixty-five ingredients are in the cake that was set before us, and therefore it is that we did not use it.'"

Another remark which is added, would seem to imply that the Monastery of Menevia was subject to Ferns; and that the successor of St. Aidan ruled over both Monasteries. "From the time of David (thus runs the gloss) no flesh meat was brought into the refectory of Cille-Muine, until it was brought thither by the *comharb* of Moedhoc, of Ferns. It is contrary to rule, however, that he who did so, should have joint-seat with David, or continue in the Abbacy of Cill-Muine, or that his feet should touch the floor of its refectory as long as he lives."

Perhaps we have here a clue to the statement made by some Welsh writers, towards the close of the twelfth century, regarding the close connexion which, in early times, had

subsisted between Ferns and Menevia. These writers, however, manifestly reversed the order of facts, when, as a consequence, they asserted the See of Ferns to be a suffragan See of Menevia. That Menevia was suffragan to Ferns, would assuredly be far more consonant with the facts above stated ; for these manifestly imply that, after the death of St. David, special reverence was shown by his monastery to his loved disciple, St. Aidan, and that also the successors of our Saint in the See of Ferns received particular honour in Menevia, being reputed the heirs or *comharbs* of its holy founder, St. David.

We have already seen how St. Aidan, from early youth, was the bosom friend of St. Molaise of Devenish. He, in later years, enjoyed the friendship of several of the other great saints, who, in the sixth and seventh centuries, adorned our island by their learning and the sanctity of their lives. Thus, St. Molua, who is honoured as Patron at Clonfert-Molua, as also at Sliabh-Bladhma, and at Druimsneachta, in Fer-managh, was chosen by him for spiritual father and confessor. St. Cuimin, of Connor, commemorating the characteristic virtues of our Irish saints, writes of St. Molua :—

“Molua, the fully miraculous, loves  
Humility, noble, pure,  
The will of his tutor, the will of his parents,  
The will of all, and weeping for his sins.”<sup>1</sup>

It is recorded that when St. Aidan first visited Molua, there was no food in the monastery, except some flesh meat, from which St. Aidan always abstained ; nevertheless, on this occasion, he partook of it through charity and reverence for St. Molua.<sup>2</sup> On another occasion, Molua expressed an eager desire to visit the shrines of the Apostles in Rome ; he even declared that he would die unless he visited Rome :—*cito moriar si non videro Romam*. But the prayers of Aidan, who was unwilling to be deprived of his Confessor, obtained for him, whilst staying in the monastery of Ferns, the grace of contemplating in vision that holy city ; and, the chronicler adds, that ever after St. Molua was as fully and intimately acquainted with the sanctuaries and other wondrous monuments of Rome, as though he had lived there for many years.

<sup>1</sup> *Martyrology of Donegal*, page 211.

<sup>2</sup> “*Sumpsit Sanctus Episcopus charitative in xti nomine pro honore S. Moluae, Deo gratias cum omnibus agens. Et Episcopus accipiens S. Moluam patrem confessionis suae, cum gaudio in osculo pacis ad sua reversus est.*”—*Vita S. Moluae*, cap. 41.

At the time when Aidan visited the territory of the Hy-Conail (now the barony of Connello, in the county Limerick), the Superioress of St. Ita's great monastery of Killeedy, which was not far distant, sent to him to say that one of her holy nuns, a loved disciple of St. Ita, had just then expired. At the same time, he heard the bells of the monastery which announced her death; accordingly he gave his staff to one of his companions, and told him to touch with it the body of the deceased nun; and he added, 'I pray God, that through the sanctity of most blessed Ita, he may deign to restore this religious to life.' "No sooner was the cold body touched by St. Aidan's staff than the deceased nun arose, full of life and vigour, and gave glory to God."

A somewhat different favour was, on another occasion, granted through his prayers to the religious of St. Fintan, at Taghmon. He was received at that monastery with great honour, and several of the religious who were then ill, were, at the prayers of St. Aidan, restored to perfect health. When, however, on the third day, he was taking his leave, the holy abbot of the monastery said to him: "I pray thee not to leave till thou restorest to us again the illness of which we have been deprived, through your prayers, for virtue is perfected in infirmity," and Aidan, full of wonder at this faith, gave to the religious his parting blessing, and all were affected as before with their various diseases.

We find him also visiting the holy virgins, daughters of Aidus, King of Leinster. Lanigan states that the names of these virgin saints, as given by some writers, are—Ethnea, Sodelbia, and Cumania; whilst others mention the two first only, and identify them with the saints who are styled in our calendars, the spiritual daughters of Baithe, and whose memory was honoured on the 29th of March, in a church, near Swords, named from them *the cell of the daughters of Baithe*.<sup>1</sup> By whatever name, however, the daughters of Aidus may have been known, it is certain that they were distinguished by their piety and lived in a religious community. St. Aidan brought to them, as a gift, a plough and a pair of oxen. Nor should this surprise us: for his high ecclesiastical dignity did not prevent him from joining his monks in their agricultural labours, and his life, on one occasion, introduces him to us as superintending one hundred and fifty of the religious brethren whilst gathering in the harvest<sup>2</sup>.

Some of the facts incidentally related in St. Aidan's Life reveal to us the high perfection of holiness to which he had

<sup>1</sup> Lanigan, "Eccles. History," ii., 327. <sup>2</sup> *Vita*, cap. lx.

attained. On one Easter festival we find him spending the whole night in the church in prayer. It was on that occasion that our Saint learned by a Divine manifestation that an attempt would be made to cut off, by poison, his holy friend St. David of Menevia. Aidan, accordingly, immediately made known the danger to his friend, who, having blessed the poisoned food, divided it into three portions, and then, without hesitation, partook of one of the fragments that was untainted by the poison.

At the time of St. Columba's death St. Aidan was standing beside a Cross,<sup>1</sup> in company of a youth for whom he was transcribing one of the Psalms. The youth saw the holy man on a sudden rapt in ecstasy, and his countenance became all luminous with dazzling rays. When subsequently interrogated, he made known to the youth that he had at that moment contemplated in vision the reception given by the heavenly choirs to the soul of his friend, St. Columba. It is also recorded that, at another time, hearing the sweet harmony of the heavenly choirs, he prayed to God that if it was His holy will, he might be freed from the flesh, and admitted to the enjoyment of Christ; but he heard a voice, which said to him: "It is the Divine will that you should labour yet awhile for the welfare of others;" and he at once replied—"So long as thou decreest so, O God, may such labour be given to me."

For forty days, in imitation of the Redeemer, St. Aidan observed a rigorous fast in his monastery at Ferns. At its close four special favours, for which he prayed, were granted to him by God. "The first petition was, that any person of the Royal line of Leinster, and especially of the descendants of Brandubh, sitting in his See, and holding it till death, should never receive the heavenly reward:" so anxious was the Saint to guarantee the spiritual rights of his See, and to secure its freedom from usurpation of the secular power. The other petitions for which the Saint prayed, were—"that a similar penalty should await any of his religious who might fail in observance, and abandon the religious life:—that Heaven would be open to all those who should merit to be interred among the saints of the cemetery of Ferns, and that, through his prayers, one soul might each day be freed from the pains of Purgatory."

Several miracles are narrated in the Life of our Saint. I will only mention two of them, which commend his spirit of charity and compassion for the poor. Seeing a poor man who, labouring in the field, bewailed the dire servitude to which he was subjected by his master, St Aidan brought

<sup>1</sup> "Juxta quandam crucem." *Vita*. cap. xliii.

to him half a measure of barley. The poor man, smiling, said, "What can this avail me?" but looking again, he saw that the barley had been changed into gold. The Saint told him to apply a portion of this to purchase his ransom; but when the master heard of this wondrous miracle, he not only restored the poor man to liberty, but refused to accept any price of ransom. The poor man, rejoicing, brought back the gold to St. Aidan, insisting that he should accept of it as an offering for the monastery: but the Saint, despising the riches of this world, again prayed to God, and the gold was once more changed into barley as before.

Another time Aidan met some soldiers who were carrying off to their chieftain a poor captive bound in chains. The Saint prayed them to set him free for the love of Christ,<sup>1</sup> but they scornfully refused to do so. They had proceeded, however, only a few paces when they saw a number of hostile troops surrounding them on all sides, so that they betook themselves to flight to provide for their own safety, and the captive remained alone with Aidan. The Saint then said to him: "I asked these men to set you free, and they refused: I asked it from God, and he has shown you mercy." The chieftain, hearing of the fact, ratified the sentence of St. Aidan.

Colgan assures us that, according to an ancient life of our Saint, preserved in Salamanca, he founded no fewer than thirty churches in the territory of the Hy-Kinnselagh alone, a district which included the present county of Wexford, together with the barony of Shillelagh, in the county of Wicklow.<sup>2</sup> Of these the names of only four can now be identified with any certainty, viz:—*Ferns*, from which his diocese derived its name: *Ard-Ladhrann*, now Ardamine, situated on the sea-coast, in the barony of Ballagh-keen: *Cluainmore*, also called *Cluainmore-Dicholla-Gairbh*, now Clonmore, a parish in the barony of Bantry, in the centre of the county of Wexford; and *Seanbotha*, now the parish of Templeshanbo, in the same county, at the foot of Mount Leinster, and not far from Ferns. Colgan also mentions the church of Disert, in Leinster, founded by our Saint. There was another monastery called *Clonmore*, in the county Carlow, which some have supposed to have had St. Aidan for its founder. Indeed, Archdall, by one of his usual blunders, confounds into one these two monasteries: the latter, however, in our Annals, is, for distinction sake, styled *Cluain-*

<sup>1</sup> Dimittite ministrum vinctum pro amore Christi."—*Vita*, cap. lvi.

<sup>2</sup> *Lanigan*, vol. i., p. 276, supposes that the present counties of Carlow, Kilkenny, and Queen's county, were included in this district. This, however, is a mistake.



*Mor-Moedhoc*, and the feast of its founder was kept on the 11th of April.<sup>1</sup> Of *Seanbotha* Archdall also writes that it was situated in the county Wexford, but that the place is now unknown (p. 731). However, all the particulars given in our ancient records regarding *Seanbotha* agree perfectly with the modern *Templeshanbo*: (a) the Martyrology of Donegal places it in the district of Hy-Kinnselagh (p. 287): (b), the life of our Saint describes it as situated at the foot of Mount Leinster—"Juxta radices montis qui dicitur *Suighe Laighen*, i.e., *Sessio Lagenensium*:" (c) though the two names are apparently so different in form, yet in pronunciation the Irish *Seanbotha* is represented as closely as possible by the English *Shanbo*.

This monastery of *Seanbotha* was, probably, the first foundation made by St. Aidan in Hy-Kinnselagh, and hence, in the List of the Saints of Ireland compiled by Selbach at the time of St. Cormac mac Cullenan, our Saint receives for his distinctive epithet, "St. Aidan of Seanbotha."—

"Nathi, grandson of eloquent Suanach,  
Cummin, gentle for petitioning,  
With a gentle, noble throng, of just voices,  
Noble Aedan in Seanbotha."<sup>2</sup>

That this monastery had already attained considerable importance before the death of St. Aidan, results from two facts connected with it: first, the chieftain *Saran Soebdherc*, who murdered King Brandubh, was *erenach*, or custodian of its lands;<sup>3</sup> and, secondly, St. Colman, who attained great fame for sanctity, was abbot of this monastery during the life-time of our Saint.<sup>4</sup>

In Munster, St. Aidan founded the church of *Disert Nairbre*, now Dysart, in the parish of Ardmore, in the south-east of the county of Waterford; and the monastery of *Cluain Claidheach*, now Cloncagh, in the barony of Connello Upper, in the county of Limerick.

It was in Ulster, however, that his religious foundations were most numerous. Thus, we meet his churches at *Ross-inver*, in the extreme north of the county Leitrim, where he is still venerated as patron; at *Caille-bega*, now Killybeg, in the parish of Inishmacsaint, in the county Fermanagh, where the miraculous stone called "*leac moedoc*" was kept; and at *Team-*

<sup>1</sup> See the notes in new edition of Archdall's *Monasticon*, "Carlow," p. 65.

<sup>2</sup> *Book of Lecan*, in R.I.A., fol. 58.

<sup>3</sup> See *Colgan*, "Acta SS.," p. 220, n. 43.      <sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, n. 46.

*pull-an-phuirt*, now Templeport, which gives name to a parish in the north-west of the county Cavan. It was in this parish that the Saint was born, and a little to the south of his birth-place is Templeport lake, where a small island still bears the name "St. Mogue's island," and presents the ruins of his ancient church. The most important of the Ulster churches founded by St. Aidan was that of *Druim-Leathain*, now Drumlane, a parish in the north of the county Cavan, which still venerates St. Moedoc as its patron, and where the shrine *Breac Moedoc*, which we described above, was formerly preserved. The ruins of the monastery, round tower, and church stand on the shore of Lough Oughter, near the village of Milltown, about three miles south-west from Belturbet.<sup>1</sup> There was a church in existence at Drumlane in the sixth century, but this was totally destroyed before the year 1025, and the present edifice appears to belong to the twelfth century. The round tower is peculiar in this respect—that, "while the lower part is built of fine ashlar masonry, the upper part is of the rude rubble-work generally thought characteristic of an earlier period: the top is wanting, and it is not more than half its original length."<sup>2</sup>

Colgan, having mentioned these churches in which the saint is honoured, adds:—"It is not merely, however, in the above churches that this most holy man is invoked as patron, but, moreover, the diocese of Menevia in Britain, the whole territory of the Hy-Kinselagh in Leinster, and the two Breffnies [in Ulster] celebrate his festival as a solemn feast, and venerate him as their tutelar patron."<sup>3</sup>

The memory of St. Aidan, indeed, is still vividly preserved in Menevia. John of Teignmouth, and his copyist, Capgrave, conclude their notice of St. Aidan with the words:—"This holy man is named *Aidanus* in the Life of St. David, but in his own Life, *Aidus*: and at Menevia, in the Church of St. David, he is called Moedok, which is an Irish name; and his festival is observed with great veneration at that place."<sup>4</sup>

In Pembrokeshire St. Aidan is also honoured as the founder of Llanhuadain or Llawhaden; and the churches of *Nolton* and *West Haroldston* are also ascribed to him under the name of Madog. His feast is marked as in Ireland on the 31st of January.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See plates and description of these ruins in *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, vol. 5, p. 110, seqq.

<sup>2</sup> *Stokes*, loc. cit. p. 5. <sup>3</sup> *Colgan* "Acta SS.," page 223.

<sup>4</sup> "Apud Meneviam in Ecclesia Sancti David appellatur Moedok, quod est Hibernicum, et ibidem in magna veneratione festum ejus recolitur."—See *Ussher*, Works, vol. vi. page 536.

<sup>5</sup> *Rees* "Essay on the Welsh Saints," page 227.

As regards Scotland, Dr. Reeves gives from the Statistical Accounts and other ancient records the following list of the churches which are there dedicated to him :—" First, *Kilmaddock*, a large parish in Menteith, in the south of Perthshire, north-west of Stirling : *the name is believed to signify the chapel of St. Madock, Madocus, or Modocus, one of the Culdees* (thus the New Statistical Account of Scotland, vol. x., page 1224). Second, *St. Madoes*, a very small parish in the Carse of Gowrie, south-east of Perth. The name is written in early records *St. Madois*, and is commonly called *Semmiedores* in the district where are 'The stannin' stanes o' Semmiedores.' There is an ancient monument here, called the *St. Madoes' Stone*, of which a drawing is given in the 'Sculptured Stones of Scotland.' The writer in the New Statistical Account rightly conjectures that the parish is called from the patron saint of Kilmaddock, but errs greatly in styling him a 'Gallic missionary.' Third, *Balmadies*, an estate in the south-east end of the parish of Rescobie, in Forfarshire : the cemetery is at Chapeltown."<sup>1</sup>

There seems to me, however, to be some room for doubting whether all these Scottish foundations are to be referred to the holy Patron of Ferns. In the *Felire of Aengus*, another Irish saint, called Moedoc, is commemorated on the 23rd of March, who, as his characteristic epithet, receives the title of the "crown of Scotland" :—

"The assemblative daughter (*i.e.*, St. Ciannait), with the  
immense host  
Of Feradach, the admirable :  
From Christ received his dignity,  
Momoedoc the crown of Alba."<sup>2</sup>

This St. Moedoc, in the Martyrology of Tallaght, is said to be from Fedh-duin, in the south of Ossory ; and it is quite possible that some of the above-mentioned Scottish churches may have derived their name from him.

The death of St. Aidan is generally placed by our antiquaries, as Ussher, Colgan, Lanigan, &c., in the year 632. Ware adopts the same opinion :—"Edan (he thus writes), exercised his pastoral functions about 50 years, and having founded many churches and wrought great miracles, was removed by a happy death unto Christ, on the 31st of January, 632, which day is kept sacred to his memory, and was buried in his own church of Ferns."<sup>3</sup> However, the *Annals of the Four*

<sup>1</sup> *Reeves' "Proceedings of the R.I.A.,"* Dec. 14, 1863.

<sup>2</sup> *Felire*, at 23rd of March.

<sup>3</sup> *Ware*, "Bishops," page 437.

Masters expressly record his death in the year 624, *i.e.*, 625 of our modern computation :—" St. Maedhog, Bishop of Ferns, died on the 31st of January." The Martyrology of Donegal gives the same date :—" A.D. 624, was the date when he resigned his spirit to heaven." The *Chronicon Scotorum* also, at 625, gives the entry : "Maedhog of Ferna quievit,"<sup>1</sup> but by a singular mistake repeats the same entry under the year 656.<sup>2</sup>

In the ancient "Catalogue of the Order of the Saints of Ireland,"<sup>3</sup> St. Aidan is reckoned in the third class, among those who "loved to dwell in desert places, lived on herbs and water, and the alms of the faithful, despised all earthly things, and wholly abstained from all murmuring and detraction."

The name of St. Aidan appears in several of the Continental martyrologies. Thus, in the Carthusian Martyrology of Cologne, at the 31st January, "on this day, the Feast of St. Aidan, Bishop and Confessor:" and Ferrarius, on the same day, "in Scotia, the Festival of St. Medoth, Bishop and Cele-De."<sup>4</sup> Adam King, in his Scottish Calendar, whilst antedating our Saint by three hundred years, in accordance with the prejudices of the antiquated Scottish historians, commemorates his festival on the 31st of January: "St. Modoche Bishop in Scotland, under Crathlinthus, King, A.D. 328." Dempster follows in the same track, but calls our Saint by the name of Medoth. Camerarius, and the Martyrology of Aberdeen, also notice our Saint, on the 31st of January, as honoured at Kilmadok, in Scotland. The Breviary of Aberdeen, on the same day, mentions, "St. Modoc, a renowned Bishop and Confessor, venerated at Kilmadok," and gives the following short collect for his festival: "Vouchsafe, O Almighty God, to quicken Thy people with the light of Thy glory, and through the gracious intercession of Thy Confessor and Bishop, Modoc, for Thy people, grant them, with glory, to behold Thy true and neverfailing light in the eternal habitations: through Christ our Lord." In the Roman and British Martyrology, we also read on the 31st January: "St. Aidan, Abbot and Bishop of Ferns, in Leinster; a child of prayer, and trained from youth by St. David, in Menevia, in

<sup>1</sup> *Chronicon Scot.*, edited by W. M. Hennessy, page 79.

<sup>2</sup> The only grounds for placing St. Aidan's death in 632 is the incidental statement made in his life, that Guaire, King of Connaught, lived thirty years after being visited by our Saint. Now Guaire died in the year 662. However there is nothing in the text to show that it was the intention of the writer to fix that period with accuracy, and it seems very probable that the expression 'he survived' thirty years, &c., was only intended to convey in general terms the idea that he lived very many years, *i.e.*, between thirty and forty years, after seeing our saint.

<sup>3</sup> See IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD, vii., 212, seqq.

<sup>4</sup> See other examples in notes to *Usuardi Martyrologium*, edit. by Migne, Paris, 1852, page 718.

monastic discipline and Christian perfection. He founded several churches and monasteries in Ireland, and imparted to countless souls the lessons he had learned from so excellent a master."

All the Irish Martyrologies commemorate St. Aidan on the 31st of January. I have already more than once referred to the entry in the Martyrology of Donegal. The Martyrology of Christ's Church, edited by Dr. Todd, has, on the same day, "Eodem die, Sancti Edani Episcopi." Fitzsimon, in his *Catalogue of the Chief Saints in Ireland*, gives "S. Medogus, qui etiam Edanus dicitur." Marianus O'Gorman, in his *MS. Metrical Calendar*, at the 31st of January, writes:—

"The end of the month to Maedhoc,  
To my fair Mochumma a co-share  
O all ye saints of January,  
Come to the sustaining of our souls."

In the *Felire* of St. Ængus we read on the same day:—

"Name Aedh the powerful, of Ferna,  
Maelanfaid, a name before us;  
They give with very great Brigh,  
A bright summit to the host of January."

And in the *Leabhar Breac* the following gloss is added:—  
"Aedh, *i.e.*, Moaedhog, *i.e.*, Mo-aedh-og, *i.e.*, my young Aedh: he was of the men of Lurg, of Loch Erne, *i. e.*, Moaedhoc, son of Setna, son of Erc, son of Feradach, son of Fiachra, son of Amhalgaid, son of Muiredhach, son of Carthaind, son of Colla-Uais."

The Martyrology of Donegal ends its notice of St. Aidan with the remark that:—"A very old vellum book, in which are found the Martyrology of Tallaght and many other matters which relate to the Saints of Ireland, states that Maedhog of Ferns, in habits and life, was like unto Cornelius the Pope."<sup>1</sup>

Dr. Todd, in "*Book of Hymns*," page 69, published for the first time the ancient Tract referred to in this passage, but the Belgian MS. from which he copied it was imperfect and incomplete.<sup>2</sup> It was reprinted from the same MS. by Dr. Kelly, in his edition of the Martyrology of Tallaght, page xli. I have fortunately been able to complete the text from the fragment of the Book of Leinster, preserved at St. Isidore's,

<sup>1</sup> *Martyrology of Donegal*, page 33.

<sup>2</sup> *Brussels MS.* de la Biblioth de Burgogne, No. 5, 104.

in Rome, where the Tract is referred to St. Ængus as its author. Though short, it is invaluable as recording the estimate that was formed in our early Church of the saints who adorned the three first centuries of the faith in our island. It is as follows :—<sup>1</sup>

“Here are commemorated saints who were similar in their manner of life :—

John the Baptist, . . .	Bishop Ibar.
Peter the Apostle, . . .	Patrick.
Paul the Apostle, . . .	Finnian of Clonard.
Andrew the Apostle, . . .	Columbkille.
James the Apostle, . . .	Finnian of Moville.
John the Apostle, . . .	Kiaran of Clonmacnoise.
Philip the Apostle, . . .	Canice.
Bartholomew the Apostle, . . .	Brendan the Senior
Thomas the Apostle, . . .	Brendan of Clonfert.
Matthew the Apostle, . . .	Columba of Tirdeglass.
James the Apostle, . . .	Comgall of Beanchor.
Simon, . . . . .	Molaise of Devenish.
Tatheus, . . . . .	Sinchell the Younger.
Mathias, . . . . .	Ruadhan of Lorrha
Mary, . . . . .	Brigid.

<sup>1</sup> Hic incipiunt Sancti, qui erant bini unius moris.

Johannes Babtitsa, Episcopus Ibar.	Job patientiae, Munnu mac Tulcain.
Petrus Apostolus, Patricius.	Jeronimus sapiens, Manchan Leith.
Paulus Apostolus, Finnian Cluaina	Clemens Papa, Ciaran Saigri.
Iraird.	Gregorius Moraliū, Cummini Fota.
Andreas Apostolus, Colom Cilli.	Ciprianus Cartag- Mochotu Lis moir.
Jacobus Apostolus, Finnian Maigi Bile.	inenis,
Johannes Apostolus, Ciaran Cluana Meic	Laurentius diaconus, Dechoin Nessian.
Nois.	Beda sapiens et Buti Mac Bronaigh.
Pilippus Apostolus, Cainnech.	monachus,
Bartholomeus, Brendinus Senior.	Ilarius episcopus et Sechnall epscop.
Tomas Apostolus, Brenainn Cluana	sapiens,
Ferta.	Cornelius papa, Moedoc Ferna.
Matheus Apostolus, Colum Tiri da glas.	Silvester papa, [Adomnan episco-
Jacobus Apostolus, Comgall Bennchair.	pus.]
Simon Apostolus, Molassi Dam-insi.	[Bonifacius papa,] Molassi Lethglinne.
Tatheus Apostolus, Sinchellus Junior.	Paucomins mona- Garald Maigi Eo.
Mathias Apostolus, Ruadan Lothra.	chus,
Maria, Brigita.	Pastor monachus, Caminne Innsi Ceal-
Martinus, Epscop. Herc Slani.	tra.
Paulus Heremita, Coemgen Glinni da	Benedictus, caput Fintan Cluana En-
loch.	monachorum totius dach, caput mona-
Antonius Monachus, Fechini Fobair.	Europae, chorum totius Hi-
Augustinus Sapiens, Lonngharad.	berniae.
Ambrosius imnodi- Mac indeicis.	Augustinus, Episco- Barre, epscop Muma
cus	pus Anglorum, ocus Conacht,

The two names added in brackets are supplied from the Brussels MS.

Martin, . . . . .	Bishop Ercc of Slaine.
Paul the Hermit, . . . .	Kevin of Glendalough.
Anthony the Monk, . . . .	Fechin of Fobhar.
Bishop Augustine the Wise, .	Lonngaradh.
Ambrose of the Hymns, . .	Mac Indeceis ( <i>i.e.</i> , son of the Sage).
Job of Patience, . . . . .	Munnu Mac Tulcain.
Jerome the Wise . . . . .	Manchan of Liath.
Clement the Pope, . . . .	Kiaran of Saigher.
Gregory of the Book of Morals,	Cummian Fota.
Cyprian of Carthage, . . .	Carthage of Lismore.
Lawrence the Deacon. . . .	Nessan the Deocan.
The Monk Beda, the Wise. .	Buite mac Bronaigh.
Bishop Hilary, the Wise, . .	Sechnall the Bishop.
Cornelius the Pope, . . . .	Aidan of Ferns.
Silvester the Pope, . . . .	Adomnan the Bishop.
Bonifacius the Pope, . . . .	Laserian of Leighlin.
Pachomius the Monk, . . . .	Gerald of Mayo.
Pastor the Monk, . . . . .	Caimin of Iniskeltra.
Benedict the head of the Monks of all Europe.	Fintan of Clonenagh, the head of the Monks of all Ireland.
Augustine, Bishop of the .	Finbarr, Bishop of Mun- ster and Connaught."

We have already described the *Breac Moedoc*, or Shrine of St. Aidan, which was guarded with religious love in the church of Drumlane. It, however, is not the only memorial of St. Aidan that popular veneration has carefully preserved through centuries of peril and persecution to our own times. The *Clog Mogue*, or Bell of St. Moedog, with fragments of its ancient shrine, was purchased some years ago by the late Protestant Primate from an old man named Kelleher, and in 1863, was exhibited at the Royal Irish Academy. The Magoverans had long been the *erenachs* at Templeport, and the faithful hereditary keepers of this bell. The daughter of the last of that branch of the family was married to Kelleher, who, when the times became bad, overcome by poverty, sold it for a trifle. Even within the memory of the present generation, an oath taken on it was regarded as most sacred, so deep was the veneration of our people for every memorial of our early saints. The hereditary keepers of this bell lived among the Slieve-an-Eirin mountains in the county Cavan, between Templeport and Fenagh. It was, probably, the mere neighbourhood of these two towns that gave rise to the popular tradition, that the bell thus venerated was a gift of St. Kilian

(or Caillin, as he is sometimes called), the founder of Fenagh, to St. Aidan, the founder of Templeport. To judge from the ancient life of our Saint, we should rather suppose it to be the bell received by our Saint from St. David in Menevia, the same, perhaps, to which Dymma owed his conversion at the time when St. Aidan first approached the coast of Wexford. This venerable relic is of iron, but its case is of copper, ornamented with silver-plated bands, and on its front were two small figures, also plated with silver, one of which still remains: it represents an ecclesiastic, who clasps a book to his breast, and was probably intended to designate St. Aidan. The whole is now so decayed and mutilated that but little remains to show forth the richness and ornamentation of the original shrine.

Though the Danes more than once plundered the monastery and church of Ferns, still the relics of St. Aidan seem to have remained undisturbed. When the church was last repaired, in 1817, his tomb was enclosed in a recess of the wall, and the following inscription was placed on it:—

“ Under this monument  
are interred the remains of  
ST. EDAN,  
commonly called St. Mogue,  
the founder of this Cathedral,  
and first Bishop of Ferns.  
He discharged the duties of the Pastoral Office  
with piety and Xtian. zeal  
for the space of fifty years,  
and died in an advanced age,  
January 31st, A.D. 632.”<sup>1</sup>

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## LETTERS OF BALMEZ.

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### XVIII.—ON PURGATORY.

MY ESTEEMED FRIEND—It is almost impossible for us to content sceptics. One of the most powerful proofs of the justice of our cause is the injustice with which we are assailed. If a dogma be severe, we are accused of cruelty; if benign, we are called temporizers. You justify this observation by the difficulties you raise in your last letter against the dogma

<sup>1</sup> Cotton's *Fasti*. “Leinster,” page 329.



of Purgatory, with which, you say, you disagree more than with that of Hell. "The eternity of punishment," you say, "though formidable, is, nevertheless, a dogma full of terrible grandeur, and worthy to be counted among those of a religion which seeks greatness though it be terrific. At least I see in it infinite justice exercised on an infinite scale; and these ideas of infinity incline me to believe that this fearful dogma is not the conception of the understanding of man. But when I come to Purgatory—when I see those poor souls suffer for faults they were unable to expiate during life; when I see the incessant communication between the Living and the Dead by means of suffrages; when I am told these souls are ransomed, one after another, I think I discover in all this the littleness of human invention, and its idea of accommodation between our miseries and the inflexibility of Divine justice. If I were to speak frankly, I would say that Protestants have been more prudent than Catholics on this head, by blotting out the pains of Purgatory from the catalogue of dogmas." If I were to speak frankly, I would say, in reply, that only for the security I have of coming off victorious in the dispute, I could not have calmly read so much injustice accumulated in so few words. I was not unaware that Purgatory was often the butt of the mockery and sarcasm of incredulity; but I could not believe that a person, who boasts of being impartial and judicious, would try to gild the coarse foulness of those sneers and sarcasms with a tint of philosophical observation. I could not believe that the profound reason of justice and equity, contained in the dogma of Purgatory, could escape a clear understanding; or a sensitive heart, not perceive the delicate tenderness of a dogma which extends the links of life beyond the tomb, and sheds ineffable consolation on the melancholy of death.

As I have spoken largely in another letter of the pains of Hell, I will not dwell on them here; particularly as you appear reconciled to that terrible dogma, for the purpose, I suppose, of combating with more freedom that of the pains of Purgatory. I believe these two truths are not in contradiction, and, far from injuring, aid and strengthen each other mutually. In the dogma of Hell, Divine justice appears in its terrific aspect; in that of Purgatory, mercy shines in its inextinguishable goodness; but far from encroaching on the rights of justice, these are represented as even more inflexible, inasmuch as they do not exempt even the just man destined for eternal beatitude from paying what he owes.

I suppose you do not hold the doctrine of those philosophers of antiquity, who did not admit any degrees in faults;

and I cannot think you consider a slight motion of indignation deserving of the same punishment as the horrid crime of a son who buries the assassin's dagger in his father's breast. Would you condemn the first fault to eternal punishment, and confound it with the unnatural cruelty of the second crime? I am sure you would not. Here, then, we have Hell and Purgatory; here we have the difference between venial and mortal sins; here we have the Catholic truth supported by reason and common sense.

Sins are blotted out by repentance: the Divine mercy delights in pardoning him who implores it with an humble and contrite heart; this pardon liberates the person who receives it from eternal damnation, but does not exempt him from the expiation claimed by justice. Even in the human order, when a crime is forgiven, the pardoned criminal is not exempted from all penalty: the claims of justice are tempered, but not invalidated. What difficulty is there then in admitting that God exercises His mercy, and requires at the same time the tribute due to his justice? Here we have another reason in favour of Purgatory. Many men die who had not the will or the time to satisfy for what they owed for their sins already pardoned: some obtain this pardon a few moments before exhaling their last breath. The Divine mercy has freed them from the pains of Hell; but should we say they have been translated immediately to eternal felicity without suffering some penalty for their former disorders? Is it not reasonable and fair that, as mercy tempers justice, the latter should moderate mercy in its turn?

The incessant communication of the living with the dead, which displeases you so much, is the natural consequence of the bond of charity which unites the faithful of the present life with those who have passed to the future. To condemn this communication, it is first necessary to condemn charity itself, and deny the sublime and consoling dogma of the Communion of Saints. It is strange, when philanthropy and fraternity are so much talked of, that the beauty and tenderness contained in this dogma of the Church should not be properly admired! We incessantly hear of the necessity under which all men are of living as brothers; and are we to be cut off from that fraternity which is not limited to earth, but embraces all humanity on earth and in Heaven, in felicity and misfortune? Wherever there is a good to be communicated, *there* is charity to prevent it from becoming isolated in an individual, and to extend it widely over all men; whenever there is a misfortune to be succoured, charity hastens to bring aid from those who can alleviate it. Whether the

misfortune is in this life or in the other, charity does not forget it. She who feeds the hungry, clothes the naked, assists the weak, relieves the suffering, consoles the prisoner, she it is that knocks at the heart of the faithful, and tells them to succour their defunct brethren by imploring the Divine mercy to shorten the term of expiation to which they are condemned. If this were a human invention, it would certainly be a beautiful and sublime one. If Catholic priests had idealised it, it could not be denied they had the cleverness to harmonise their production with the most essential principles of the Christian religion. *Apropos* of inventions, it would be easy for me to prove to you the dogma of Purgatory is not an offspring of the ages of ignorance. We find its constant tradition even in the midst of the errors of false religions, which shows that this dogma, as well as others, was primitively communicated to the human race, and escaped the shipwreck of truth provoked by error and the passions of the disordered progeny of Adam. Plato and Virgil were not priests of the middle ages, and, nevertheless, they tell us of a place of expiation. The Jews and Mahommedans did not conspire with the Catholic priesthood to deceive the people ; and, nevertheless, they too acknowledge the existence of Purgatory. As regards Protestants, it is not exact that all have denied it ; but if they *will* appropriate to themselves this sad glory, we will not dispute it with them. Let them, with all our heart, admit none but the pains of Hell ; let them remove all hope from him who is not sufficiently pure to enter immediately into the mansions of the just ; let them cut all the bonds that unite the living with the dead, and adorn with this formidable gem their doctrines of fatality and desperation. We prefer the benignity of our dogma to the inexorableness of their error. We confess that God is just, and man culpable ; but we also acknowledge the frailty of mortals, and recognise the infinite mercy of the Creator.

I remain yours, &c.,

J. B.

## ON THE PLACE OF HISTORICAL STUDIES IN AN IRISH CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY,<sup>1</sup>

WHEN endeavouring to select a subject on which to address you, gentlemen, this evening, I have been stopped by the name of your Society. I have the pleasure of addressing the Historical Society of the Catholic University of Ireland, and I have asked myself, might it not be interesting to you to inquire what is the place of history in such an institution as our University. I fear I shall not have much that is new to offer in the considerations I shall bring before you, but I hope the interest you take in the object for which you have banded yourselves together in this Society, will recommend to you my selection, and secure for me your attention, notwithstanding any shortcomings of mine in the treatment of the subject.

Of course, in a lecture such as this, I can do little more than touch on a very large subject. However, the remarks I make may open up thoughts on which you can reflect at leisure, and which you can follow out to their just conclusions.

Dr. Newman, answering the question—What is a University? says:—"If I were asked to describe as briefly and popularly as I could what a University was, I should draw my answer from its ancient designation of a *Studium Generale*, or 'School of Universal Learning.'" I propose, then, briefly to discuss the question: What is the place of history in such a "*Studium Generale*?" And, in particular, what is its place in the School of Universal Learning which Catholic Ireland has set up?

I suppose no one here will deny, that history is entitled to a place, and to an important place, in any institution which pretends to the name of a University. And yet there are institutions which have been given to Ireland—nay, which ostensibly were founded and are maintained, in order to meet the demand of Irish Catholics for "Schools of Universal Learning," in which, according to the testimony of one of their own officials, history is mentioned only "*ad fucum faciendum*," to deceive the unwary. Those Colleges are Colleges of a University, and yet it has been said, that history ought to be excluded from their course, because history is only an acquaintance with incidents, a knowledge of which can be obtained without a teacher, as well as with a master's help. Those who speak thus seem to forget that all inductive sciences, such as history, are founded on an acquaintance with incidents: that their importance, besides the special objective value of each, consists in their power to

<sup>1</sup> A Lecture read before the Historical Society of the Catholic University of Ireland, 25th May, 1871.

strengthen and mould the mental faculties, enabling them to extend themselves to further intellectual advancement, while the merit of the teacher consists in setting before his pupils those incidents in their true light, drawing from them just conclusions, and multiplying his proofs by new and more telling incidents which bear upon his subject. I shall, therefore, dismiss the opinion of those who would give history no place in liberal studies: it ought to have a place, and a most important one.

For our part, we believe, with the great Frederic Von Schlegel, that it is a "matter of greatest moment to watch the spirit of God revealing itself in history, enlightening and directing the judgments of men, saving and conducting mankind, and, even here below, admonishing, judging, and chastising nations and generations: to watch this spirit in its progress through all ages, and discern the fiery marks and traces of its footsteps." We are convinced, that it is of the greatest importance to study and convince ourselves of "this three-fold law of the world, these three mighty principles in the historical progress of mankind—the hidden ways of a *Providence* delivering and emancipating the human race; next, the *free will of man* doomed to a decisive choice in the struggle of life, and in every action and sentiment springing from that freedom; lastly, *the power permitted by God to the evil principle*."<sup>1</sup>

But I propose to consider the question I have taken up subjectively rather than objectively: that is, What is the place of Historical Studies in a University Course, because of their effect on the student?

What, then, is the end of all liberal education? To fill the mind and heart with images of the true, the beautiful, and the good. Now, the study of history, when properly conducted, is calculated to promote in a wonderful manner this three-fold end. First, to fill the mind with the knowledge of the true—of facts, for they are the object of historical research. The illustrious Comte de Maistre has said, that history for the last 300 years has been a gigantic conspiracy against truth. When we invite you to the study of history, surely it is not that you may take part in that conspiracy, but rather that you may make head against it; that you may investigate the facts in the original documents, and seek the truth in its indisputable sources, and thus oppose yourselves to a conspiracy which is as ruinous to intellectual advancement as it is immoral.

Much may be done by the true student of history to stem the torrent of falsehood, which, under the name of learning, lays waste the minds of men, and destroys the very landmarks

<sup>1</sup> Philos. of Hist., by Fred. V. Schlegel, Lect. 15.

which guide us in the search after historical truth. Witness the "History of Pope Innocent III. and his Times," in which the character of that noble Pontiff is brought out into its true light by Hurter. Witness the "Life of St. Gregory VII.," in which Voigt vindicates that glorious Pope from the attacks of his enemies, and holds him up to the admiration of the world. Of all the Pontiffs who have sat in St. Peter's chair, the two I have just named are among the greatest benefactors of Christendom; and yet scarcely any have been more calumniated, and represented as more worthy of execration. Now, is not that study most important for the educated man, which fills his mind with correct information, which gives him the truth on important questions such as these?

The study of history also fills the mind with images of the beautiful. As we pass in review the centuries that are gone, the mind of the true student of history rests with delight on the beautiful works which the noblest of God's visible creatures, man, has produced; with which he has decked his dwelling-place on earth—by which he has perpetuated his name—with which he has written in lasting characters, deeds which would otherwise have been long since forgotten; in which, more indelibly than on tables of brass, he has engraven, for the use of future generations, the record of his triumphs over difficulties, and of his achievements for the good of his fellows. We all know, that among the ways in which history is to be studied, the investigation of the monuments of the past, holds a special place. What study more ennobling, what better calculated to form the mind, to enlarge it, to fill it with thoughts that are beautiful and great—than to ponder over those glorious works of art, those trophies of by-gone ages? It may be some historical painting or sculpture, in which the valiant, the beautiful, and the good, are made to live on, or rather are idealized in their most winning form, so that the soul may take them in, and make their moral beauty all her own; or it may be some noble edifice raised to commemorate the martyr's courage, the lovely virgin's gentle, but irresistible, power for good, the triumph of truth in some saintly teacher's life and death. Even, as the poet tells, of that greatest of man's works, St. Peter's, in Rome:—

"Enter: its grandeur overwhelms thee not;  
And why? It is not lessened; but thy mind,  
Expanded by the genius of the spot,  
Has grown colossal;"

the study of history in the beautiful monuments of the past, seems to me one of the most fitting agencies for filling

the mind with images of the beautiful, as well as of the true ; thus attaining the second end of a liberal education—

“Till, growing with its growth, we thus dilate  
Our spirits to the size of that they contemplate.”

A few years ago there was begun in Venice and subsequently continued in Rome, a work which, in its conception, seems to me a most pleasing, as well as a very valuable aid to the student of history : it is called “*Tavole Cronologiche*”—“Chronological Tables.” It illustrates each century since the Christian Era by contemporaneous works of art, beginning with the medals of the earliest Christian times, the engraved gems and glasses of the catacombs—and exhibiting, in the order of time, pictorial, sculptured, and architectural illustrations.

The Lateran Museum, which has been got together by our present glorious Pontiff, Pope Pius IX., and has been so well arranged and illustrated by the great Christian Archaeologist, Cavaliere de’ Rossi, is another illustration of my thought, and shows how well the wise study of history tends to fill the mind with the beautiful as well as the true.

But of all the educational fruits of the study of history, the greatest without doubt is, that it tends to fill the mind with images of the good. Not but that in the history of the past we find much that is evil—nay, much more of evil than of good. But it is in this precisely that the advantage of the study of history under an able teacher consists: that the student learns to discriminate between the evil and the good, to sift the good, like wheat, from the chaff, and store it up in the granary of his mind and heart. I will illustrate my meaning by an extract from the “History of Ferdinand and Isabella,” by the great American publicist, Prescott. What more educational, what better calculated, than the following passage, to educate the student’s mind, and fill it with images of the good, as well as of the true and the beautiful?

“Among her (Isabella’s) moral qualities, the most conspicuous, perhaps, was her magnanimity. She betrayed nothing little or selfish in thought or in action. Her schemes were vast, and executed in the same noble spirit in which they were conceived. She never employed doubtful agents or sinister measures, but the most direct and open policy. She scorned to avail herself of advantages offered by the perfidy of others. Where she had once given her confidence, she gave her hearty and steady support ; and she was scrupulous to redeem any pledge she had made to those who ventured in her cause, however unpopular. She sustained Ximenes in all his obnoxious but salutary reforms. She seconded Colum-

bus in the prosecution of his arduous enterprise, and shielded him from the calumny of his enemies . . . . . She was incapable of harbouring any petty distrust or latent malice, and although stern in the execution and exaction of public justice, she made the most generous allowance, and even sometimes advances, to those who had personally injured her.

“But the principle which gave a peculiar colouring to every feature of Isabella’s mind was piety. It shone from the very depths of her soul, with a heavenly radiance, which illuminated her whole character. Fortunately, her earliest years had been passed in the rugged school of adversity, under the eye of a mother who implanted in her serious mind such strong principles of religion as nothing in after life had power to shake. At an early age, in the flower of youth and beauty, she was introduced to her brother’s court; but its blandishments, so dazzling to a young imagination, had no power over hers, for she was surrounded by a moral atmosphere of purity,

‘Driving far off each thing of sin and guilt.’

“Such was the decorum of her manners, that though encompassed by false friends and open enemies, not the slightest reproach was breathed on her fair name in this corrupt and calumnious court . . . . . Isabella’s actions were habitually based on principle. Whatever errors of judgment be imputed to her, she most anxiously sought in all situations to discern and discharge her duty . . . . Isabella’s measures were characterised by that practical good sense, without which the most brilliant parts may work more to the woe, than to the weal of mankind. . . . She was quick to discern objects of real utility. . . . She was equally indefatigable in her mental application. . . . With all her high qualifications, Isabella would have been still unequal to the achievement of her grand designs without possessing a degree of fortitude rare in either sex; not the courage which implies contempt of personal danger—though of this she had a larger share than falls to most men; nor that which supports its possessor under the extremities of bodily pain—though of this she gave ample evidence . . . . but that moral courage which sustains the spirit in the dark hour of adversity, and gathering light from within to dispel the darkness, imparts its own cheering influence to all around. . . . . Happily these masculine qualities in Isabella did not extinguish the softer ones which constitute the charm of her sex. Her heart overflowed with affectionate sensibility to her family and friends. She watched over the declining days of her aged mother, and ministered to her sad infirmities with all the delicacy of filial tenderness.



We have seen abundant proofs how fondly and faithfully she loved her husband to the last, though this love was not always so faithfully requited. For her children she lived more than for herself, and for them too she died, for it was their loss and their afflictions which froze the current of her blood before age had time to chill it. Her exalted state did not remove her above the sympathies of friendship . . . Her heart, indeed, was filled with benevolence to all mankind. In the most fiery heat of war, she was engaged in devising means for mitigating its horrors. She is said to have been the first to introduce the benevolent institution of camp hospitals. . . . But it is needless to multiply examples of this beautiful, but familiar trait in her character."

Such is the portrait which the Protestant historian draws of Isabella the Catholic. He winds up his description of his heroine, and fulfils the historian's office of sifting the true, the beautiful, and the good, from the false, the deformed, and the evil, by contrasting Isabella of Spain with her illustrious namesake, Elizabeth of England, whose "history presents some features parallel to her own ;" concluding his comparison with these striking words :—

"The circumstances of their deaths, which were somewhat similar, displayed the great dissimilarity of their characters. Both pined amidst the royal state, a prey to incurable despondency, rather than any marked bodily distemper. In Elizabeth it sprung from wounded vanity, a sullen conviction that she had outlived the admiration on which she had so long fed—and even the solace of friendship, and the attachment of her subjects. Nor did she seek consolation where alone it was to be found in that sad hour. Isabella, on the other hand, sunk under a too acute sensibility to the sufferings of others. But amidst the gloom which gathered around her, she looked with the eye of faith to the brighter prospects which unfolded the future ; and when she resigned her last breath, it was amidst the tears and universal lamentations of her people."

I have quoted this long passage from Prescott's "History of Ferdinand and Isabella," because it seems to me to exemplify, in a striking manner, the power of history to fill the minds of its students with images of the good, as well as of the true and the beautiful.

However, it is not the province of education to store the mind with images of the true, the beautiful, and the good, as of things past ; but to make those images prototypes for the future. The advantage of education is not a theoretical advantage, but a practical one. The great instruction to be derived from history is: that the experience of the past should throw light on the future. "*What is it that hath been ? what*

*is it that hath been done?"* asks the wisest of the kings of Israel; and he answers: "*The same thing that shall be. The same that shall be done.*" The office of education is, to mould the mind and heart, that they may aspire to and embrace the true, the beautiful, and the good in action. The study of history teaches how this is to be done in circumstances the most varied and the most difficult. The unruly passions of man, their deceitful allurements, the evils their indulgence brings in their train, are the same they ever were. Alas! even as I speak, a new proof of this truth is being written on the page which will tell to future generations the ruin of Paris! Forewarned by the study of history is to be forearmed. Virtue, its conflicts, its true glories, the happiness which is its fruit—these enchanting pictures, engraven on the pages of history—strengthen the mind, win the heart, and gently, but powerfully, draw the soul to all that is good and great—*Verba movent, exempla trahunt.*

And now I pass to the second part of the task I have undertaken. If these remarks be true and applicable to all who desire to ennoble their souls by a liberal education, they apply in a most special manner to those who study in this University, which the Catholics of Ireland have set up in this second half of the nineteenth century. Here, more than elsewhere, because we are in a Catholic University, ought history to be cultivated, that the truth and the beauty of the Catholic Church, and the invaluable good of which she has been, and is the channel to the world, may be made manifest to all.

A distinguished writer, Monsignor Palma, in the preface to his "*Lectures on Ecclesiastical History,*" says: "Everyone knows that the enemies of the Catholic religion, besides the other snares which they spread, endeavour, by arguments which they falsely take from ecclesiastical history, to prove that the Church herself affords arguments which militate against her sanctity. Moreover, it is well known that by an exaggerated, or an altogether false representation of facts, they attempt to throw discredit on the Sovereign Pontiffs, and to show that the Catholic doctrine of their supremacy is to be either called in doubt or altogether rejected. These enemies of the Catholic Church also seek to undermine her salutary precepts by throwing discredit on those ancient ecclesiastical monuments, in which we find inculcated the importance and the necessity of observing her wise and saintly disciplinary ordinances. Thus it is, that the very facts of history, which are calculated to show forth the glories of the Church, are made use of by the enemies of the truth to calumniate and insult her. . . . It is thus the enemies of the Church perversely turn history against the Catholic religion. Who, then, will deny

that it is very necessary to investigate and clearly set forth the truth regarding the chief facts of ecclesiastical history, in order to take from them this excuse for inveighing against the Catholic Church?"

It is not necessary that I should follow up these reflections at any considerable length. I shall only remind you, that to this part of our subject are specially applicable the words written by the distinguished author of the "History of Pope Innocent III.," Hurter, while still a Protestant:—

"With good reason we may say of history what Bacon said of philosophy: '*Leviore haustus avocant a Deo; pleniores ad Deum reducunt.*'"

And now it only remains for me to consider the special claims which the study of history has upon us as Irish Catholics. In doing so, I cannot adopt better words than those used by one whose name will always be mentioned with veneration in this University—the late Professor Eugene O'Curry. In the preface to his "Lectures on the Manuscript Materials of Irish History," he says:—

"Without meaning the smallest disparagement to previous labourers in these fields, I found, on examining their works, that, although much had been done in particular directions, and by successive writers, who more or less followed and improved upon, or corrected each other, still the great sources of genuine historical and antiquarian knowledge lay buried in those vast, but yet almost entirely unexplored compilations, which, to my predecessors, were inaccessibly sealed up in the keeping of the ancient Gaedhelic, the venerable language of our country. To point out the only way to remedy this state of things, then, and, if possible, by a critical analysis of the great mass of documents which still remain to us in the ancient tongue, to open the way—as far as lay in my power—to the necessary examination of these previous records and materials, was the scope and aim of my first course of lectures, those now collected in the present volume. That I have not succeeded in placing this interesting subject before the readers in as clear and attractive a form as it deserves, is but too painfully apparent to myself; but if I shall have succeeded in drawing the attention of the student to the necessity of making an independent examination of it for himself, I shall have attained one of the dearest objects of my life, and I shall feel that I have not struggled wholly without success in endeavouring to do my duty to my country, so far as it lies in my power to do at all. As to the work itself, its literary defects apart, I may claim for it at least the poor merit of being the first effort ever made to bring within the view of the student of Irish History and Archaeology, an

honest, if not a complete, analysis of all the materials of that yet unwritten story which lies accessible, indeed, in our native language, but the great body of which—*the flesh and blood of all the true History of Ireland—remains to this day unexamined and unknown to the world.*"

This is the work which remains to be accomplished by you, gentlemen, and by those who will come after you in these halls : to *examine* and *make known* that true, and beautiful, and venerable, but *yet unwritten story*. One of the chief duties of the Catholic University of Ireland will be to develop and propagate the study of the history of our country. And if, in all history, it is the work of the student to sift the truth from falsehood, and to bring out in all its splendour what is beautiful and good, in none will your trouble be more amply repaid, than in the study of our own country. In the official record of the foundation of this Institution, it is said :—"The Catholic University of Ireland, although brought into existence by the circumstances of the day, really owes its foundation to the reasonableness, or even the necessity, of the principle, that a country possessed of intellectual and moral characteristics proper to itself, should not be without some great central School, for the development of the national genius and the expression of the national mind. England glories in her own Universities as institutions cognate to her peculiar social temperament, and uses them as abodes and organs of her national thought. It is but natural that Catholic Ireland too should require some corresponding seat of mental activity, the establishment of which, when once the pressure of the penal laws against Catholic education came to be mitigated, and she began to think and act for herself, was only a matter of time. Accordingly, the Catholic University has been founded by the Bishops of Ireland, in compliance with the wishes and counsels of His Holiness Pope Pius the Ninth, in order to keep alive in our country the spirit of faith, while cultivating to their utmost development the several branches of knowledge, and thus enabling it fully to meet the literary and scientific requirements of the age." For the attainment of this end, the study of the history of our country is absolutely necessary.

I conclude. I have endeavoured to show the importance, nay, the necessity, of the study of history as a part of higher studies, for the attainment of the end for which such studies are undertaken. That end is, to fill the mind and heart with images of the true, the beautiful, and the good. In this Irish Catholic University there is special necessity for the cultivation of historical studies, in order that the truth regarding the Catholic Church and our Catholic country may be more and

more brought to light, vindicated, and proved ; and that the minds and hearts of all who study here may be more and more impressed with their beauty and their worth. And now to bring home to you, gentlemen of the Historical Society, all that I have said, I will remind you, with Dr. Newman, that "mutual education, in a large sense of the word, is one of the great and incessant occupations of human society, carried on partly with set purposes, and partly not. One generation forms another ; and the existing generation is ever acting and re-acting upon itself in the persons of its individual members. Now, in this process, books, I need hardly say, that is, the *littera scripta*, are one special instrument. It is true, and emphatically so in this age. . . . Nevertheless, after all, even in this age, when men are really serious about getting what, in the language of trade, is called 'a good article,' when they aim at something precise, something refined, something really luminous, something really large, something choice, they go to another market : they avail themselves in some shape or other of the rival method, the ancient method, of oral instruction, of present communication between man and man, of teachers instead of teaching, of the personal influence of a master, and the humble initiation of a disciple. . . . If the actions of men may be taken as any test of their convictions, then we have reason for saying this, viz. :—that the province and the inestimable benefit of the *littera scripta* is that of being a record of truth, and an authority of appeal, and an instrument of teaching, in the hands of a teacher ; but that, if we wish to become exact and fully furnished in any subject of teaching which is diversified and complicated, we must consult the living man and listen to his living voice. . . . Till we have discovered some intellectual daguerreotype, which takes off the course of thought, and the form, lineaments, and features of truth, as completely and minutely as the optical instrument produces the sensible object, we must come to the teachers of wisdom to learn wisdom ; we must repair to the fountain, and drink there. Portions may go from thence to the ends of the earth by means of books, but the fulness is in one place alone. It is in such assemblages and congregations of intellect that books themselves—the master-pieces of human genius—are written, or at least originated."

It is to secure for yourselves these advantages in the important study of history, and more especially of the history of the Catholic Church, and of our country, that you have come to the Catholic University of Ireland, and banded yourselves together in this Historical Society.

## THE INDULGENCES OF THE ROSARY.

(Continued.)

WE may now proceed to examine the conditions prescribed in the various Pontifical Briefs by which these Indulgences have been granted, and in the explanatory Decrees of the Sacred Congregation.

USE OF BLESSED BEADS.—This point presents no difficulty so far as the Dominican Indulgences are concerned. "To gain these Indulgences," writes Father Maurel, "it is necessary to have a Rosary or a Chaplet<sup>1</sup> blessed by a Dominican Father, or by a priest who has received this power from the General of the Order."<sup>2</sup> Indeed, according to the terms of the original concession, the beads should be blessed by a Dominican.<sup>3</sup> But the power is now frequently communicated to other priests; and there can be no doubt that, as all modern writers on the subject state, the Indulgences can be gained by those who use Beads blessed by any priest thus especially empowered.

It is necessary also that the Beads should be kept in the hand and used in the ordinary way, each prayer being recited on the corresponding bead:—"Pour gagner les Indulgences appliquées aux chapelets . . . du Rosaire de Saint Dominique . . . il est nécessaire de tenir en main son chapelet, ou d'en toucher les grains, à mesure qu'on récite les prières correspondantes."<sup>4</sup>

By a concession of his present Holiness, when a number of persons join in saying the Rosary, it will suffice if Beads be used by one of them: the others can gain these Indulgences, provided that they are careful to unite with him in reciting the prayers.<sup>5</sup> There is no reason to suppose that this con-

<sup>1</sup> "Ce que nous appelons en France Chapelets, s'appelle Couronnes à Rome et dans le langage ecclésiastique . . . Le Chapelet (ou la Couronne) de la Sainte Vierge est le tiers du Rosaire."—BOUVIER. *Traité des Indulgences*, part 2, chap. vi.

<sup>2</sup> *Le Chrétien Eclairé sur la Nature et l'Usage des Indulgences*.—Par le P. A. Maurel, de la Compagnie de Jesus. Sixieme Edition. Paris, 1860, p. 285.

<sup>3</sup> "Declaravit tamen Sanctitas Sua ut ad effectum lucrandi prædictas Indulgentias requiratur, ut Rosarium fuerit de more benedictum a Fratribus Ordinis Prædicatorum."—*Decr. S. C. Indulg.* (13 April, 1726).

<sup>4</sup> MAUREL. *Le Chrétien Eclairé*, p. 328. And in blessing the Dominican Beads, the priest prays that the graces, privileges, and indulgences annexed to the Rosary may be granted to those "quicumque quodlibet horum secum portaverint . . . et in eis . . . secundum Societatis instituta . . . devote oraverint," &c.

<sup>5</sup> "Porrectis precibus a P. Procuratore Ord. Praed. . . . propositum fuit dubium:—An consulendum sit Sanctissimo ut concedere dignetur ut Christifideles Rosarium . . . in communi recitantes, lucrentur Indulgentias a Benedicto XIII.

cession regards only the case of persons who have Beads, and that it dispenses merely with the necessity of using them; for no such restriction is justified by the terms of the Decree; and, as Father Maurel justly remarks, the Consultor of the Sacred Congregation, in accordance with whose advice this concession was made, clearly contemplates, in his *Votum*, the case of persons who have not Beads as well as of those who have. But, as the same writer adds, it is nevertheless to be desired that they should be in the possession of all the faithful.<sup>1</sup>

For the Indulgence of the Vatican Council also,<sup>2</sup> Beads must be used: regarding this Indulgence it will suffice to observe, once for all, that it is granted subject to the same rules and conditions as the Dominican Indulgences of the Rosary.<sup>3</sup>

The use of blessed Beads is necessary also for gaining the the Brigittine Indulgences. The power of attaching the blessing required for these Indulgences was originally granted only to priests of the Order of our Saviour, or of St. Birgitta,<sup>4</sup> but, as in the case of the Dominican Indulgences, it is now freely communicated to other priests.

Leo X., in granting the Brigittine Indulgences, declared that they could be gained by two or more persons joining in the recitation of the Rosary.<sup>5</sup> This provision, as Bouvier observes, does not dispense with the necessity of Beads being used by each person.<sup>6</sup> It simply means that the Indulgences may be gained when the prayers are recited *alternately*—a principle which, by a more recent decree, has been applied to all in-

concessas, licet manu non teneant Rosarium benedictum, ac sufficere ut una tantum persona . . . illud manu teneat eoque in recitatione de more utatur? *Resp.* Affirmative. Facta itaque relatione. . . Sanctitas sua . . . benigne annuit, addita tamen expressa conditione quod fideles omnes, caeteris curis semotis se componant pro oratione facienda una cum persona quae tenet Coronam ut Rosarii Indulgentias lucrari queant.—*Decr. S. C. Indulg.* (22 Jan., 1858.)

<sup>1</sup> *Le Chrétien Eclairé*, p. 330.

<sup>2</sup> See IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD, vol. vi., No. lxvi., March, 1870, p. 284; and vol. vii., No. lxxx., May, 1871, p. 376.

<sup>3</sup> "Dilectus filius . . . Ordinis Fratrum Prædicatorum Magister Generalis . . . enixe petiit ut Indulgentias alias adjicere dignaremur . . . Quare omnibus Christianifidelibus qui . . . recitaverint, *servatis quoque, quæ in ejus recitatione alias injuncta sunt*," etc.—Breve Apost. *Egregiis* (3 Dec., 1869).

<sup>4</sup> "Rosaria a præfatis P. P. Ordinis Sanctissimi Salvatoris sive S. Birgittæ debent esse prius benedicta, aliter nulla prorsus gaudent Indulgentia."—*Decr. S. C. Indulg.* (9 Feb., 1743.)

<sup>5</sup> "Qui . . . cum alio vel aliis recitaverit, omnes et singuli recitantes easdemmet Indulgentias perinde ac si quisque seorsim id egerit consequuntur."—*Summarium in Decr. S. C. Indulg.* (9 Feb., 1743.)

<sup>6</sup> *Traité des Indulgences*, part 2, chap. vi., art. 2, § iii., n. 1.

dulged prayers.<sup>1</sup> It is right, however, to add that Father Maurel understands the clause as similar in purport to the decree of 1858, sanctioned, as we have seen, by his present Holiness in reference to the Dominican Indulgences.<sup>2</sup>

For gaining the Apostolic Indulgences, the use of Beads is not necessary. In the *Elenchus* "all the faithful are instructed that, in order to gain the Indulgences with which his Holiness . . . enriches Chaplets, Rosaries, Crucifixes, Crosses, Images, and Medals . . . they must say the devout prayers prescribed below . . . at the time that they are *wearing some one of the aforesaid Chaplets, Crucifixes, &c.*; or, if not wearing them, they must keep them in their own room, or some other fitting place in their abode, and *recite their prayers before them.*"<sup>3</sup>

Hence, two points are plain—(1), that the Apostolic Indulgences can be attached to Crucifixes, Crosses, Images, or Medals, as well as to Beads, and (2), that when Beads are used it is not necessary to keep them in the hand, or to recite each prayer on the corresponding bead: it will suffice, for instance, to carry them in the pocket. These points should not be lost sight of, especially as the Apostolic Indulgences, according to the clause quoted in the last number of the RECORD, are granted not only to those who say the Rosary, but also to those who perform certain other specified works of devotion—for example, "to those who are in the habit of hearing Mass, or (in the case of priests) of saying Mass, &c."<sup>4</sup>

The power of attaching to Beads, Crosses, &c., the blessing necessary for gaining these Indulgences, is freely granted in Rome. Bouvier notices a strange opinion, which, he says, was held by many French priests, namely, that every one who receives this power is thereby authorized to attach also the Brigittine Indulgences, even though the formula of concession should make no reference to this additional privilege. He justly regards this view as untenable.<sup>5</sup> In fact, the point has been repeatedly decided by the Sacred Congregation,<sup>6</sup> whose

<sup>1</sup> "An recitans alternatim cum socio orationem cui applicatae sunt Indulgentiae . . . possit lucrari Indulgentias? Resp. Affirmative."—*Decr. S. C. Indulg.* (1 Mar., 1820.)

<sup>2</sup> *Le Chrétien Eclairé*, p. 334.

<sup>3</sup> See the *Raccolta*. Authorised Translation, pages 361-2. The words "parvae Statuae" are here translated Images. The Italian text of the *Raccolta* has "Statuette." An explanatory clause in the *Elenchus* excludes prints or pictures:—"Imagines sive impressas sive depictas."

<sup>4</sup> See IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD, vol. vii., No. lxxx., May, 1871, page 374.

<sup>5</sup> BOUVIER, *Traité des Indulgences*, Part 2, chap. vi., art 2, § iii., question 2.

<sup>6</sup> "An bene faciant benedicendo Coronas . . . cum applicatione Indulgentiarum, D. Birgittae nuncupatarum? Resp. Negative, nisi peculiares habeant



decrees regarding it seem, however, to have escaped his attention. But the question is of little practical importance; for the Brigittine Indulgences are expressly mentioned in the formula by which the power of attaching the Apostolic Indulgences is now usually conferred:—"Benedicendi . . . Coronas . . . eisque applicandi indulgentias lucrandas, ut supra, et D. Birgittae nuncupatas."

It has been decided by the Sacred Congregation, that priests are not empowered, by virtue of this clause, to bless the Brigittine Chaplet, but only to *bless Beads of the ordinary form, attaching to them the Brigittine Indulgences*.<sup>1</sup> The Brigittine Chaplet is thus described in another Decree:—"It is composed of six decades, in each of which the Our Father is said once, the Hail Mary ten times, and the Apostles' Creed once: at the close, the Our Father is again said once, and the Hail Mary three times."<sup>2</sup> Thus, as is observed in the *Raccolta*, the Our Father is said in all seven times, to mark the number of the Seven Dolours, and Seven Joys of the Blessed Virgin; and the repetition of the Hail Mary marks the years (sixty-three) which she lived upon this earth.<sup>3</sup> The power of blessing those Chaplets is rarely, if ever, granted by the Holy See, except to the members of the Order on whom it was originally conferred: it does not appear that they are authorised to communicate it to other priests.

It is hardly necessary to add, that as the Apostolic and Brigittine Indulgences alone are mentioned in the formula by which the power of blessing Beads, &c., is usually granted at Rome, a priest who receives it is not thereby empowered to attach the Dominican Indulgences. To obtain the special faculties required for this purpose, which are rarely granted immediately by the Holy See, it is necessary to apply to the General or Local Superior of the Dominican Order.<sup>4</sup>

facultates . . . quaeque in concessionibus exprimuntur per illa verba aut similia '*ac etiam applicandi Indulgentias Sanctae Birgittae nuncupatas*.'"—*Decret. S. C. Indulg.* (28 Jan., 1842).

<sup>1</sup> "Per ista verba aut similia, non datur facultas benedicendi Coronas Birgittinas . . . sed traditur potestas benedicendi Coronas communes . . . cum Indulgentiis quoque, quae propriae sunt Coronarum D. Birgittae."—*Decret. S. C. Indulg.* (28 Jan. 1842.)

<sup>2</sup> *Decret. S. C. Indulg.* (25 Sept., 1841). The description given by Bouvier (*Traité des Indulgences*, part 2, chap. vi., art. 2, § iii., n. 1) of this Chaplet is incorrect. "It is," he says, "recited thus:—*At first*, the Hail Mary three times, and the Our Father once, then six decades, each *terminated* by the Our Father," etc.

<sup>3</sup> The *Raccolta*. Authorised Translation, p. 154.

<sup>4</sup> The Dominican formula of concession is:—"Concedimus N.N., facultatem, qua possit, in locis ubi non sunt Fratres Ord. Praedicatorum, Christifideles . . . ad Societatem Sanctissimi Rosarii adscribere . . . ; coronas seu rosaria . . . benedicere; et indulgentiam plenariam . . . Confratribus in articulo mortis constitutis impartiri."

The *Elenchus* contains some important instructions, further explained by Decrees of the Sacred Congregation, regarding the materials of pious objects to which the Apostolic Indulgences can be attached.

Thus it is provided that "Crosses, Crucifixes, Statues, and Medals of tin, lead, or of any material that can be easily broken or destroyed,"<sup>1</sup> are not to be blessed; iron also was excluded until recently; but in the new *Elenchus*, published by the Sacred Congregation in 1853, the prohibition is expressly withdrawn.<sup>2</sup>

It must be observed that these clauses of the *Elenchus* do not refer to Rosaries or Chaplets. Bouvier, indeed, states that for these, as well as for Crosses, Medals, &c., "lead, tin, and other materials easily broken or destroyed," are excluded by a Decree of the Sacred Congregation (1st March, 1820.)<sup>3</sup> But, this Decree expressly teaches the contrary.<sup>4</sup> Bouvier himself remarks that it is usual in Rome to bless Chaplets "of alabaster, mother-of-pearl," (Maurel adds "marble and enamel,") and even "of glass, provided that the beads are solid."<sup>5</sup>

Finally, for the Indulgences of the Living Rosary, neither the use nor the possession of Beads, Medals, etc., is required. Gregory XVI. in granting these Indulgences, prescribed only the recitation of the prayers, according to the rules of the Association:<sup>6</sup> and these make no mention of any such condition.<sup>7</sup>

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Several decrees have been issued by the Sacred Congregation regarding the manner of blessing Beads. A communication

<sup>1</sup> The *Raccolta*. Authorised Translation, page 362. The words of the *Elenchus* are:—"Quae ex stamno, plumbo vel ex fragili alia materia, facilisque consumptionis conficiuntur."

<sup>2</sup> "Notandum tamen Sanctitatem Suam ea etiam quae ex ferro confecta sunt admittere, licet usque nunc prohibita essent." *Decret. S. C. Indulg.* (11 Maii 1853). Vid. PRINZIVALLI, *Decreta Authentica*. Appendix N. 47.

<sup>3</sup> BOUVIER, *Traité des Indulgences*. Part 2, chap. vi., art. 2, § iii., n. 3.

<sup>4</sup> "An ab hujusmodi benedictione rejiciantur etiam Coronae seu Rosaria quae ex . . . stamno, plumbo vel ex fragili materia facilisque consumptionis conficiuntur. *Resp. Negative.*" *Decret. S. C. Indulg.* (1 Mart. 1820).

<sup>5</sup> "An possint applicari Coronis ex vitro seu chrystallo confectis? *Resp. Affirmative*, dummodo globuli sint ex vitro solido atque compacto." *Decret. S. C. Indulg.* (1 Mart. 1820).

"An possint applicari Coronis *Chalibe polito (acciajo polimentato)* [polished steel] factis? *Resp. Affirmative.*" *Decret. S. C. Indulg.* (22 Mart. 1839.)

See BOUVIER, *Traité des Indulgences*, part 2, chap. vi., art. 2, § iii., n. 3; MAUREL, *Le Chrétien Eclairé*, p. 317.

<sup>6</sup> "Quoties . . . ex pii exercitii praescripto, pars rosarii recitetur." Breve Apost. *Benedicentes Domino*. (27 Jan. 1832).

<sup>7</sup> See BOUVIER, *Traité des Indulgences*. Part 3, chap. ii., § 3, art. 1. *Rosaire Vivant*.

has been received from a Correspondent, who considers that "the last of these, issued in 1864, and quoted by F. Ballerini, in the Roman Edition of Gury's Compendium of Moral Theology, is at variance with those previously published. For it requires the recitation of the prayers, and the observance of the form inserted in the Ritual; whereas, the earlier decrees declared that it was sufficient for the Priest to make the Sign of the Cross with his hand over the objects to be blessed." As the point is of great practical importance, "involving," as he believes, "the invalidity of the blessing usually conferred," he suggests that "the Decree of 1864 should be published without delay in the ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD."

Our Correspondent is quite correct in stating that, previous to 1864, many Decrees were issued by the Sacred Congregation, declaring that nothing more than the Sign of the Cross was required.<sup>1</sup> But it must not be supposed that these have been set aside by the later Decree, requiring the observance of the form which is found in the Ritual; for, the Sacred Congregation, in issuing the Decree of 1864, expressly declared that it did not regard the cases which had been provided for by the earlier decisions.<sup>2</sup>

What, then, is the purport of these various Decrees? In the first place, the earlier decisions, issued in answer to questions regarding persons empowered to bless "Crosses, Medals, and Chaplets," plainly refer to the blessing required for gaining the Indulgences mentioned in the *Elenchus*. On the other hand, it is evident both from the terms of the question proposed, and from the *Votum* of the Consultor, whose opinion of the case was taken by the Sacred Congregation,<sup>3</sup> that the Decree of 1864 refers only to the Indulgences attached to the Chaplets of certain Religious Orders.

The question, proposed by some French Vicars-General, was whether the Decrees previously issued by the Sacred Congregation referred exclusively to the blessing required for gaining the Apostolic Indulgences, or regarded also the blessings required for the Dominican Indulgences of the Rosary and for the

<sup>1</sup> "Utrum ad Indulgentias applicandas Crucibus, Rosariis, etc., alius ritus sit necessarius praeterquam signum crucis? *Resp.* Negative." *Decret. S. C. Indulg.* (14 April, 1840).

"Sufficitne signum Crucis manu efformare super res benedicendas, absque pronuntiatione verborum formulae Benedictionis, et sine aspersione aquae benedictae? *Resp.* Affirmative." *Decret. S. C. Indulg.* (7 Jan. 1843).

<sup>2</sup> "Responsa S. Congregationis. . . 14 April, 1840, et 7 Jan., 1843, non comprehendunt casus de quibus agitur." *Decret. S. C. Indulg.* (29 Feb. 1864).

<sup>3</sup> These Documents, together with the Decree itself, were published in these pages several years ago, soon after they had been issued by the Sacred Congregation. See *IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD*, vol. ii., Nos. xxii.-iii., July and August, 1866, pp. 477 and 527.

Indulgences annexed to the recitation of the Chaplet of the Seven Dolours. If the view indicated in the former part of the question should prove to be correct, the Congregation was requested to issue a new Decree extending to those other Indulgences, the principle already sanctioned in the case of the Indulgences of the *Elenchus*, so that priests authorised to attach the Indulgences of the Rosary or the Chaplet of the Seven Dolours—whether immediately by the Sovereign Pontiff, or by permission from the Superiors either of the Dominican Order, or of the Order of Servants of Mary—could do so by simply making the Sign of the Cross without using holy water or reciting any form of prayer.<sup>1</sup> The Consultor, in his *Votum*, apparently assuming that the earlier Decrees referred exclusively to the Apostolic Indulgences, advocated their extension to the other Indulgences mentioned in the question.<sup>2</sup>

Obviously, then, the question decided by the Sacred Congregation in 1864, had no reference to the blessing required for the Indulgences of the *Elenchus*: it regarded only those blessings, the power of conferring which, though of course it can be obtained immediately from the Sovereign Pontiff, can also be granted by the Superiors of certain Religious Orders. And hence, the decision—that a special formula should be used, and that the Sign of the Cross made with the hand would not suffice—in no way affects the validity of the simpler form of blessing sanctioned for the Indulgences of the *Elenchus* by the earlier Decrees.<sup>3</sup>

It is plain then, that the Dominican Indulgences cannot be gained unless the prescribed formula has been used in blessing the Beads. This formula will be found in the Appendix to the Roman Ritual,<sup>4</sup> in Bouvier's Treatise on Indulgences,<sup>5</sup> and in the Document by which the Superior of the Dominicans

<sup>1</sup> Cum Decreta, de benedictionibus cum applicatione indulgentiarum apostolicarum loquantur, dubitatur num . . . etiam comprehendant benedictionem cum applicatione indulgentiarum Rosarii S. Dominici et Coronae septem Dolorum . . . ita ut Sacerdotes qui vel immediate a summo Pontifici vel a Superioribus . . . Ordinum facultatem habeant benedicendi Rosaria S. Dominici et Coronas septem Dolorum id solo signo Crucis perficere valeant. . . In casu quo formula adhibenda sit, ab obligatione illam adhibendi dispensationem implorant.—See IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD, *Ibid*; or the first volume, page 555, of that most useful periodical *Acta ex iis Decreta quae apud S. Sedem Geruntur*. Romae 1865.

<sup>2</sup> Videbantur ejusmodi Resolutiones extendi posse ad benedictionem cum applicatione Indulgentiarum Rosarii S. Dominici etc. . . quia de re favorabili agitur." *Id. Ibid*.

<sup>3</sup> "Pro Coronis Rosarii et septem B. M. V. dolorum, servandum formulam, cum Responsa S. Congregationis dierum 11 April, 1840, et 7 Jan, 1843, non comprehendant casus de quibus agitur in precibus. Quoad dispensationem non expedire. *Decret. S. C. Indulg.*, 29 Feb., 1864.

<sup>4</sup> *Appendix ad Rituale Romanum*, Dublinii (Kelly) 1864, page 69.

<sup>5</sup> *Traité des Indulgences*, part 2, chap. vi. art. 3, § iii. quest. 7.

empowers a priest to bless the Rosary Beads. An incorrect version of it is given by Maurel.<sup>1</sup>

On the other hand, nothing more than a simple blessing with the hand is required in the case of the Apostolic Indulgences. The Pope himself does not use either holy water or any form of prayer: and the Sacred Congregation has decided that neither is required even in the case of ordinary priests.<sup>2</sup> But, as Maurel observes:—"Il convient, lorsque les fidèles offrent au prêtre un objet à bénir, de suivre le cérémonial établi dans l'Eglise, c'est-à-dire, de faire cette bénédiction avec une certaine solennité."<sup>3</sup> And Bouvier very justly adds:—"Si on ne le faisait pas, les fidèles se persuaderaient difficilement que leur chapelets fussent bénits."<sup>4</sup>

In blessing the Brigittine Chaplet, it is necessary to follow the directions of the Ritual of the Brigittine Order, the decisions regarding the Apostolic Indulgences being plainly inapplicable to this case. But no special form is required for attaching the Brigittine Indulgences to the ordinary Chaplet of five decades, since, in virtue of the formula which, as we have seen, is now employed by the Holy See, these Indulgences are attached when a Chaplet is blessed for the Apostolic Indulgences.

W. J. W.

## DOCUMENTS.

### I.—LETTER OF OUR MOST HOLY FATHER, PIUS IX., ON THE NEW TEACHERS IN ROME.

*Venerabili Fratri Nostro Constantino S. R. E. Cardinali Patrizi, Episcopo Ostiensi et Veliterno, Sacri Cardinalium Collegii Decano, Vicario Nostro Generali in Spiritualibus Romae eiusque districtus.*

#### PIUS PP. IX.

Venerabilis Frater Noster, Salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem. Res maximi plane momenti, Venerabilis Frater Noster, postulat, rogari te a Nobis atque excitari, ut opera studioque tuo extenuare contendas, aut etiam, si fieri possit, amoliri a juventute nostra studiosa periculum exitii ei parati. Litteris sane manu Nostra datis non semel monueramus aliquem e populorum moderatoribus, ut usi auctoritate desuper

<sup>1</sup> *Le Chrétien Eclairé*, part 3, n. 105.

<sup>2</sup> *Decreta S. C. Indulg.* (14 April, 1840; 7 Jan., 1843). See *ante*, page 426.

<sup>3</sup> *Le Chrétien Eclairé*, p. 315.

<sup>4</sup> *Traité des Indulgences*. Part 2. chap. vi., art 2, sect. iii., quest. 7.

eis commissa, memoresque muneris sui tuendae civilis societatis ab incredulitate, peste omnium perniciosissima, arcerent a Magistrorum subselliis homines, qui non solum omnia despicerent officia religionis, sed odio ejus acti, spirituque vere satanico, eandem carperent, traducerent, oppugnarent. Irrita tamen fuerunt monita Nostra; siquidem veritum est, aut non libuit opponere murum aeneum monstri progressui; licuitque propterea juveniles animos perversis vitiare doctrinis, et per calumniosa, versuta, impudentissima commenta, in fidem, religionem, Ecclesiam, sacros ritus eorumque administratos ac sanctiora quaeque concitare. Nonnulli vero e caecis istis et perditis caecorum ducibus, ad exacerbanda mala Nostra, huc etiam per diruta Urbis moenia sunt advecti; quibus perpauci e veteribus variarum disciplinarum professoribus, abjectissimi sane ingenii, versipelles et cujusvis grati animi sensus expertes accesserunt, qui retusis conscientiae stimulis, omnique posthabito religioso respectu, ultro se signum constituerunt irae Dei, cui severissimam reddituri sunt rationem malorum, quae fecerunt in Jerusalem. Eorum autem omnium impiae mentis detestabilisque doctrinae specimen habetur indubium in iis, quas ad Doellingerum dederunt, litteris errore, blasphemis, incredulitate scatentibus. Equidem, Venerabilis Frater Noster, zizania perfecte non secernentur a frumento ante magnam illam diem, in qua Dominus tempus accipiens justitias judicabit. Verum expedit, ut citius innotescat universis, eos, qui nomina sua scelestis litteris adscripserunt, catholicos esse desiisse, adeoque vitandos esse a catholicis. Nos quidem et pro iis oramus, ut in se reversi recedant a tenebrosa inferorum doctrina; eaque damnantes quae sunt professi, verbo et exemplo submovere nitantur scandalum a se proximis objectum. Interim vero, Venerabilis Frater Noster, tu Parochos omnes istius Metropolis Orbis catholici moneto, eorum esse officii, nullam negligere occasionem suadendi juvenibus curae suae creditis, non licere prorsus auditores se illis praebere, eorumque excipere institutionem, qui nefariis litteris subscripserunt, quorum nomina cum publicae nunciaverint ephemerides, recensenda non ducimus. Utinam sollicitudo Nostra zelo adjuta tuo et piorum hujus urbis parochorum, sistat irrumpentis incredulitatis impetum, multosque ex adolescentibus a barathro retrahat impietatis, in quod compelluntur. Id enixe poscimus a Deo; cujus favoris auspicem, simulque testem praecipuae benevolentiae tibi, Venerabilis Frater Noster, Apostolicam Benedictionem peramanter impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum die 15 Maii Anno 1871, Pontificatus Nostri Anno Vigesimoquinto.

PIUS PP. IX.

## CORRESPONDENCE.

## I.

## THE IRISH MARTYR AT TIEN-TSIN.

In the month of December last, we published a short account of the triumph of martyrdom accorded to Sister Louise O'Sullivan, of the Sisters of Charity, in the dreadful outburst of persecution at Tien-Tsin. The following letter, with which His Eminence, our revered Cardinal Archbishop, has kindly favoured us, gives some most interesting details connected with this Irish Martyr—details which, assuredly, will be the more prized by many of our readers, as they are dictated by the gratitude of a Scotch Presbyterian Freemason :—

“22 Burr-street, East Smithfield,  
“London, 4/5/71.

“YOUR EMINENCE,—I earnestly request you will have the kindness to publish this letter in any Irish periodical you may think will lead to the discovery of the parents of a beloved child, who suffered martyrdom for her Saviour's sake.

“As I was the only British subject in the Tien-Tsin Hospital previous to the Massacre taking place, the following facts may be interesting :—

“The whole of the Ladies of the Institution belonged to the Order of St. Vincent de Paul, and amongst those saints, was my kind-hearted nurse, Sister Louise, who was at my bedside day and night, cheering my drooping spirits, broken down with sickness and pain.

“Often she told me how delighted she was, although far away from old Ireland, to have the privilege of conversing in her native tongue with a Scotchman. I will not dwell longer on the characteristics of this ministering angel, who is now with her Redeemer.

“On the evening before the massacre, I had received a sign from a brother Mason that my life was in danger ; I, however, remained all night (armed) in the Hospital, and left about 9 a.m. next morning. Previous to my leaving, I tried hard to persuade poor Sister Louise, to come with me to the British Consulate ; alas ! all was of no avail ; I then paid her the sum of ten shillings, Hospital fees, besides giving her a small donation in behalf of the schools.

“Should the above meet the eyes of her bereaved parents, I shall feel great pleasure in handing them her dying receipt, recorded in her handwriting.

"The massacre took place about an hour after I left the Hospital, and poor Sister Louise was the last victim.

"I also wish to state that she told me her native place was near Waterford.—I am, Rev. Sir, your obedient servant,

"JAMES MERCER,

"Master of the Ship 'Walton,' of Harwich."

## II.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

"REV. DEAR SIR,—Would you deem it advisable to recommend, through the pages of the RECORD, to the priesthood and people of Ireland, a General Communion of the faithful, on or before the 16th day of June next, for the Intentions of our Holy Father, Pope Pius the Ninth.—Yours faithfully,

"AN IRISH PRIEST."

[We are most grateful to our esteemed correspondent for the suggestion he has made, and we are sure our readers will not fail to carry it into effect.]

## ROMAN CHRONICLE.

1. *Theatre in the Quirinal Palace.*—2. *Appointment of Sindaco.*—
3. *Foreign Religious Institutions in Rome.*—4. *The French Ambassador.*—5. *The Pope.*—6. *The Public Offices in Rome.*—
7. *The Roman University and Döllinger.*—8. *Conduct of the Students.*—9. *A Miraculous Cure in Rome.*

1. This month's Chronicle opens with the novel intelligence that the Apostolic Palace of the Quirinal has been converted the nonce into a playhouse. The representation came off the evening of the 14th of April. During Lent the revolutionary journals had been giving most flattering accounts of the rehearsals, and how the five or six ladies of the court were preparing to give proofs of their talent in comedy, and their ability to rival some of our most renowned *virtuose*. They spoke of the august lady (Princess Marguerite), who honoured the rehearsals with her presence, and they extolled the energy and skill of Madame Riston, who gave the finishing touches of the piece.



The programme was even forwarded to Florence for publication in these terms:—The evening will commence with *Les souhers de bal*, represented by the Princess Pallavicini and the Marchioness Lavaggi; to be followed by *Fra moglie e marito, non mettere un dito*, in which the Duchess di Rignano, Marchioness Lavaggi, Don Marcantonio Colonna, and George Capranico Del Grillo, son of Madame Ristori, will take parts: to conclude with the little comedy of *Les erreurs de Jean*, in which the Princess D'Avellino, Princess Pallavicini, Don Marc Antonio Colonna, the Marquis Montereno, and Marquis Allessandro Giuccioli, will court applause. The evening was a great success. *Il Tempo* decrees the palm of merit to the actress, Princess Pallavicini. This was the latest profanation of the Pope's palace; however, it must be remembered that, in adapting it for the use of its present occupants, every sacred emblem which entered into the decoration of the several apartments was carefully removed.

2. After eight months' abnormal existence of the Communal Council of Rome, at last they found one to take the duties of Sindaco of Rome. By a royal decree of the 16th of April it was notified that this position was filled by Don Francesco Cesare Rospigliosi-Pallavicini, Prince Pallavicini, and Gallicano, born the 2nd of March, 1828, married the 4th of October, 1864, to Donna Maria Carolina, daughter of Antonio, Prince Piombino-Boncompagni-Ludovisi. The Pallavicini family is perhaps among all the noble families of Rome, the one most indebted to the vigilance and generosity of the Holy See. Yet such is the gratitude which it now displays towards Pius IX., the best of benefactors.

3. The *Official Gazette* of the 29th of April published the following announcement:—"The Royal Government, with the view of observing towards the foreign religious institutions in Rome the due regards, not only of justice, but also of convenience, each according to their special nature—came to the determination of appointing a commission of distinguished personages, charged with studying the juridical condition of those institutes, as far as they may depend upon foreign Catholic Churches or foundations, and proposing opportune provision. The commission consists of L. E. Desambrois de Navache, President; Vigliani, Vice-President; Pacca; Pisanelli; Scialoia; Boncompagni; Mauri; Joseph Robecchi (a suspended priest); and Piacentini Rinaldi."

Under the benevolent care of such a commission as the above, the Foreign Colleges in Rome are sure to prosper.

4. The selection made by M. Thiers to represent Catholic France at the Pontifical Court was the source of great satisfaction to the Holy Father. His Excellency Count d'Har-

court arrived in Rome on the 22nd of April. On the Wednesday following he was received in private audience by his Holiness, and presented his credentials as Ambassador to the Holy See. A few days after he had another audience, when he presented M. De Voguè, the ambassador *en route* to Constantinople, and who was ordered to pass through Rome and put himself in relation with the Holy See in order to the suppression of the Armenian schism, and sustaining the Catholic cause. The people of Rome, properly so called—not the people of the plebiscite—showed their appreciation of M. Thiers' policy, and the Count d'Harcourt's avowed Pontifical principles, by leaving their cards on the French ambassador to the number of over 60,000. The Roman revolutionary journals tried to make light of this demonstration, and discredit the figures, adducing as a proof, that very few were seen to enter the precincts of the French embassy. But it should be understood, that every one entering was charged with the delivery of 500 and 700, and some even 1,000 visiting cards, and the number was increasing every day. It is admitted also that a certain A——, a Roman, but a child of the revolution, and attached in some capacity to the French embassy, amused himself by destroying a considerable number of these cards, or writing under the name, "*To protest against the temporal power of the Pope.*" This trick was soon discovered, and the perpetrator was immediately cashiered. The French ambassador, later on, paid a formal visit to the Marquis Cavaletti, late senator under the Pontifical Government, to thank the Romans, in his person, for the exhibition of sympathy tendered to him. This visit made to the ex-municipal governor gave great offence to the powers that be, especially as the Count d'Harcourt declines all overtures made to him for the purpose of visiting the present inhabitants of the Quirinal.

5. The state of the Holy Father's health is all that could be desired, and everything that seems to assure his children throughout the world that he will safely reach and pass the years of Peter. Scarcely a day passes that he does not receive deputations, with addresses and offerings, and some days as many as four or five. Two large deputations came from Austria, another from England, others from different quarters of the globe, but the most interesting was the deputation of the poor women of Rome. As many as 1,300 poor women of the city were assembled in the hall of the consistory to present an address to the Father of the Poor, and, together with the address, a handsome sum of money, made up of the soldi and centesimi of the poor of Rome. The interview was most touching, and the Holy Father's remarks in reply were most beautiful and consoling. On Ascension Thursday morning

he said Mass in his private chapel, and administered Holy Communion to upwards of seventy ladies of the first families in Rome. He has now entered upon his eightieth year, and seems fully as active and vigorous as he was ten years ago. "*Dominus conservet eum et vivificet eum et beatum faciat eum in terra,*" should be the fervent prayer of all his children.

6. The ex-minister, Gadda, who fills the anomalous position of Regent of the Prefecture, publishes an official report on the preparations made for transferring the capital, and announces the following arrangement of the public offices: (1)—the Ministry of War, in the Convent of the Santi Apostoli; (2)—the Finance, in the Convent of the Minerva; (3)—Public Works, in the Monastery of San Silvestro in Capite; (4)—the Interior, in a private palace for which the Government is negotiating; (5)—Grace and Justice, in the Tuscan Embassy; (6)—Agriculture and Commerce, in the suppressed Tipografia Camerale; (7)—Public Instruction in the Piazza Colonna; (8)—Marine, the Convent of St. Augustine; (9)—Foreign Affairs, a private building to be purchased; (10)—Court of Accounts, not yet fixed; (11)—Council of State, not yet fixed; (12)—the Treasury, in the Convent of the Vergini; (13)—Registry Office, in the Convent of St. Andrew; (14) Lottery and Civil Engineering, in the Palace of the Ripetta; (15) Post Office, in Piazza Colonna; (16)—Tribunals and Court of Appeal, in the Oratorians, at the Chiesa Nuova; (17)—Military Intendance, in San Sylvestro, in Quirinale; (18)—Archives, a portion in Palazzo Mignatelli, and a portion in the Convent of the Valle. It was a god-send that there were so many convents in Rome from which they could summarily eject the inmates without the bother of buying them out.

7. Great noise has been made in Rome about the address from the Roman University to the excommunicated Döllinger. "*La Liberta,*" which gave it such prominence, was forced to publish the names of the signatories, and they number exactly twenty-five between professors and assistants; sixteen of whom came in by the breach at Porta Pia, and of the remaining, two had already signed an address to the Pope in favour of the Infallibility; but not one of them belonged to the Theological Faculty, most of them being medical doctors and chemists. A counter demonstration was made by the remaining professors, and an address, bearing seventy names, was presented to the Pope, condemning the conduct of those who assumed the right of speaking in the name of all, and expressing their entire adhesion to the doctrines of the Catholic Church, and especially to the dogma lately defined by the Vatican Council. *Apropos* of this incident, a brief of his Holiness, addressed to the Cardinal-Vicar of Rome, will be

found in the preceding pages, pronouncing sentence of excommunication against the promoters of that wicked though foolish Döllinger address.

8. Some of the students, partizans of the Revolution, endeavoured to imitate the conduct of the excommunicated professors, and called a meeting in the halls of the *Liberi-Pensatori* (Free-thinkers), in Piazza Barberini. They, too, subscribed an address in the name of all the students, adhering to the heretical professors. Out of one thousand students that attend the Sapienza, barely ninety attended the meeting; of these eighty voted for the address, nine against, and one declined to vote. In opposition to this, on the evening of Tuesday, the 16th of May, a considerable number of the students met together and repudiated the act of the few that dared to misrepresent them, and unanimously agreed to the following resolutions: (1) In sincerely pitying their misguided companions, who, incompetent in a matter purely theological, professed a rationalism of which Döllinger himself would be ashamed; (2)—Adhering steadfastly to all the doctrines of the Catholic Church, and particularly the dogma of Papal Infallibility; (3)—Considering that so doing, even *humanly* speaking, they are acting with prudence, and at all hazards they prefer to stand with two great Italians, St. Thomas and Dante, than with a German priest made famous in Italy by his heresy; (4)—Applauding their courageous professors who remained true, and gave them good example, their seniors in all Christian and civil virtue as in age; (5)—Exhorting the Catholic youth of all Universities, to resist every insinuation which might endanger the precious treasure of the Catholic Faith. These demonstrations, *pro* and *con*, were followed by disturbances. The fifty *liberali* commenced to hiss and hoot the *retrivi*, the new name for the Catholic students, who all refused to attend the lectures of the heretical professors. Many of the latter, especially the medical men, have lost their best patients in consequence of the excommunication. The Roman aristocracy are acting with their accustomed vigour, and excluding them from their houses.

9. A wonderful miraculous cure was operated on the 7th of May, on the person of Vittoria Romanelli, through the intervention of the venerable Servant of God, Rosa Venerini, foundress of the *Maestre Pie*. The ecclesiastical authorities are investigating the matter to attest its truth. The person cured was charged in the vision to tell Pius IX. that his triumph was certain and near, but that it would be preceded by three dark days.

# MONASTICON HIBERNICUM,

OR,

## A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE ANCIENT MONASTERIES OF IRELAND.

[N. B.—The text of the “Monasticon” is taken *verbatim* from Archdall: the notes marked with numbers are added by the Editors.]

### COUNTY OF CORK.

*Cloyne*.—The account given by Archdall of this ancient and venerable see is meagre in the extreme. The see of Cloyne was founded by St. Colman Mac Lenin, who was closely allied by blood with the reigning family of Munster. His genealogy in the Book of Lecan traces back his family to Mogha Nuadhat; but the Martyrology of Donegal leaves us in uncertainty as to whether he was descended from that Prince, or from another distinguished chieftain named Lughaidh Lagha. In his early years he was famed for his rare poetic talents, and was honoured with the title of Royal Bard of Munster. In after times he dedicated his minstrelsy to religion, and composed several poems on sacred subjects—a fragment of one of these, being an elegant metrical Life of St. Senanus—was known to Colgan, who describes it as “*stylo vetusto et pereleganti patrio sermone conscriptum*.” (*Acta SS.*, page 339). In the Book of Lismore, there is another short poem in Irish, composed by St. Colman, in praise of St. Brendan. It thus begins:—

“Brendan, flame of victorious lightning;  
He smote the chafer, he ploughed the waves  
Westward to the populous assemblative place—  
The fair-sided Land of Promise.”

At the request of St. Ita, St. Brendan, on a certain occasion, went forward to meet the youthful Colman, and admonished him to enter on a life of penance, saying “God has called thee to salvation, and thou shalt be as an innocent dove in the sight of God.” Colman, throughout the remainder of his life, was docile to the inspirations of grace, and became illustrious among the saints of Ireland by his learning and virtues. Towards the close of his earthly pilgrimage, hearing of the fame of the school of Lough Eirce, he wished, though himself a master in the paths of perfection, to visit that monastery, and to enrol his name among the disciples of St. Finbarr. Our annalists do not mark with precision the year in which St. Colman founded the Monastery of Cloyne. It was certainly not before the year 550, for it is recorded that, at the inauguration of Aodh Caomh, King of Cashel, about that time, our saint took part as the royal minstrel of Munster. There seems, however, no ground for doubting the accuracy of the statement made by O’Halloran in his History of Ireland (vol. 3rd, page 76) on the authority of the Psalter of Cashel, that Eochaidh, Monarch of Ireland in the year 560, founded the Church of Cloyne for St. Colman.

According to the *Annals of the Four Masters*, St. Colman died in the year 600 (*i.e.*, 601 of our present computation), and the 24th of November is the day on which his festival is marked in all the ancient calendars, and on which it is still observed in the Diocese of Cloyne. Our patron of Cloyne must not be confounded with another St. Colman, who was honoured on the same day: both these saints are thus commemorated by St. Ængus in his Feliré, at the 24th November:—

“With Cianan of Daimliac,  
A beautiful ear of our wheat,  
Mac Lenine the most excellent,  
With Colman of Dubh-chuillenn.”

The Martyrology of Donegal preserves the following quatrain, from the ancient poem *Naemhsheanchus*, on the Saints of Ireland :—

“Colman, son of Lenin, the full,  
And Mothemneog, son of Cerban,  
Were of the race of two brothers—  
Oilioll Oluim, and Lughaidh.”

The old Latin Life of St. Brendan passes the following eulogy on St. Colman : “This Colman, the son of Lenin, was for learning and a holy life chief among the saints. He founded the Church of Cloyne, which is at this day a cathedral, and famous throughout the province of Munster.”

Cloyne was situated in the territory of Ui-Lethain, and in that sub-division which was called Ui-Mocaille, a name that is still retained in the barony of Imokilly. It is distant nineteen miles from Cork, and “is seated in the heart of a rich and highly cultivated country, being embosomed in gently rising hills : it does credit to the choice of the ancient fathers who here took up their abode in very remote times.”—*Brash*, “Journal of Kilkenny Arch. Soc.” (New Series ii. 253).

To distinguish this see from other churches of the same name—of which there were several scattered throughout Ireland—it was sometimes called by the name *Cluain-mor*, i.e., “The great Cloyne,” but more generally *Cluain-uamha*, that is, “Cloyne of the caves.” There are some very deep and interesting caves close by the old cathedral : it is probable St. Colman, or some of his religious, lived in them in olden times ; and it is the popular tradition that many of the clergy and people found a safe retreat there when the country was ravaged by the Danes. The Protestant Bishop Bennett thus writes of the caves in 1813 : “The town of Cloyne is situated on a small limestone eminence, gently rising in the midst of the valley, through which I suppose Cork Harbour to have once communicated with the sea, and this eminence, therefore, was once an island surrounded with water. . . . On this spot St. Colman, before the year 600, is supposed to have founded his church, and the security of it must have received no small addition from the circumstance of a cave, which is on the most elevated part of it, extending in various branches underground to a great distance. . . . The cave is now in the field called the Rock-meadow, forming part of the bishop's demesne, a little east of his garden wall, and they having been long neglected. and the drains from it choked up, it is generally full of water in winter, yet there is a large arched passage, running some hundred yards, leading to another mouth in the shrubbery north of it. A third, but smaller opening, is also visible in the high ground above the pond ; a fourth, near the road to the commons ; and these, or similar entrances, gave the name to the whole of this land of the field of the caverns.” Elsewhere he writes : “The rock-shrubbery ends at the mouth of a cave of unknown length and depth, which branches to a great distance under the earth, and is sanctified by a thousand wild traditions.” *Brash* further informs us, that “it is generally believed that the caves at Cloyne, and the great stalactitical caves at Carrig-a-Crump, about two miles distant, are connected, which is not improbable. The latter caves have never been thoroughly explored, though penetrated to a distance of one mile.”

Speaking of the Cathedral, Dr. Bennett writes—“It is a respectable building, with a handsome nave and transept, and a small choir. By the style of the building I should suppose it not older than 1250. . . . In the eastern part of the churchyard, which is large and well planted, still remain the ruins of a small stone edifice, standing east and west, thirty feet long, and nineteen in breadth, known by the name of St. Colman's Chapel, and, probably, one of those oratories or early churches still to be seen at Killaloe, or St. Donat's, treated of by Ledwich in his ‘Antiquities.’” Elsewhere the same writer adds : “In 1706 the Chapter passed an order to pull down the battlements of the church, as being too heavy for the side walls, thus depriving the cathedral of its ancient respectable appearance, and making it look, as much as they could, like a barn.” An old MS. in the British Museum, which is believed to have belonged to Sir James Ware (*Clarendon Collection*, 4.796), contains a curious account of the graveyard of Cloyne : “The best bloods of Ireland,” it says, “have chosen Cloyne for their place of burial, because its founder, being a holy bishop, had such power with God, that what souls had dwelt in the bodies buried under *that* dust would never be adjudged

to damnation." To corroborate this statement, we may mention that St. Cormac mac Cullenan, king and bishop of Cashel, directed in his will, as Keating informs us, that his body should be interred at Cluain-Uamha, because it was the burial-place of Colman mac Lenan; if that could not be accomplished, he was to be buried at Disert Diarmada.

Nearly opposite the west end of the Cathedral, at a distance of thirty yards, stands the beautiful round tower of Cloyne. Its present height is a little more than a hundred feet; its diameter at the doorway is nine feet two inches, with a thickness of wall of three feet eight inches. At the upper floor the diameter of the tower is seven feet two inches, with a thickness of wall of two feet nine inches. The tower is divided internally into storeys by seven offsets taken from the thickness of the wall; so that, drawn in section, the internal line of wall would show a zig-zag outline. The tower was originally crowned by the usual conical stone roof, which is stated to have been destroyed by lightning on the night of the 10th of January, 1749. Bennet gives the following description of this storm:—"A storm of lightning, with thunder, on the night of January 10th, 1749, passed through the country in a line from west to east, and, after killing some cows, in a field south of Cork, struck the round tower of Cloyne. It first rent the vaulted arch at the top, threw down the great bell, together with three galleries, and descending perpendicularly to the lowest floor, forced its way, with a violent explosion, through one side of the tower, and drove some of the storeys, which were admirably well jointed, through the roof of a neighbouring stable. The door, though secured by a strong iron lock, was thrown to the distance of sixty yards, and quite shattered to pieces. A few pigeons that used to roost on the top of the steeple were scorched to death, not a feather of them being left unsinged. With the same bad taste which distinguishes all the works of our modern architecture, the vaulted stone roof of the tower was never repaired, but the height was lowered more than six feet, and a *vile battlement*, in imitation of the worst English churches, substituted in its stead." Wilkinson, treating of the "Ancient Architecture of Ireland," p. 71, states that "the material of this tower is reddish-coloured sandstone of the country, in good preservation; much of it is very carefully worked to the curvature of the tower with a chisel-pointed hammer; the masonry of the doorway is put together in a laboured manner, and finely chiselled, each stone being apparently worked as it was required; the stones are flat-bedded and of considerable size;" and, subsequently, he adds, "that the masonry of the doorway is so carefully put together, that a file alone would produce such careful work in the present day."

In a paper read twelve years ago before the Kilkenny Archæological Society (*New Series*, ii., 265), we find it stated that "the round tower at Cloyne is locally known by the Irish-speaking people as *Gíol-cach*; and the same term is locally applied at Ardmore, at Kineth, and at Ratto, in Kerry." Within the past few days this statement has been confirmed and further illustrated by the Rev. Richard Smiddy, in his interesting work on the "Druids, &c., of Ireland." At page 199 he writes: "The universal popular name of the round tower in Munster, Connaught, and the other Irish-speaking parts of Ireland, is *cuilceach* or *cuilteach*: this name is formed from *cuilc*, 'a reed,' and *teach*, 'a house,' that is the *reed-house*, or *reed-shaped structure*. Thus, the people have always said, with constant, unerring accuracy, when speaking of these structures, *cuilceach cluina*, 'the round tower of Cloyne;' *cuilceach Colmain*, 'the round tower of St. Colman;' *cuilceach Deaglain*, 'the round tower of St. Declan,' at Ardmore, and so on." To explain the origin of the name, he further adds: "There is growing in the bogs and rivers of Ireland a large kind of *cuilc*, or reed, with a conical head, which, in form and shape, resembles the lines of the round tower, and which, I am sure, was originally taken as the model for it." The writer in the transactions of the Kilkenny Archæological Society, already referred to, also states: "I was never more struck with the poetic applicability of this term to our round towers than at Ratto, in Kerry, when I stood on the ancient causeway opposite the tower, and heard the same name applied to the tall, slender, symmetrical pillar, with its perfect conical spire, as to the tall, graceful reeds, with their spiral feathered caps, which lined the banks of the Brick, and of the canal which runs up nearly to the base of the tower" (p. 265).

In the "Book of Rights," page 87, Cluain-uamha is mentioned as one of the royal residences of the Kings of Cashel, and subsequently is added :—

"Of the right of Cashel in its power  
Are Bruree and the great Muilthead ;  
Seanchua the beautiful, Ros-raeda the bright :  
And to it belongs the noble fort of Cluain-uamha."

The following facts, omitted by Archdall, have been gleaned from our Ancient Annals and the "Wars of the Danes" :—

A.D. 821. Cucaech, abbot of Cluain-uamha, died.

A.D. 822. A party of marauders plundered Cork. Inis-Temhni, Begery Island in Wexford harbour, Cloyne, and Rosmaelain. The barren rock, called *Scelig Michil*, i.e., St. Michael's Rock, the abode of a solitary named Edgall, was also invaded by them, and, as they found nothing else to take, they carried him off into captivity, in which he died in the following year. Keating says the invaders, on this occasion, were White Lochlann, that is, Norwegians.

A.D. 835. Between the years 824 and 835 the greater part of the churches of Erin were plundered by the Danes. The monasteries and churches were the reputed repositories of wealth, as they were the centres of civilization throughout our island. They thus became the chief aim of the plunderers, and even at this early date the marauders made their way to the ecclesiastical establishments in some of the most remote parts of the country. The long list of the places plundered by them on this occasion ends with the names "Cell-Uasaille, now Killossy, or Killashee, near Naas, county Kildare ; Glendalough, county Wicklow ; Cluain-Uamha, county Cork ; and Mungairet, now Mungret, county Limerick."

A.D. 857. Maelcobha Ua Faelain, abbot of Cluain-Uamha, died. Lynch's MS. gives us in this year the additional entry :—"Robertachus bonus episcopus de Cluain-Uamha obiit."

A.D. 884. Reachtaidh, learned Bishop of Cluain-Uamha, died.

A.D. 888. Cluain-Uamha was again plundered by the Danes, and Fergal, son of Finachta, its bishop and abbot, and Uanan, son of Cerin, its sub-abbot, were killed.

A.D. 1056. Daighre O'Dubatan, anchorite of Cloyne, died at Glendaloch.

A.D. 1071. A fleet with Dermot O'Brien sailed round Ireland : he devastated Cluain-Uamha, and took away the relics of St. Finbarr from Cill-na-clerich.

A.D. 1075. O'Carrain, archbishop of Cluain-Uamha quievit in Chisto.

A.D. 1094. O'Molvain, Bishop of Cluain-Uamha, died.

A.D. 1099. Uamnachan Ua-Mictire, comharb of Colman, son of Lenin, died.

A.D. 1137. Cluain-Uamha and Ardagh of Bishop Mel were burned, both houses and churches.

A.D. 1149. Nehemiah O'Moriertach, bishop, died. He flourished in 1140, as we learn from St. Bernard in *Vita S. Malachiae*, who gives him the title "Episcopus Cluan-vaniae," which, in some of the printed texts, is corrupted into "Duen-vaniae." Bishop Nehemiah is described by an old writer in "Tyndal's Vision" as "a plain and modest man, excelling in wisdom and chastity."

A.D. 1159. O'Duberg, also called O'Dubrein, abbot of Cluain-Uamha, died.

A.D. 1162. Diarmid Ua-Laighnen, lector of Cluain-Uamha, was killed. He is called by Lynch "Dermicus O'Leighnin, archidiaconus Cluanensis et Momoniae; Doctor."

A.D. 1167. Ua-Flannain, bishop of Cluain-Uamha, died.

A.D. 1192. Matthew O'Mongach, bishop of Cloyne, died. He was Legate of the Holy See for Ireland at the time of the English invasion, and was succeeded in his Legatine authority by the celebrated Matthew O'Heney, archbishop of Cashel.

The subsequent history of the See till the Reformation era, may be seen in *Ware*. Much additional light is thrown on this period by the Pipe Roll of Cloyne, published in Cork, in 1859, by Richard Caulfield, Esq. In the Preface the learned editor gives the following description of the contents of this valuable fragment of our Diocesan literature :—

"This roll is said by Ware to have been begun in the year 1364. in the time of



John Swafham, a Carmelite Friar and Doctor of Divinity, who was then Bishop of Cloyne, and so its earlier dates seem to show ; but after a while, many documents much older than the time of that bishop, were included. It consists of a series of entries, being copies and abridgments of findings of juries, and acts and deeds relating to, or affecting the temporalities of the See of Cloyne, and was probably an imitation of an English practice long established. The bishop in those times was a great feudal lord, holding lands and seignories in the same manner as lay barons, and sitting in the Parliament or great council, in right of his territorial possessions. In England, such baronies, whether lay or ecclesiastical, originally consisted of lands held in capite, that is, immediately from the king, without any intermediate lord ; but many of those held by laymen, becoming reduced by alienation or subdivisions, the Crown adopted an arbitrary practice of summoning whom they pleased, and this gradually ripened into law. But in the case of bishops and peeral abbots, the ground of the right to sit as Barons of Parliament, seemed to have continued as it originally stood, except in so far as it has been affected by special legislation. In Ireland, a tenure in capite was never essential to a lay barony ; and probably the bishops and abbots themselves were, in general, undertenants. It appears from some documents near the end of the roll, that the bishops of Cloyne held large estates as feudatories of the Barry and Roche families.

"The time when lawlessness began to prevail in the county of Cork is rather distinctly vindicated by the nature of some of the entries of the roll. At first all transactions between the bishops and their feudal and other tenants, proceeded regularly according to the English Law, without disturbance from any aggressor. At last, in 1402, appears a deed, by which Lord Barry formally agrees with the Bishop of Cloyne, to impose no legal burthens or exactions on him or his tenants. Immediately after, others make a like agreement with the Bishop, whose sacred character, of course, formed his sole claim to exemption from the ill-treatment which others were obliged to submit to. In the same year Maurice Roche, Lord of Fermoy, binds himself in like manner to the Bishop and Ecclesiastics, and in case of infraction, agrees to submit to excommunication without any legal process. In the third year of Henry IV. appears a document, by which the Earl of Ormond—as Lord of half the Barony of Inchiquin, and farmer of the other half—takes the Bishop of Cloyne and his goods and property into his special protection. By another document, about the same time, the King interferes for the protection of the Bishop. Then follows another document, on the same subject, closing the series. Here the roll was discontinued, probably in consequence of the utter impossibility of stemming the tide of outrage, or enforcing any longer the rights of the see according to law. It appears from the roll that villeinage, of which so little trace can be found elsewhere in Irish documents, was anciently quite prevalent, and it further appears, that men of Irish race, living on the Bishop's estates, were destitute of any rights in their own labour, being seemingly in a similar condition with that class in England, who were called villeins in gross. In the year 1348 there occurs, as the reader may see, a finding of a jury, that John, who was called Lowis, is mere Irish, and of the race (progenie) O'Karny, and that all his goods, lands, and tenements, are the property of the Lord Bishop of Cloyne, because all of the race of O'Karny, are Irishmen, of the Church of St. Colman, and born in servitude : yet it appears in the same finding, that this John Lowis hath thirteen tenanted houses, and some land."

*Buttevant* derives its present name from the Norman war-cry of the Barrys—"Boutez en avant!"—it was in olden times called *Kilnemullagh*, as we learn from the poet Spenser :

"To Buttevant, where spreading forth at large,  
It giveth name unto that auncient cittie,  
Which Kilnemullah cleped is of old."

In many ancient documents, however, it is also called *Bothauun*, and in Latin, *Bothonia*. The "Annals of the Four Masters" fix, with accuracy, the foundation of the monastery for the Friars Minors here, "A.D. 1251. A monastery was erected at Kilnamullagh, in the diocese of Cork, by the Barry ; and it was afterwards

(*To be continued.*)

## THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD

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JULY, 1871.

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### THE JUBILEE FEAST OF PIUS THE NINTH.<sup>1</sup>

“And Josue being now old, and far advanced in years, called for all Israel, and for the elders, and for the princes, and for the judges, and for the masters, and said to them: ‘I am old, and far advanced in years; and you see all that the Lord your God hath done to all the nations round about; how he himself hath fought for you. . . . Only take courage, and be careful to observe all things that are written in the book of the law; and turn not aside from them, neither to the right hand nor to the left; lest after that you are come in among the Gentiles you should swear by the name of their gods, and serve them, and adore them: but cleave ye unto the Lord your God, and the Lord God will take away before your eyes nations that are great and very strong, and no man shall be able to resist you.’”—(*Josue*, xxiii., 1—9.)

OF every man that is born of a woman it is written that he liveth for a short time, and that his life is fragile as that of the flower, and fleeting as the inconstant shadow. If, then, in its best estate, human life is thus brief and fragile and insecure, how poor a thing is one single solitary day from among the few that remain at the close of a career already exceeding the common lot of man. And yet, one such day has just come in the life of an aged man who sits a prisoner in Rome, and it has made the hearts of more than two hundred millions of Catholics beat with joyous love.

The 16th June, which gave to Pius IX. alone among his predecessors, to equal, in the duration of his Pontificate, the years of St. Peter, rose upon millions who had prayed for its coming as men sigh for the dawning of the day of the joy of

<sup>1</sup> A discourse delivered by the Right Rev. Dr. Conroy, Bishop of Ardagh, in the Cathedral Church, Marlborough-street, on Sunday, the 18th June, at the conclusion of the solemn Triduum, which, by order of His Eminence the Cardinal Archbishop, was celebrated in all the Churches of the Diocese of Dublin, in thanksgiving to God for the many blessings granted to Pius the Ninth during the past twenty-five years of his Pontificate.

their hearts ; its hours, as they ran their course, seemed to millions not long enough wherein to exult and rejoice in the day the Lord had made ; and it set in a glorious burst of thanksgiving which, even yet, is mounting upwards from the whole earth, and our glad part in which we fain would take to-day. And why, beloved brethren, has the Catholic world thus made this day the beginning of its joy ? Not, surely, as if we judged a shorter Pontificate to be a sign of God's disfavour, since we know that for Josias, whose memory was "*sweet as honey in every mouth, and as music at a banquet of wine*" (*Ecclesiasticus*, xliv. 21), life was shortened as a reward ; nor is it because we account a protracted life, to be, of itself, a blessing singularly great ; for have we not heard the patriarch Jacob, though bending beneath the weight of six score years and ten, declare that the days of the years of his life were few and evil ; but because we feel that a singularly noble Pontificate, like that of Pius IX., could not be more fittingly crowned than by the singular privilege which preserved him that he might see the years of Peter. For what does that privilege, rightly considered, imply ? It implies triumph ! it implies victory ! Not the base and vulgar triumph which marks the victory of stronger over weaker human passions, but the lofty, pure, serene triumph that fitly graces the victories won by the eternal truth of God !

For I need not remind you that in revolving ages the truth of God has had, and still has, its battle-fields, in which heavenly-appointed champions smite the dominant error of the time, and thereby win for the truth a victory, the glory of which is reflected on themselves. Therefore do we celebrate the Pontifical Jubilee of Pius IX. with exceeding great joy, because it has encircled his brow with the glory of a triumph bright as that which, fifteen hundred years ago, Athanasius won for himself by his successful defence of the Divinity of the Eternal Word. For God has two Words—one, the Eternal personal Word, who is the figure of His substance and the splendour of His glory—true God of true God ; the other, the Word of that Eternal Word spoken to man in the Christian revelation, and living evermore in the Catholic Church. And, as to Athanasius was assigned the work of defending in his day the Divinity of the Eternal Word, so to Pius IX. has been assigned in our day the work of defending the Divinity of the Eternal Word's word and work in the Holy Catholic Church. The Arians, by denying that the Word was God, would make man's redemption impossible ; those who deny the Divine power of the Catholic Church would render the scheme of redemption abortive and inoperative. And, as according to

St. Athanasius himself, the battle in his day was against heretics, who, like new Pharisees, in sight of the very miracles of Christ, asked petulantly—how, being man, He claimed to be God ; so, in our day, the battle is against those who, in sight of the thousand miracles which adorn the Catholic Church, ask how—being a human institution—she dares claim the possession of the very authority of God ? And herein precisely consists the triumph of the Pontifical Jubilee of Pius IX. ; that out of the materials and within the limits of his Pontificate, it supplies a most striking proof of the truth of his life-long teaching, that the Catholic Church speaks with the authority of God. I say a striking proof—for, as his Jubilee itself is a fact that stands out in solitary grandeur in the history of nineteen centuries, so also it is filled with events so extraordinary as to compel the wonder of all, and so certain that none may gainsay their truth. Such a proof, too, has all the weight attaching to those Providential manifestations, to reject which is to exclude from history all trace of that imperfect sanction of the moral order which alone is permitted by the condition of this life. And if there be any one who is inclined to make light of such a proof, or to carp at it, as wanting in logical weight and dignity, let him explain how, in the text with which I commenced, Josue pursues a course of reasoning precisely similar, to prove that the authority which he himself wielded was from God. Between the words of Josue to the princes and rulers of Israel, and those of the latest Encyclical of Pius IX. to the Bishops of the Christian Church, there runs a most remarkable parallel. It is full of sublime instruction to observe these two men—rulers, respectively, of God's people of the Old and of the New Testament—take their stand upon the height of years which they had painfully climbed, and trace for their flocks, in the struggles and victories of their own chequered career, a proof written by the finger of God Himself, that the authority exercised by them was from Him ! Brighter days there may have been in the lives of both—days when their names were acclaimed by a thousand lips, and the great ones of the earth bent themselves before them ; but, to my mind, the day of their rarest triumph was that upon which, in the history of their own lives, they could point to the triumph of the truth which it was given them to uphold. And such is the triumph which belongs to-day to Pius IX.

For, in truth, the twenty-five years of his Pontificate are luminous with the traces of three great characteristics which the instincts of enlightened faith unhesitatingly accept as evidence of the victory of the truth of God. These are : an endurance that no violence can overcome ; a vigour which

waxes stronger under hostile assaults ; and the sanction of experience, whereby the truth of Catholic teaching is made wondrously manifest by the facts of history.

And see, first of all, how gloriously has he endured in his apostolical office of teaching truth. The truth of God, says Tertullian, has but one thing to fear upon earth, viz., lest it should be denied a hearing. Its enemies, guided by a diabolical instinct, are conscious of this, and use every exertion to stifle its voice, or to prevent it from reaching those to whom it is addressed. Hence, against the man whom God has chosen to be the mouthpiece of the truth which they hate, they exhaust all their power of persecution, if so they can succeed in hindering his Apostleship, by coercing him into silence. And thus, in such a struggle, the victory of the truth depends upon the endurance of its champion : as he endures, the truth endures—and by enduring, conquers. And God, mindful of His own truth, is wont to give strength and endurance to him who has thus become its living and visible exponent among men. This providence was foreshadowed in that promise of a life stretching to a mysterious term which He made to the Apostle St. John ; and it is clearly illustrated in the preservation of the Evangelist's life through the perils of a century of fiercest persecution, that so he might be a golden link between the ages to come and the happy age that had seen the Lord. For one hundred years was he preserved that he might safely carry within his virginal breast, in the midst of the nascent heresies, the central truth of the Divinity of Christ. The same providence is especially seen in the history of that St. Athanasius, to whom I have ventured to compare Pius IX. Against him, as the defender of Catholic Doctrine, the rage of angry sovereigns, and the unceasing hate of their Arian subjects, were pitilessly exercised. But throughout all he endured, and with him and through him endured the truth of God. He was exiled by Constantine, and he endured ; he was proscribed by Constantius, and he endured ; he was persecuted by Julian, and he endured ; he was threatened under Valens, and he endured. Out of the forty years of his episcopate, he spent twenty far away from his see—now in the remote Gauls—now amid the burning sands of the deserts—and at times even in his father's grave, and still he endured. Five times did he take the road to exile, and five times did he return ; and to his endurance do we owe it, under God, that the Nicene Creed is still on the lips and in the hearts of us all. And now, my brethren, if for the doctrine of the Divinity of Christ you substitute that of the Divine authority of the Church, what is the history of the

twenty-five years' Pontificate of Pius IX. but a reproduction of the History of Athanasius' trials, of his endurance, and of his victory.

Hardly had Pius IX. mounted the Pontifical throne, when words of flattery and deceitful praises fell upon his ear. These were the treacherous beginnings of the storm that was soon to sweep across his life. The secret societies, which are the hands through which the evil spirit of this unbelieving age achieves its accursed works, singled out as the special object of their assaults the Pontiff, who claimed to control the minds and hearts of men, making them captive to the Divine authority of the Catholic Church. He was driven into exile; he lived through it, and returned. Hardly had he resumed his place upon the throne, when his name was opprobriously dragged before the cabinets of Europe, and his kingdom denounced as the plague-spot of Europe; he heard, and endured. And then imperial hands began to undermine his throne, removing one by one its bulwarks and its supports; and, when the unholy work was done, imperial lips spoke the treacherous words that brought down upon the defenceless Pontiff the hordes of his foes. But he endured through all; and he has lived to see the imperial hand paralyzed, and to hear from the traitorous lips the sad cry—"I, too, have been betrayed." Then came the war of spoliation—stripping him year after year of his best provinces, of his towns, of his own Rome, of his churches, of his home, and finally, of his personal liberty. And throughout all this he has endured. Not for a single day did he flinch from upholding the Divine authority of the Church; nor could flattery, nor threats, nor exile, nor calumny, nor brute force, nor the robber's violence, nor the loss of liberty, ever compel him to silence. By sheer endurance he has conquered his conquerors themselves, who in vain have prayed and hoped for his death. With eager eye they have been long watching for the approach of the shadow of death upon that august face; with unholy joy they gloated over every fancied sign of infirmity; until weary at last and disappointed, they ask each other in dismay—"Is this old man never to die?" Is not this marvellous endurance evidence of a present God who Himself is enduring because He is eternal, and of whose truth it is written that it remaineth for ever: *veritas Domini manet in eternum!*

But, besides the triumph of endurance, the authority of the Catholic Church has enjoyed, through Pius IX., another and yet nobler triumph in this—that the more it has been assailed, the more vigorous it has become. Two things combine to constitute the triumph of authority: first, that the title by which

it claims the right to control its subjects should be clearly and forcibly set out ; next, that this title should be recognised and obeyed by the subjects ; and the more fully this double work has been achieved, the more full is the triumph of authority. Now, Pius IX. has, with signal success, rendered, throughout his Pontificate, these two most important services to the authority of the Holy See, as well with respect to its power of ruling and as to its power of teaching. Who has ever set forth more clearly than he the titles on which the Church rests her claim to rule the souls of men ? and who has ever secured from the bishops and the people of God a more full recognition and a more loving reverence for these titles ? He spoke the word, and immediately, in the north and in the south, where the sun rises and where he sets, new episcopal thrones arose in the Church, to become centres of sanctification and of civilization to millions. He spoke again, and the Churches of two flourishing nations put off their mourning and forgot their secular sorrow in the joy of beholding once more the due order of the hierarchy re-established in their midst. At a sign from him the Bishops of Christendom came from the ends of the earth, and gathered round the See of St. Peter, not once, but several times, and especially in the great Œcumenical Council of the Vatican. At his word again, the Catholic Universe paid to men whose names were obscure, and even a reproach, the honours of the altar, and, in the newly-canonized saints, Heaven itself received new intercessors for the Church. And thus, at a period when every earthly throne was tottering, the Chair of Peter alone was vigorous and firm ; when every other power was scorned or despised, the power of the Pope commanded ever-growing reverence and love. But especially with regard to the Pontifical Magisterium, has Pius IX. won triumph for the authority for the Church. Christ, our Lord, when he had prayed for Peter's faith, that he might confirm his brethren, placed him and his successors high on the Pontifical Throne, that from them the world might learn what to believe, and that each one, by comparing his own faith with that of Peter, might know if he were walking in the paths of the Gospel. But it happened, a few centuries ago, that from the passions of men, there rose up, here and there, over the world, a vague mist which came between the eyes of some few, and the face of the Apostolic Teacher, whom Christ had placed on his own throne. And these, to the sorrow and scandal of their brethren, began to question the Pontifical Infallibility, while courtier lawyers and heretics, each to forward their own respective interests of evil, encouraged and propagated the shameful error. Early in his Pontificate, Pius IX., by this dogmatic

definition of the Immaculate Conception, exercised this high prerogative of his office, and he has lived to confirm the Decree of the Vatican Council, by which the doctrine of the Pontifical Infallibility was declared an article of Christian faith. And thus, through him, have been cleared away the clouds that intercepted from many the view of the Heavenly-appointed Chair of Truth; so that, at this moment, the entire Church of God looks with certain faith towards the Holy Roman See, as towards the very pillar and ground of Catholic faith. And when we reflect upon the difficulties that beset the close of many of the General Councils; when we recall the long and weary period over which the sessions of the Council of Trent itself were extended; when we consider the vigour and audacity of that handful of men who have dared to call in question the authority of the Vatican Council, we begin to see how great is the blessing which the Providence of God has drawn even from the evils which have rendered necessary a temporary suspension of its sessions. For, behold! the entire Church has had time to profess its faith in the doctrinal Decrees of the Vatican Council, as in the very word of God Himself; and, at the close of his twenty-fifth year's Pontificate, Pius IX. has had the consolation of beholding, from the height of his Apostolic Throne, two hundred millions of human souls trusting themselves in peaceful confidence to the guidance of one teacher, whose faith is never to fail. In the presence of this sublime spectacle of triumphant authority, how poor becomes even the world-wide empire of ancient Rome—that *immensa Romanæ pacis Majestas*—the vision of which seemed to the imperial statesmen something too majestic to belong to earth!

But there is yet more. As Josue, now old and advanced in years, could appeal to the testimony of history for a sanction of the truth of his teaching, so can Pius IX. point to the unparalleled events of the last few months, as to a convincing proof that his words of instruction were inspired by the spirit of Divine wisdom. Like Josue, he had warned his people that they should not be led away by the errors of the nations that dwell among them, nor swear by the names of their gods, nor serve them, nor adore them, for that speedy destruction would come upon these nations, however great and mighty and strong they might appear; and the very month that brings to him the day of his Jubilee, enables him to appeal, like Josue, to his hearers' experience of the awful accuracy with which his predictions have been fulfilled. "I am old and far advanced in years, and you see all that the Lord your God hath done to the nations round about; how



He Himself hath fought for you." Who are the gods of those nations which, with a civilization of their own, surround the Catholic Church in this age? How are they adored? What manner of service is offered to them? These questions have been answered by Pius IX. in that Syllabus which will mark to future ages the moment when the advancing waves of naturalism were first stayed in their destructive course. In it he has held up before the faithful the gods of the modern Gentile world, unmasking the hideous idols of pantheism, and naturalism, and rationalism; in it he has described the fashion after which these monsters are adored—indifferentism, and that false liberalism which practically degrades the truth to the level of error; in it he has unfolded how these gods, themselves the creatures of man's evil passions, are served by irreligious education, by unbridled lust of pleasure, by a licentious press, by public immorality, by the tyranny of the mob; in it he reveals the turpitude of the attempts made to banish God from the marriage contract, from the family, from the school, from the cabinet, from the whole range of social and civil life. And whereas these things were set forth as essential conditions of the only true and lasting progress, without which nor public property, nor stable government, nor security at home, nor peace without, nor riches, nor liberty, nor public virtue could ever be hoped for, again, and again, did the Sovereign Pontiff warn the faithful that they should not be seduced by these brilliant promises, for that these idols would bring sure and speedy destruction on the nations who worshipped them as the source and cause of their own greatness and strength. This truth did he speak in love; but many received not the love of the truth that they might be saved: therefore, God sent them the operation of error (2 *Thes.* ii. 10), And now that he has lived to celebrate his Jubilee, he has lived long enough to see the sad experience of history confirm his words to the fullest extent. His teaching can no longer be considered as a theological abstraction, which men may contemptuously reject as too subtle for the wear and tear of busy life; for he now can point to facts that startle the least observant by the complete justification of his teachings which they contain. "See," he says, "what has come of the attempts to exclude the supernatural influences of religion from the life of man. Learn from the horrors of the last few months what Godless education has made of the young! the hands which you would not allow to make the sign of the cross are red with innocent blood, most cruelly spilled. See what your non-religious training has made of woman! the gentle and loving being

whom the Catholic Church would have formed upon the type of the Holy Mother of God, has become in your hands a fiend, scattering fire and death on every side ! See what education without religion has made of your soldiers, of your citizens, of your statesmen ! See its fruits in the school-room, the threshold of which is strewn with the shattered fragments of the image of Him whom impious hands have cast out from among the little ones whom He loves ! See its fruits in the barbarism into which society has fallen, in murder, in conflagration, in the denial of property, of the soul, of God himself ! ‘Amen, amen, I say to you, this generation shall not pass away until all these things shall be fulfilled !’”

This is the triumph, my brethren, which his Jubilee sheds upon Pius IX.—a triumph all the more glorious because it finds him in a prison. Beyond all doubt, the final issue of that imprisonment shall be victory ; for the God who has guarded him from his youth will surely not abandon him now that the evening of his life has come, and his day fast inclining to its close. But of what sort shall that victory be ? Shall it be the crown of martyrdom ? Oh ! deliver us from blood, O God, the God of our salvation, and our tongue shall announce thy praise. But if it be Thy will that this trial should come, I know of one at least who evermore sayeth from out his prison : “My heart is ready, O Lord, my heart is ready !” and who would gladly crown the glory that has been vouchsafed to him of St. Peter’s years, by imitating St. Peter’s death for his Master’s name. But, whatever the blessed Providence of God may decree—whether the remaining days of our Father’s life are to be days of blood, or of tears, or of joy—in the triumph of to-day we have a solemn pledge that they shall end at last in triumph, and in such a triumph as will announce, even in this life, the dawn of that imperishable triumph wherein the elect, for whose sanctification the Church exists under its visible head, will sing to Thy name, O Lord, and will praise with one accord Thy victorious hand !

## LETTERS OF BALMEZ.

## XIX.—THE GOOD AND THE BAD—A DIFFICULTY.

MY ESTEEMED FRIEND—The discussion on the pains of Purgatory has reminded you of the sufferings of the just, and you discover a difficulty in the doctrine, that those who pass through so many and trying expiations in this life, should be subjected to others in the life to come. "Virtue," you say, "is so well proved on earth, it is unnecessary it should pass through a new crucible in the pains of the other world. On this earth of injustice and iniquities, everything appears topsyturvy; and while felicity is reserved for the wicked, all kinds of calamities and misfortunes are the lot of the virtuous. Certainly, if I had not made a firm resolution of not doubting of Providence, in order that I might not lose all key to the things of the other life, a thousand times would I have vacillated on this point, when I beheld the misfortune of virtue and the insolent success of the wicked. I wish you would answer this difficulty without contenting yourself by placing before me original sin and its deplorable results; because, though it may be, perhaps, a satisfactory solution, it is not so to me, who doubt of all the dogmas of religion, including that of original sin itself."

Do not fear that I shall forget the disposition of mind of my opponent, or argue from principles you do not yet admit. No doubt, the dogma of original sin gives occasion to very important considerations, in the question on which we are occupied; but I will absolutely prescind from them, and confine myself to principles you cannot reject.

In the present question, I think you suppose a fact which, if not entirely false, is at least very doubtful. It matters little that your opinion agrees with the common one; for I believe that there is here an unfounded prejudice, which, though pretty general, is yet contrary to reason and experience. Like many, you suppose that felicity is so distributed in this life, that the greater share falls to the lot of the wicked, and the less to that of the virtuous, embittered, moreover, by abundant disgusts and misfortunes. I repeat, I consider this belief an unfounded prejudice, incapable of resisting the examination of sound sense.

It has been already observed that the virtuous cannot exempt themselves from the evils that affect humanity in general, if we would not have God perform continual miracles. If many people be travelling by railway, and among them two

or three of marked virtue, and an accident occur, it is clear that God is not bound to send an angel to save the virtuous travellers by some extraordinary means. If two men be walking along the street, the one good, the other wicked, and a house fall on their heads, the two will be crushed: the walls, beams, and roof will not form a wall over the head of the virtuous man. If a flood inundate a country-side, and destroy the crops, amongst which are those of a virtuous farmer, no one will require Providence, when the waters reach the farm of this just man, to form a wall of them, as on another occasion in the Red Sea. If an epidemic decimate the population of a country, death is not bound to respect the virtuous families there may be in it. If a city suffer the horrors of an assault, the unbridled soldiery will not respect the house of the just any more than that of the wicked man. The world is subject to certain general laws, which Providence does not suspend, except now and then; and they commonly affect all those whose circumstances are such as to make them experience their results. Undoubtedly, besides evidently miraculous exemptions, Providence has at hand special means of liberating the just from a general calamity, or at least of attenuating their misfortune; but I will prescind from these considerations, which would bring me to the consideration of facts which it is always difficult to investigate, still more so to establish with precision. I admit, then, that all men, just and unjust, are equally subject to the general evils of humanity, whether they come from natural causes, or spring from unpropitious social, political, or domestic circumstances. I do not think you will make a charge against Providence for this; for I consider you too reasonable to require continual miracles that would incessantly disturb the regular order of the universe.

Leaving aside then the general misfortunes which affect the good as well as the wicked, according to the circumstances in which they are placed; let us see now whether it be true that felicity is so distributed that the greater portion becomes the patrimony of vice. I believe, on the contrary, that, even prescinding from the special benefits of Providence, the physical and moral laws of the world are of such a nature, that of themselves, abandoned to their natural and ordinary action, they distribute felicity and misfortune in such a way that virtuous men are incomparably more happy, even on earth, than the vicious and wicked.

You will agree with me that our judgment about the degrees of felicity or misfortune should not be founded on particular cases, but on the general order, as it results, and must necessarily result, from the very nature of things.

The world is so wisely regulated that punishment, more or less evident, always follows on the heel of crime. If a man abuse his faculties in seeking pleasure, he meets with pain ; if he wander from the eternal principles of sound morality to supply himself with a felicity calculated on his egotism, he commonly works out his misfortune and ruin.

I need not speak of the fate that befalls great delinquents, who commit crimes which the action of the law can reach. Perpetual imprisonment, hard labour, public shame, an ignominious scaffold, these are what they meet with at the end of a hazardous career, filled with danger, terror, fits of rage and desperation, corporeal sufferings, calamities and catastrophes without number. A life and death of this kind possess no felicity. In the inebriation of disorder and crime, those wretches perhaps imagine they have enjoyment ; but shall we call that true enjoyment which results from the breach of all laws, physical and moral, and is lost like an imperceptible drop in the cup of torture and agony which they drain to the dregs ? I suppose then, when you speak of the felicity of the wicked, you do not refer to those who come under the action of human justice, but solely of those who, whilst wanting in their duty by trampling on the high claims of justice and morality, insult their victims with the security they enjoy, and live perhaps under gilded ceilings in the arms of opulence and pleasure.

I do not deny that on a superficial examination there is something in the felicity of these men which wounds and irritates. I am not unaware that if we attend to appearances, without penetrating into the heart of such happiness, and above all, limit ourselves to particular cases, without extending the view as it should be extended in this class of investigations, we become puzzled, and the mind is assaulted by the terrible thought:—"Where is Providence ; where the justice of God ?" But as soon as we meditate a little, and grasp the matter in the true point of view, the illusion disappears, and we discover the order and harmony that reign in the world with such admirable constancy.

Let us explain and fix these ideas. You will quote for me a vicious and perhaps perverse man, who apparently enjoys domestic happiness, and receives in society a consideration he is far from deserving : be it so. I will not dispute about whether this felicity is real or apparent, or about the interior happiness which undeserved considerations produce ; I will suppose the felicity is real and the enjoyment resulting from the consideration intimate and satisfactory ; but neither can you deny that, by the side of this vicious and

perverse man, we meet with honorable and virtuous people, who enjoy an equal domestic felicity, and obtain a consideration no way inferior to that of the other. This observation suffices to establish the equilibrium, and destroys the foundation of your assumption that vice is prosperous and virtue unfortunate. You will show me, perhaps, a man endowed with great virtues, and oppressed with the weight of great misfortunes; be it so; but I can show you the reverse of the medal, and present you with an immoral man afflicted with no less misfortunes; and here again we have the equilibrium established. Virtue is represented as unfortunate, but by its side we hear the groans of vice oppressed with the same crushing weight.

You may remark that I do not avail myself of all the advantages the question gives me, but leave you the most favourable ground; as I suppose equality of suffering in equality of unfortunate circumstances, and prescind from the inequality that should naturally result from the different interior dispositions of those who suffer the misfortune: what to one is consolation, to the other is remorse.

It is easy to see we could never solve the question with these parallels; and no case could be cited in favour of one without another similar or equal presenting itself in favour of the other. I will, however, observe that, in spite of the prejudice that exists on this point, and which I have already noticed, the constant experience of the unhappy end of wicked men has produced the conviction that sooner or later Divine justice will overtake them; and the good sense of the people has given expression to this truth in most judicious proverbs. The vulgar incessantly talk of the success of the wicked and the misfortune of the good; but if you follow up the conversation, you will surprise them at every turn in manifest contradiction, when they relate the malediction of Heaven that has fallen on such and such an individual, on such and such a family, and announce the misfortune that cannot do less than happen to others who now wade in opulence and felicity. What does this prove? It proves that experience is more powerful than prejudice; and the inclination to continually complain and murmur at everything, including Providence itself, disappears, at least for some moments, before the imposing testimony of truth, supported by visible and palpable facts.

Those who try to rise to a great height without considering the means, are not accustomed to find the felicity they desire. If they rush into great crimes against the security of the State, instead of attaining their object they work their own ruin. I might say that for every one that succeeds, there are a hundred wretches who succumb without realizing their design: history says so, and daily experience proves it true.

Those who wish to improve their fortunes by upsetting public order are condemned to incessant emigrations, and many of them end by perishing on a scaffold.

There are ambitions that live on lowness and intrigues, which have not the pluck requisite for crime, and can consequently improve without great personal risk. It is true that sometimes those men who substitute the slow windings of the reptile for the flight of the eagle, advance greatly in fortune without suffering any of the terrible expiations, to which those who fling themselves on the road of violence are exposed; but who can count the disgusts, the repulsions, the shameful humiliations they must have endured, before attaining the satisfaction of their desires? who could paint the terror and dread in which they live, lest they may lose what they have obtained? who can describe the sad alternatives through which they must have passed, and are continually passing, according as the favour of the protector who has raised them inclines towards them or recedes in an opposite direction? And what idea should we form in such a case, of the felicity of these men, particularly if we consider how much the recollection of their villainies, and the remorse for the evils which perhaps they have caused to well-deserving men and innocent families, must torment them? Happiness is not in the exterior, but in the interior: the richest, most opulent, most respected, or most powerful man will be unhappy, if his heart is torn by a cruel pain.

If a man love riches to excess, even to the degree of forgetting his duties so that he may acquire them, instead of attaining felicity he brings misery on his head. Those who trample on the laws of morality to acquire riches are divided into two classes: one simply labours to store them up, and to feel enjoyment in the possession of its treasure; the other desires to have them that it may enjoy the pleasure of spending them with profusion. The first class is avaricious, the second prodigal. Let us see what felicity is met with in both.

The avaricious man feels a momentary enjoyment in thinking on the riches he possesses, and in contemplating them in cautious solitude, far from the view of other men; but this pleasure is embittered with innumerable sufferings. A habitation narrow, unclean, incommodious in every sense; poor old furniture; a garment thread-bare, dirty, and recalling fashions which passed away many years ago; poor and badly-prepared food; a miserable and cracked table service; dirty linen; cold in winter, heat in summer; abhorred by his friends and debtors; despised and ridiculed by his servants; cursed by the poor; without discovering in any quarter an affectionate glance, or hearing a word of love or an accent of gratitude:—

this is the happiness of the avaricious man. If you desire to enjoy it, my dear friend, I envy you not.

The prodigal does not suffer in the same way as the avaricious man. He has extensive enjoyments while money and health last; and if the accent of the victims of his injustice reach his ears, he experiences some consolation in the expression of gratitude he meets with from those who receive his favours. But, besides the remorse that always accompanies ill-acquired goods, besides the discredit unjust proceedings always bring with them, besides the maledictions which he who enriches himself at the cost of others is condemned to hear, prodigality has characteristic annoyances,—which in the end make a miserable man of him who had promised himself happiness in the profusion of his riches. The pleasures to which prodigality conduces destroy health, disturb domestic peace, often impress a stain in the eyes of society, and entail disgusts of a thousand sorts. In fine, at the heel of these evils comes another to stare him in the face—poverty. These are not fictitious pictures; they are realities you will meet with everywhere; they are positive examples that want nothing but proper names.

Immorality in the enjoyment of the pleasures of life is very far from bringing felicity to him who expects happiness from them. This is a truth so well known that it is difficult to insist on it without repeating commonplaces, which have become vulgar. The works of medicine and morality are full of advice about the evils of intemperance. All classes of infirmities—premature old age, the abbreviation of life, sufferings above all qualification,—these are the results of disordered conduct.

A rich table in magnificent *salons*, served with luxury and taste, in brilliant society, amid the glee of festive companions, followed by toasts, festivities, music, and pleasures of all sorts, is certainly a seducing spectacle. Is not this, my esteemed friend, an incomparable felicity? Well, wait a little; let the music cease, the candles, lamps, and chandeliers go out, and the guests retire to rest. Whilst the sober man of regular habits is sleeping tranquilly, the servants of the happy man are running through the house in a fright. Some prepare soothing drinks, others make ready the bath, these run in haste in search of the doctor, those knock furiously at the door of the apothecary: what has happened? Nothing; only the felicity of the table has been turned into acute pains. The unhappy man finds no rest in bed, on the sofa, on the settee, or on the floor; a cold sweat bathes his members; his face is ghastly; his eyes protrude from their sockets; his teeth chatter, and he cries that he is dying. These are the effects of his felicity; to know how well such sufferings counterpoise the pleasure of a few



hours, it would be well to consult the patient, and ask him whether he would not willingly renounce all the pleasures and festivities of the world, so that he could obtain some alleviation of the sharp pains he is suffering.

I should never end if I were to continue the comparison between the results of vice and virtue ; but I do not intend to repeat what has been said a thousand times, and what you know as well as I. Suffice it to observe, that felicity does not exist in appearances, but in the inmost recesses of the soul. Of what service can the magnificence of a palace, or the glare of honours, or the incense of flattery, or the fame of a great name be to a man who suffers acute pains ; is oppressed by grief ; devoured by profound sadness ; or slowly consumed by insupportable weariness ? Happiness, I repeat, has its seat in the heart ; he who has not felicity in his heart, is unhappy, let the appearances of fortune with which he is surrounded be what they may. Well, now, in the exercise of virtue, all the faculties of man are harmonized in his relations with himself, with other men, and with God, both with respect to the present and the future. Vice destroys this harmony, disturbs the interior man, by making reason and the will the slaves of the passions ; debilitates health ; shortens life by the pleasures of the senses ; alters domestic peace ; destroys friendship ; and sacrifices the future to the present. Thus man marches by the path of remorse and agitation to the portals of the tomb, where he does not or cannot expect any consolation, and where he fears to meet with the chastisement his disorders deserve. The felicity of a being cannot consist in the perturbation of the laws to which by its nature it is subject. The laws of the order of nature are in accord with those of the moral order : whoever infringes them receives his desert, and instead of felicity he meets with terrible misfortunes.

Now you see, my dear friend, it is not so certain as you imagined, that the felicity of earth is solely for the bad, and its unhappiness for the good alone. I hold it as indubitable that if the degrees of felicity distributed between virtue and vice were placed in a balance, the former would weigh down the latter ; and an incomparably greater amount of suffering falls to the lot of vice than to that of virtue. Yes ; there is justice even on earth. God has been pleased to permit many iniquities : he has allowed the wicked to sometimes enjoy the shadow of felicity ; but he has also been pleased to determine that the terrible law of expiation should be felt in this life, and the means employed by the perverse to procure their happiness contribute to this end.

I remain your most affectionate friend,

J. B.

## MACCHIAVELLI.

(Concluded).

IN a former number we endeavoured to place before our readers "The Macchiavellian System," such as we find it set forth in the writings of the celebrated Florentine Secretary. From the extracts which we selected, it appears that Macchiavelli counsels every ambitious aspirant to power to murder all those who may oppose his designs;<sup>1</sup> maintains that plunder, and the almost utter annihilation of a vanquished foe, are the legitimate rewards of a victorious general;<sup>2</sup> eulogises craft and cunning of the lowest kind, as the best and most trustworthy means, whereby to secure and retain power;<sup>3</sup> in a word, makes crime of the worst description a virtue of the highest order, if it but serves one's purpose, and establishes, as the grand ruling principle of political morality, that well-known maxim, so often falsely attributed to Catholic Theologians—*the end justifies the means*.<sup>4</sup> Such is the sum of Macchiavelli's political creed; he regards justice in a ruler rather as an evil to be shunned than a virtue to be practised; craft, unscrupulousness, and brute force are, in the eyes of the Florentine Secretary, the grand essentials to success.

Let us examine the merits of this system. Is it sound? Would it tend to make a people happy, and a sovereign secure, loved, and respected? Would it exercise a favourable influence on religion and public morals? How would it affect the international relations of states? In a word, ought it to be held up to the admiration of statesmen as a model for their imitations, or rather as a *chef d'œuvre* of political iniquity, calculated to inspire no other feelings than those of horror and disgust?

From whatever standpoint we consider it, we think that the Macchiavellian system merits nought but the most unqualified reprobation. The first thing which strikes us in it is that the author of this political system entirely *ignores God*. He would banish Him altogether from His own world, and would have men manage mundane affairs, not alone independently, but in open defiance of their Creator and of His laws. He laughs to scorn the, to him, silly idea that there exists such a thing as Providence regulating and directing the affairs

<sup>1</sup> See "The Prince," chapters vii., viii., xvii.

<sup>2</sup> See "Storie Florentine," Book vi., cap. i.

<sup>3</sup> See "Reflexions on Livy," lib. 2, chap. 13. "The Prince," cap. 18, *et passim*.

<sup>4</sup> See IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD for April; Art., Macchiavelli.

of earth—now raising up statesmen and princes for its own wise ends—and again casting them down when they cease to fulfil their mission. No! Macchiavelli will not admit Providence. He builds up his system independently of it. He regards the world and men merely as one vast piece of machinery, in which each wheel moves mechanically, as do the works of a time-piece. Lest we may seem to do him an injustice in attributing to him such opinions on so grave a matter, we shall allow him to state his views in his own words:—"Religion," he says, "and common sense, have been equally wounded in the general definitions of *fortune*, *chance*, *Providence*, &c. The subject has always appeared to me capable of much simplification, and the terms capable of being accurately defined. Previous to the attempt, however, it will be necessary to avoid the trammels of all former reasonings on the subject, by discarding the ordinary machinery of those writers who ascribe to supernatural agency whatever appears to circumvent or defeat the exertions of human prudence." After supposing, *for the mere sake of argument*, that *fortune* and *chance* have no control over human affairs, Macchiavelli continues thus:—"The world is a stupendous machine, composed of innumerable parts, each of which being a free agent, has a volition and action of its own; and on this ground arises the difficulty of assuring success in any enterprise depending on the volition of numerous agents. We may set the machine in motion, and dispose every wheel to one certain end; but when it depends on the volition of any one wheel, and the corresponding action of every wheel, the result is uncertain."<sup>1</sup> In this extract there are some isolated propositions unquestionably true; but, taking the entire as one proposition, it amounts, if we read it right, to this:—"If men do not act in concert to attain any end they may have proposed to themselves, they *may* fail in attaining it; if they do act in concert, and if the action of one wheel corresponds with the action of the others in the great social machine, success is infallible—the dicta of antiquated churchmen regarding Providence, &c., notwithstanding."

However we may regard this theory of Macchiavelli from a speculative point of view, we must, at least, award the author the praise of consistency, inasmuch as his entire system of political science is based on the supposition, that men are all-sufficient to effect any purpose if they only pursue the course which he has mapped out for them, and that in such circumstances, there exists no power which can frustrate their designs.

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix to chapter xxv. of "The Prince."

The simple truth is—Macchiavelli was a Free-thinker. His model prince would be one also, and in his government, and in the laws which he would enact for his subjects, would practically ignore religion, and regard public morality as a matter of quite secondary importance—looking only to “*power as the unum necessarium*.” Macchiavelli’s model prince would seem to epitomize his entire political code in those lines of Alfieri,<sup>1</sup>

“A un re, pur che ei no *paja*  
Colpevol basta.”

Like Cæsar, when about to cross the Rubicon, he would exclaim,

“Hic (ait) hic pacem, temerataque jura relinquo.”<sup>2</sup>

He would be the “alter ego” of Achilles, as represented by Horace—

“Jura negat sibi nata, nihil non arrogat armis.”<sup>3</sup>

He would endorse the opinion of P. Furius, as handed down to us by St. Augustine, “that a government cannot be upheld, or administered with success, save by injustice.” (Nisi per injustitiam, rempublicam stare aut geri non posse.)<sup>4</sup>

That religion, however, and the observance, both by the sovereign and his subjects, of the duties prescribed by religion are the true prop and mainstay of a government, is a truth which has never been questioned save by those *soi-disant* philosophers, those self-constituted arbiters of right and wrong, who, by their absurd political theories, impious social doctrines, and no less revolting morals, have, in times past, as well as in our own days, thrown Europe into a state of anarchy and disorder. This truth found staunch supporters among the very Pagans. Cicero, one of the most profound thinkers either of ancient or modern times, when inculcating the necessity of implanting religious ideas in the mind of the people, shows that this is *not only useful, but necessary*, inasmuch as the most ordinary social contracts are entered into by invoking the Deity to be witness of the sincerity of the contracting parties; the obligation of treaties presupposes, on the part of those who make them, a sense of conscientious responsibility to a higher power; the dread of punishment in a future life deters many from crimes which they might otherwise perpetrate; and domestic and social relations are

<sup>1</sup> Polinice, atto I, sc. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Lucan, Phars. I, 227.

<sup>3</sup> Horace, Ars Poetica, c. 123.

<sup>4</sup> See St. Augustine, de civ. Dei xix. 21.

strengthened and sanctified by the benign influence of religion.<sup>1</sup> And, as we are informed by Tacitus, long before the times of Cicero, Numa, when endeavouring to mould into a civilized community the savage hordes of brigands left to him by his predecessor, Romulus, perceived that this could only be effected by making religion the basis of his government, and the guiding spirit of his laws: "Numa religionibus et divino jure populum devinxit."<sup>2</sup> In acting thus the old Roman king was but following the dictates of common sense; for, as Balmez wisely observes, "Man left to himself can only succeed in producing slavery or anarchy; the same thing under two forms—the *origin of force*."<sup>3</sup>

Whether we regard this matter from the side of the ruler or from that of the subject, the introduction of the religious element into every Government appears absolutely necessary. As regards the ruler, what Prince, we ask, can be certain of wearing his crown for a single day, if his subjects, instead of being taught that they are bound to respect and obey him for conscience sake, are imbued with the Macchiavellian teaching, that to aim at supreme power is always a laudable ambition, and that every means is just which serves to carry out that design? Will not ambitious men be ever found? and if they fear no power beyond this world, is it natural to suppose that they will hesitate for an instant to commit the most revolting crimes, if thereby they can attain their ends? It is simply ridiculous to suppose that such a thing could happen; and, therefore, if the Macchiavellian principle of political morality be approved of and adopted, no prince is secure on his throne for twenty-four hours. Let us look at the other side of the picture, and consider what would be the condition of the subject under a prince of the Macchiavellian type. He would be simply a *slave*. He could not be sure of his life, because, in Macchiavelli's theory, the prince, if it suited his interest, might lawfully destroy his subject. He could not be sure of his property, because, in the system of the Florentine Secretary, property has no rights where the interest of the Sovereign is in question. He could not calculate on enjoying that peace necessary for the pursuit of industry and commerce, because the ambition and unscrupulousness of his sovereign might force him at any moment to take up arms for the purpose of waging war against some neighbouring state; and thus, in Macchiavelli's theory, society is constantly in a disturbed and unsettled state. This view has been very forcibly put forward by a Protestant jurist, Puffendorf, and,

<sup>1</sup> Cicero. De Legibus, I., 7.

<sup>2</sup> Tacitus. Annal. III., 26.

<sup>3</sup> Balmez. European Civilization, chap. 50.

though the extract is somewhat long, we cannot persuade ourselves to withhold it from our readers :—"If you do not call in religion to your aid," he says, "the stability of a Government must always be a matter of chance, since the fear of punishment, or reverence for the allegiance pledged to superiors will avail little or nothing. For in such circumstances the adage—*he who knows how to die fears not force*—is literally verified ; since he who fears not God will neither fear death, and the man who can brave death is capable of perpetrating any crime against his sovereign. He will have little difficulty in finding a *pretext* for so doing—for instance, that he may escape those inconveniences which he fancies weigh on him because of another's rule, or that he may enjoy those advantages attendant on the possession of power ; and this may the more easily occur, inasmuch as he will not find it difficult to persuade himself that he is acting lawfully, either because the actual sovereign seems to him to govern badly, or because he believes that he would himself prove a more efficient ruler. Moreover, an *opportunity* for executing such designs would easily present itself, either because the prince might not be sufficiently wary in guarding himself from assassination (and in the state of society which we contemplate, how could he place trust even in his own body-guard) ; or because a general rebellion might be set on foot ; or because in the contingencies of a foreign war the conspirators might invoke the aid of the enemy." Thus far the learned Protestant exposes the dangers which threaten the sovereign if he adopts the Macchiavellian principles in the government of his state. He next proceeds to enumerate the dangers in which this system involves society, and concludes thus : "Hence, it appears of what vital importance it is to mankind to oppose by every means the progress of Atheism ; and, at the same time, how infatuated those are who persuade themselves that they advance the cause of political liberty by abetting infidelity."<sup>1</sup>

Even professed infidels have acknowledged the necessity of religion as the basis and foundation of governments. Voltaire writes thus on the subject :—"I should not fancy being the subject of an Atheist prince, whose interest it would be to pound me in the mortar, for I should unquestionably perish. Were I a prince, I would not like to be surrounded by Atheist chamberlains, whose interest it might be to poison me ; for each time I should leave my chamber I would have to take an antidote. It is, therefore, a matter of absolute necessity, both for rulers and their subjects, that the idea of a Supreme Being—

<sup>1</sup> Puffendorf. De Officiis. hom. et civ. I-4.

creating, governing, rewarding, and punishing—should be deeply engraven on their hearts.”<sup>1</sup>

Another infidel of note thus records his opinion on the same subject:—“If you take away faith in God and in a future life, I see nothing in the world save lies, hypocrisy, and injustice, holding high festival. Expediency beyond everything else: vice is then dignified with the name of virtue. ‘Let the world be *my* slave, let all things be attracted to *me* as to a centre; if *I* remain untouched, let the rest of mankind be consigned to destruction.’ These are the secret thoughts of an Atheist reasoning with himself. For my part, I shall firmly adhere to this opinion: ‘Whoever says in his heart ‘*There is no God,*’ and yet can reconcile the world with itself, is either a knave or a madman.’”<sup>2</sup>

But, perhaps, the best way to judge of the Macchiavellian system, is to glance at the results which it has produced on society.

As seen in Italy, during the age of Macchiavelli, and for centuries after, these results present anything but a gratifying spectacle. We read of nothing but constant intrigue—ambitious citizens aiming at subverting the liberties of their country—and rebellion, war, and misery following, as a natural consequence. Thus it was that, at the period to which we allude, the liberty of Lombardy and the Romagna had been extinguished in blood. The freedom of Sienna and Genoa existed, it is true, but how dearly had it been purchased by revolutionary proscriptions! Venice was free only in name. Macchiavelli’s own patron, Lorenzo di Medici, cannot lay claim to the title of patriot. He completed the subversion of the Florentine Republic, superseding her regular government by a permanent Council of Seventy, who were his own creatures—and who were, by the advice of Macchiavelli, given to understand that they were, in their deliberations, to consult, not so much the interests of their country, as the wishes of Lorenzo, under pain of incurring heavy penalties for their audacity, should they attempt to act otherwise. In order to retrieve his lost fortune,<sup>3</sup> he taxed his country. Many charitable foundations were suppressed. The current *specie* was taken in payment of taxes at one-fifth below its nominal value, while the government continued to issue it at the old rate; and in

<sup>1</sup> Voltaire: Dict. Philosophique. Art. Atheisme.

<sup>2</sup> Rousseau. Emile, tome iii. p 206.

<sup>3</sup> The Medici, when they began to be princes, gave up their old avocation of merchants. They did not, it is true, relinquish business altogether, but they entrusted the management of their affairs to agents, who, as usual, neglected the interests of their employers. Thus the Medici became bankrupts. How they in some manner recovered their fortune is told in the text.

this manner Lorenzo contrived to repair, to some extent, the shattered fortunes of his house by involving his country in bankruptcy. We need hardly say that such conduct was neither just nor honourable; but why should a man tutored in the Macchiavellian school regard either justice or honour, if an opposite course would better suit his purpose! In our number for April we alluded slightly to the turmoil created in the Italian Peninsula by the conspiracy of the Pazzi, by Cæsar Borgia, by the rapacity of the French in Lombardy, and of the Spaniards in Naples, and to the fearful miseries which followed in the train of the Constable de Bourbon and his barbarous battalions. All these evils were but so many natural consequences of Macchiavelli's doctrine—that power is everything, and that every means is legitimate which serves to secure it.

If we come to consider the practical results of the Macchiavellian system as developed in France, what an appalling picture presents itself to our gaze! We do not intend to speak now of the misfortunes brought on Europe by the wars of Francis I. and Louis XIV.; but we will come later down to the Revolution commencing in 1789. We will not undertake to say that the French nation had not grievances to complain of at that epoch; but we *do* say that they were grievances which had their origin in the intrigues of unscrupulous kings and statesmen of the Macchiavellian type, and France sought to remedy these grievances, not in a legitimate and constitutional manner, but by adopting Macchiavelli's principles in their widest sense, and even improving on them. The men of '93 began by murdering their lawful sovereign. The downfall of the altar rapidly succeeded that of the throne. God was voted a "myth;" morality a "nuisance;" and a vile prostitute sat enthroned in a Christian temple to receive, as the Goddess of Lust, the homage of her wretched votaries. And yet, God, in His wisdom, permitted that, from out of the ranks of those miscreants, one should arise who would serve as His instrument to punish the others. Who has not heard of the first Napoleon? who, acting on the Macchiavellian policy, kept Europe bathed in a sea of blood for well nigh twenty years, at the cost of millions of human lives, and an immense expenditure of treasure.<sup>1</sup> And if such have been the results of the Macchiavellian system, when reduced to

<sup>1</sup> Some idea of what the *French Revolution* and the *First Empire* cost Europe in men and money may be formed from these facts:—The war against the French Revolution cost *England alone* £464,000,000. The war against Bonaparte cost £1,159,000,000; and the total loss of life in the *Peninsular campaign alone* is estimated at *one million two hundred thousand*. "Ex uno disce omnes!"—See Haydn, "Dictionary of Dates," art. Wars.



practice, what honest peace-loving man will dare to defend it? Yet that system will ever find men to defend it; aye! and to put it in practice too, so long as an ungodly ambition finds a shrine in human breasts, and kings and statesmen value the possession of power more than truth, justice, religion, and the welfare of their people.

In our own day, an Italian statesman put the Macchiavellian system in practice, in order to realize the mad dream of an "United Italy." Intrigue of the vilest description was put into requisition in order to attain this end; soldiers were bribed to betray their sovereigns, and violate their solemn oaths of allegiance; unsuspecting princes were cajoled by assurances of friendship, until everything was ready for their destruction; treaties were made under the most sacred obligations, but were made only to be broken almost before the ink with which they were signed was dry;—and what has been the result in this instance of the Macchiavellian policy? The Italian people have become impoverished; their national debt has increased enormously; they have to support a standing army about four times as large as that which sufficed to maintain perfect order under the old regime; they have no credit in the foreign money-markets; their commerce is much less than it might be under other circumstances; human life is at the mercy of the assassin; property is insecure; religion is trampled under foot; public morality is outraged by the sale of infamous publications and obscene pictures which would put even the denizens of Holywell-street to the blush; an aged sovereign is besieged in his palace without the shadow of a pretext for so doing, without a formal declaration of war, in open defiance of all international law; the entire peninsula is plunged into a state of well-nigh hopeless anarchy, and this because an unscrupulous king found an unscrupulous minister who was anxious to gratify his own private ambition, and in order to do so became an adherent to the Macchiavellian system, sacrificing for this purpose every sacred principle human and Divine. In achieving his purpose, Cavour was ably assisted by the third Napoleon. And what have been the consequences for the French Emperor? After having devoted his life to the practice and propagandism of the Macchiavellian principles, he finds them suddenly turned against himself by an abler man, and to-day "le neveu de son oncle" is an exile and crownless, with scarce a chance remaining that he or any of his line will ever again sit upon the throne of France. Lord Palmerston, and other leading English statesmen, also lent effectual aid to Cavour in revolutionizing Italy; but little did

they reflect when doing so, that they who sow the wind must reap the whirlwind. In this, as in other instances, the Macchiavellian system is producing its own evil consequences ; and the tone of some of the leading English journals, during the past five years, as well as the recent *Communist* demonstrations in the London parks, seem to be but the first indications of a coming storm, which may, ere long, burst with terrific violence over England, if she does not strive to render a cure unnecessary, by having recourse to preventive measures, by dispensing open-handed justice to all her people, and scrupulously observing those international laws which are in accordance with the principles of religion and the rights of nations.

In direct opposition to the Macchiavellian system, the *true* principles which should govern the mutual relations of sovereigns and their subjects are clearly defined by the great Apostle of the Gentiles. As the constant aim of every legitimate government ought to be to secure peace and tranquillity for mankind, so as to enable them to work out, in accordance with the designs of God, the great end for which they were created, it follows as a necessary consequence (*a*) that every legitimate government is entitled to submission and respect from its subjects ; and (*b*) that the subjects on the other hand have a strict right to full protection and even-handed justice from the government, so that peace and prosperity may reign in the state.

Such is the theory of government laid down by St. Paul. Addressing the subject, he says :—“*Let every soul be subject to higher powers : for there is no power but from God : and those that are, are ordained of God.*”—(Romans, chap. xiii., 1.) The Apostle is equally explicit when defining the duties of those placed in authority. Laying down the rule which should guide those in power, he says—“*Masters do to your servants that which is just and equal, knowing that you also have a Master in Heaven.*”—(Col. iv., v. 1.)<sup>1</sup>

The law laid down by the Apostle has been ever endorsed by the Church. We could fill volumes were we to transcribe the words of the Fathers on this head :—Tertullian, and Origen, and Augustine ; Cyprian of Carthage, and Ambrose of Milan ; Leo and Hildebrand—all proclaim those grand and primary principles, without which the state of society must be

<sup>1</sup> We must not here accept the words *master* and *servant* in the limited sense in which they are ordinarily employed. In the Greek text the word used for *master* is κύριος, which strictly means *one having authority*. It is akin to τυράννος, and the context, in which the same word is applied to God, clearly proves that the term is applicable even to a Supreme Ruler.

always insecure. We will not trouble our readers by citing long passages from those fathers—we should extend the limits of our paper too far were we to do so; at the same time we recommend our readers to peruse the passage for themselves in that truly admirable work of Balmez, “European Civilization,” (chaps. xlviii., liii., liv.)

- We must now close our notice of Macchiavelli and his political system. Men of the world will, most probably, say that our principles are antiquated—our theories out of date—in the latter half of the enlightened nineteenth century. Be it so. We are satisfied to accept the responsibility, and we await the issue with perfect confidence. If political turpitude is to hold sway yet a little longer, we can't help it. It may possibly succeed for a while; but of one thing we are certain, that, sooner or later, it will inevitably produce in the future those dire consequences which have invariably attended it in the past.

Before we conclude, our readers will naturally expect that we should say something of Macchiavelli's personal character. We expect that the sketch must be anything but flattering. We will not attempt to give it in our own words, but we will allow Lord Macaulay to draw the portrait:—

“The character of the Italian statesman seems, at first sight, a collection of contradictions, a phantom as monstrous as the pantress of hell in Milton, half divinity, half snake, majestic and beautiful above, grovelling and poisonous below. We see a man whose thoughts and words have no connection with each other, who never hesitates at an oath when he wishes to reduce, who never wants a pretext when he is inclined to betray. His cruelties spring not from the heat of blood, or the insanity of uncontrolled power, but from deep and cool meditation. His passions, like well-trained troops, are impetuous by rule, and in their most headstrong fury never forget the discipline to which they have been accustomed. His whole soul is occupied with vast and complicated schemes of ambition; yet his aspect and language exhibit nothing but philosophical moderation. Hatred and revenge eat into his heart; yet every look is a cordial smile, every gesture a familiar caress. He never excites the suspicion of his adversaries by petty provocations. His purpose is disclosed only when it is accomplished. His face is unruffled, his speech is courteous, till vigilance is laid asleep, till a vital point is exposed, till a sure aim is taken, and then he strikes for the first and last time. Military courage, the boast of the sottish German, of the frivolous and prating Frenchman, of the romantic and arrogant Spaniard, he neither possesses nor

values. He shuns danger, not because he is insensible to shame, but because in the society in which he lives, timidity has ceased to be shameful. To do an injury openly is, in his estimation, as wicked as to do it secretly, and far less profitable. With him the most honourable means are those which are the surest, the speediest, and the darkest. He cannot comprehend how a man should scruple to deceive those whom he does not scruple to destroy. He would think it madness to declare open hostilities against rivals whom he might stab in a friendly embrace, or poison in a consecrated wafer.<sup>1</sup>

Such is the character of Macchiavelli, as drawn by a master-hand, and it certainly is not such as any one would wish to have recorded of him after death. The man and his principles are equally to be abhorred. The statesman has been weighed long ago in a balance which cannot err, the principles remain, and are daily receiving the approval of modern politicians. The future will tell with what result. The past, at least, has satisfactorily proved that unless religion be made the basis of every Government there can be no security for the ruler, no prosperity for the subject, no tranquility in the state.

W. H.

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## THE INDULGENCES OF THE ROSARY.

(Continued.)

THE *Elenchus* contains a very important clause regarding the distribution of Beads, etc., to which the Apostolic Indulgences have been attached. "His Holiness commands that the Decree of Pope Alexander VII., issued in 1657, shall be observed, viz. :—that the Indulgences shall not go beyond the person of him to whom these blessed objects shall be confided, or at least of those to whom he shall distribute them for the first time."<sup>2</sup> This clause, as explained by Father Maurel, implies that Beads, etc., lose the Indulgences attached to them *when they cease to be the property of the person who first uses them in order to gain the Indulgences*; so that when they have been used for this purpose by the person at whose request they have been blessed they are no longer available for distribution; and, on the other hand, if they are distributed before being

<sup>1</sup> Critical and Historical Essays, by Lord Macaulay, vol. 1.

<sup>2</sup> See *The Raccolta*. Authorized Translation, p. 364.

used, the persons who receive them can, in turn, give them to others, provided that they have not themselves made use of them in the first instance.<sup>1</sup>

By another provision of the *Elenchus*, the Indulgences are lost if the Beads, etc., are sold after being blessed. His Holiness orders the observance of a Decree to this effect, issued in 1721, in which the Sacred Congregation of Indulgences strictly prohibited their "sale, whether public or private, or any sort of barter or exchange," declaring, moreover, that "if this prohibition be violated, the Indulgences shall be lost."<sup>2</sup>

This Decree must not be understood as referring merely to the case where a *higher price* is charged for pious objects, on the score of their having been blessed: their sale or barter, as all writers on the subject agree, is absolutely forbidden<sup>3</sup>. It is, however, laid down by Bouvier and other writers that this prohibition does not include the case of a person who merely reimburses himself by charging the original price of Beads, etc., which he has bought for the purpose of distribution, since, in the opinion of those writers, such a person cannot be regarded, strictly speaking, as having sold the articles in question.<sup>4</sup> But it is plain, from several Decrees of the Sacred Congregation, one of which is quoted by Bouvier himself, that this view is untenable.<sup>5</sup> However, to avoid misconception, it may be well to add that this case should be distinguished from that of a person who receives a commission to buy Beads, etc., and to have them blessed. Without endangering the Indulgences he can, of course, receive from the person who entrusted him with the commission, the money which he expended in the purchase. For it is obvious that in thus executing a commission he cannot, with propriety, be said to sell the Beads.<sup>6</sup>

Beads, etc., lose their blessing also, in case they are

<sup>1</sup> MAUREL. *Le Chrétien Eclairé sur la Nature et l'Usage des Indulgences*. Sixième Edition. Paris, 1860, p. 317.

<sup>2</sup> "Districte prohibuit ne in posterum aut publice aut secreto vendantur vel quomocunque commutentur. Quod si secus fiat . . . careant Indulgentiis jam concessis."—*Decr. S. C. Indulg.* (5 Jun., 1721).

<sup>3</sup> See BOUVIER, *Traité des Indulgences*. Part 2, chap. vi., art. 2, § iii. n. 3. MAUREL, *Le Chrétien Eclairé* p. 318.

<sup>4</sup> BOUVIER (*ibid*) says:—"En les distribuant ainsi, il est moins censé les vendre que faire une commission pour ceux à qui il les procure."

<sup>5</sup> "An practice tutum est, non stricto sensu vendere rosaria praevis benedicta, sed simpliciter recipere in eorum distributione, solutas in acquisitione expensas? *Resp.* Negative."—*Decr. S. C. Indulg.* (31 Jan., 1837).

<sup>6</sup> "Utrum [attento plurimorum Sacerdotum exiguo nimis peculio] Sacerdotes percipere queant. . . id quod ipsi impenserunt pro Coronis benedictis, quas fidelibus distribuunt? *Resp.* Negative, et juxta quamplurima decreta Sacrae hujus Indulgentiarum Congregationis."—*Decr. S. C. Indulg.* (2 Oct., 1840.)

<sup>7</sup> See *Mélanges Théologiques*. Deuxième Série. Paris 1859, p. 163.

lent by the owner to enable another person to gain the Indulgences;<sup>1</sup> so that not only the person to whom they are thus lent, can derive no benefit from them, but even the owner cannot gain the Indulgences until the blessing is renewed.<sup>2</sup> But, as Bouvier remarks, this clause refers only to the special case already mentioned, and not, therefore, to the case where Beads are lent merely to facilitate the counting of the prayers. In such a case the Indulgences, are not gained; but the Beads do not cease to be available for the owner. This explanation of the clause does not rest merely on the absence of any reference to this case in the *Elenchus*, as Bouvier's words would seem to imply;<sup>3</sup> it has been expressly adopted by the Sacred Congregation of Indulgences.<sup>4</sup>

Similar Decrees have been issued by the Sacred Congregation regarding the Brigittine Chaplets. Thus, in 1714, it was forbidden, under pain of forfeiting the Indulgences, to sell these Chaplets or to lend them, after they have been blessed; and this prohibition was renewed in the Summary of the Brigittine Indulgences, published by order of Benedict XIV., in 1743.<sup>5</sup> The clause which prohibits the lending of these Chaplets was subsequently explained as referring only to the case where they are lent *for the purpose of enabling a person to gain the Indulgences*;<sup>6</sup> just as we have seen the similar clause in the *Elenchus* regarding the Apostolic Indulgences, was explained by the Decree of 1839. And finally, there can be no doubt—although, indeed, the point has not been expressly decided—that the Brigittine Indulgences are available only for the original owner of the Chaplet. For, in several Decrees it is evidently assumed that in this respect also there is no

<sup>1</sup> "Commodari aut precario dari non possit *pro Indulgentiarum communicatione* alioquin amittant Indulgentias jam concessas."—*Elenchus Indulgentiarum*, etc.

<sup>2</sup> "Il ne serait plus indulgencié ni pour celui qui l'emprunte, ni pour celui qui le prête."—BOUVIER. *Traité des Indulgences*. Part 2, chap. vi., art. 2, § iii., n. 3. See also MAUREL, *Le Chretien Eclairé*, p. 318.

<sup>3</sup> BOUVIER (*Traité des Indulgences*, *ibid.*) says:—"On ne voit nulle part que le chapelet ait cessé d'être indulgencié."

<sup>4</sup> Utrum Coronae. . . Indulgentias amittant, si amico . . . commodentur sive ad Coronam simpliciter recitandam, sive ad Indulgentias lucrandas? *Resp.* Negative in primo casu: Affirmative, in secundo. Ut enim pereant Indulgentiae. . . requiritur finis dandi vel praestandi *pro communicatione Indulgentiarum* sicuti expresse legitur in *Elenchus Indulgentiarum*, etc.—*Decr. S. C. Indulg.* (10 Jan., 1839).

<sup>5</sup> "Sacra Congregatio . . . innovando Decreto diei 26 Novembris, 1714, vetuit ne hujusmodi Coronae seu Rosaria utpote benedicta vendantur aut alteri commodentur aut praecario dentur alioquin careant indulgentiis jam concessis."—*Summarium in Decr. S. C. Indulg.* (9 Feb., 1743.)

<sup>6</sup> "An vi Decreti de non commodandis Coronis, Indulgentiae concessae Coronis D. Birgittae nuncupatis adhuc durent si dictae Coronae commodentur duntaxat ad enumerandos calculos seu ad recitationem orationum?"—*Resp.* Affirmative."—*Decr. S. C. Indulg.* (9 Feb., 1845.)

difference between the Brigittine Beads and those to which the Apostolic Indulgences have been attached.<sup>1</sup>

Are the same principles applicable also to the Dominican Indulgences? Apparently they are. The Sacred Congregation has not issued any Decree upon this question, which, indeed, does not seem to have been submitted for its decision. But the Decrees already quoted, regarding the Brigittine Indulgences, leave little room for doubt that those principles are regarded by the Congregation as universal rules, applicable to all Rosaries or Chaplets.

MEDITATION ON THE MYSTERIES.—“To gain the [Dominican] Indulgences it is necessary, during the recitation of the Rosary, to meditate on the mysteries of the Birth, Passion, Death, Resurrection, etc., of our Lord, according to a Decree of the Sacred Congregation of Indulgences, dated August 12th, 1726, and approved by Pope Benedict XIII.”<sup>2</sup> Before proceeding to explain the Decree which is here referred to, it may be useful, in order to guard against misconception, to remark, that in a Constitution issued in the following year, the same Pontiff declared that it does not regard persons who are incapable of meditating on the Mysteries: they can gain the Indulgences by devoutly reciting the vocal prayers of the Rosary.<sup>3</sup>

The nature of the meditation required by the Decree of 1726 has been very fully explained by the Sacred Congregation. In the first place, according to the terms of the Decree itself, the meditation must be made on the Mysteries of Redemption; if any other subject be substituted, the Indulgences are not gained.<sup>4</sup> This Decree, however, must not be regarded as a condemnation of the method of saying the Rosary suggested by the venerable Father Du Ponte, who recommends meditation on the principal words of the Hail Mary, or of the Our Father, or on the virtues of the Blessed Virgin.<sup>5</sup> Great spiritual profit may, no doubt, be derived

<sup>1</sup> For instance.. “An ille qui habet Rosarium S. Birgittae illud moriendo possit alteri cedere in ordine ad ei communicandas Indulgencias? *Resp.* Negative, juxta plurima decreta generalia.”—*Decr. S. C. Indulg.* (31 Jan., 1837.)

<sup>2</sup> *Raccolta.* Roma 1855, p. 161.

<sup>3</sup> “Ad consolationem personarum vero rudiorum ac divinis meditandis mysteriis . . . minus idonearum, declarantes eas devota ac pia Rosarii recitatione indulgentias . . . lucrari posse.”—*Bullarium Romanum.* Constit. Benedicti XIII., *Pretiosus* (16 Maii, 1727), n. 4.

<sup>4</sup> “An qui Rosarium recitant . . . omissa consueta meditatione Mysteriorum humane reparationis et illorum vice Mortem aut cetera Novissima vel alia pia ac religiosa meditantur, Indulgencias lucrentur? *Resp.* Non lucrari.”—(*Decr. S. C. Indulg.*, 12 Aug., 1726).

<sup>5</sup> See *The Rosary of the Blessed Virgin*, by the Rev. John Ryan, D.D. Dublin, 1866, pp. 96-105.

from the adoption of this or similar methods; but it is plain from the Decree just quoted, that they will not suffice for gaining the Rosary Indulgences.

A more recent Decree lays down the necessity of meditating on one of the fifteen mysteries during the recitation of each decade.<sup>1</sup> But, as the Sacred Congregation has also decided, it is not necessary to follow the arrangement usually indicated in prayer-books and works of instruction on the Rosary, in which certain mysteries are assigned as the subjects of meditation for each day of the week.<sup>2</sup> However, it is advisable to adhere to this or to some similar arrangement which will ensure the commemoration, in due order, of the fifteen mysteries, which is required for the complete performance of this devotion.

Bouvier and other writers remark that an excellent way of fixing the attention on the mystery corresponding to each decade, is to mention it, as they suggest, after the sacred name of our Lord, each time that the Hail Mary is repeated.<sup>3</sup> The author of the Manual already referred to adds that "it will serve much to increase our devotion if, in expressing what was done, we add that it was done *for us, for our instruction or consolation*, etc., as the mystery may suggest. For example, in the first Joyful Mystery after the word Jesus, in the Hail Mary, say *who was made Man for us*, and then continue Holy Mary, etc. In the first Sorrowful Mystery say, *who suffered his agony and bloody sweat for us*; and so on in the other mysteries."<sup>4</sup> But from several Decrees of the Sacred Congregation we learn that neither this nor any other form of mentioning the mystery commemorated is necessary. Thus it has been decided that it is not necessary to make a

<sup>1</sup> "An ad lucrandas Indulgentias meditandum sit in singulis decadibus super uno ex quindecim mysteriis laetis videlicet, dolorosis et gloriosis? *Resp.* Affirmative."—*Decr. S. C. Indulg.* (28 Jan., 1842.)

<sup>2</sup> "Est ne libera electio Mysteriorum . . . aut dantur dies stricte determinati pro tali vel tali genere Mysteriorum recolendo, ita ut tali die determinato recolendi debeant Mysteria Gaudiosa, tali die Dolorosa, tali die Gloriosa? *Resp.* Affirmative quoad primam partem; quoad vero secundam, invaluit consuetudo (ut per girum cujuslibet hebdomadae singula mysteria percurrantur) recolendi Gaudiosa in secunda et quarta feria; Dolorosa in tertia et sexta; Gloriosa tandem in Dominica, quarta feria et sabbato, si tamen tertia tantum pars in qualibet die recitetur."—*Decr. S. C. Indulg.* (1 Jul., 1839.) It will be observed that the arrangement described in this Decree, assigning the Glorious Mysteries to Sundays, without any exception, differs from that which is usually set forth in our prayer-books, and in which the Joyful and the Sorrowful Mysteries are assigned to Sundays in certain seasons—the former during Advent, and from Epiphany till Lent, the latter during Lent.

<sup>3</sup> See BOUVIER, *Traité des Indulgences*, part 2, chap. vi., art 2, § 2.

<sup>4</sup> See *The Rosary of the Blessed Virgin*, by the Rev. John Ryan, D.D. Dublin, 1866, page 106, where this method of saying the Rosary is fully and most clearly explained.



special offering of each decade before reciting it,<sup>1</sup> or to mention the mystery in the way suggested by Bouvier; and that it will suffice to reflect upon it whilst reciting the vocal prayers—the Our Father and Hail Mary.<sup>2</sup> In another Decree the Sacred Congregation has approved the use of such formulas as are ordinarily given in prayer books, setting forth in each instance the mystery which is to form the subject of contemplation during the recital of the decade.<sup>3</sup>

According to several Decrees of the Sacred Congregation, meditation is not necessary for gaining the Brigittine Indulgences. Thus, in 1839, it was decided that the faithful who recite the Rosary on Chaplets of the Blessed Virgin to which these Indulgences have been attached, can gain the Indulgences without meditating on the fifteen Mysteries.<sup>4</sup> And when, in the following year, a doubt was raised as to whether it might not be necessary to meditate on some other subject—such as the Seven Dolours or the Seven Joys of the Blessed Virgin, in honour of which the Brigittine Chaplet was originally devised—the former decision was renewed, and a further Decree was issued declaring that no meditation was required.<sup>5</sup>

On the other hand, an earlier Decree (19 Jan., 1833), the substance of which is given by Bouvier, lays down the necessity of meditating on the fifteen Mysteries, as in the case of the Dominican Indulgences.<sup>6</sup> He suggests, as a means of reconciling these apparently contradictory decisions, that the earlier Decree regards the case of a person who uses an ordinary chaplet of five decades, whilst the Decree of 1839 supposes the use of the Brigittine Chaplet of six decades. This explanation, however, can hardly be admitted; for the Decree of 1839 seems to refer expressly to the case where the ordinary

<sup>1</sup> "Oblatio specialis mysteriorum debetne fieri antequam singulae decades recitentur? *Resp.* Negative.—*Decr. S. C. Indulg.* (1 Jul., 1839.)

<sup>2</sup> "Debetne fieri mentio specialis Mysteriorum . . . dicendo v. g. post haec verba: *ventris tui Jesus*, haec alia: *quem concepisti vel quem visitando Elizabeth portasti vel quem peperisti*, etc.? *Resp.* Negative, quia quando requiritur meditatio Mysteriorum pro acquirendis Indulgentiis, sufficit meditatio mentalis eodem tempore quo recitantur Oratio Dominicalis et Angelicae Salutationes."—*Decr. S. C. Indulg.* (1 Jul., 1839.)

<sup>3</sup> "An sufficiat ad hanc meditationem praemittere sequentes aut similes formulas: in primo decade—*In hoc primo Mystério laeto considerabimus ut Angelus Gabriel nuntiavit*, etc. . . . et sic in caeteris? *Resp.* Affirmative.—*Decr. S. C. Indulg.* (28 Jan., 1842)

<sup>4</sup> "Quando Coronis B. M. V. . . . applicata fuit benedictio cum Indulgentiis D. Birgittae nuncupatis, fideles illas Coronas recitantes tenenturne meditari quindecim Mystéria D. N. J. C., ut Indulgentias percipere valeant? *Resp.*—Negative."—*Decr. S. C. Indulg.*, (1 Jul., 1839.)

<sup>5</sup> "Utrum . . . teneantur meditari quidquam aliud v. gr. Septem Dolores aut Septem Gaudia B. M. Virginis? *Resp.* Negative."—*Decr. S. C. Indulg.* (2 Oct., 1840).

<sup>6</sup> See BOUVIER, *Traité des Indulgences*, part 2, chap. vi., art. 2, §iii., n. 30:

Chaplet is used—"Chaplets of the Blessed Virgin, to which the Brigittine Indulgences have been attached."<sup>1</sup>

It would seem more probable, then, that if the Decree of 1833 is authentic,<sup>2</sup> the Sacred Congregation at first insisted on the necessity of meditating on the fifteen Mysteries, for these as well as for the Dominican Indulgences, and afterwards removed this necessity by the Decree of 1839. Maurel, without making any such distinction as Bouvier suggests, holds, that for gaining the Brigittine Indulgences, meditation is not required. He quotes, in proof of his statement, the Decree of 1839.<sup>3</sup>

However, from a Decree of still later date, strangely overlooked by many recent writers on this subject, and apparently misunderstood by others, we learn that the Sacred Congregation has reverted to its original view. According to this Decree (28 Jan., 1842), meditation on the fifteen Mysteries is now declared to be necessary for these, as for the Dominican Indulgences.<sup>4</sup> Maurel, indeed, considers that this decision does not refer to the Brigittine Indulgences—"The context," that is to say, the series of questions, in answer to one of which this decision was given, proving clearly, in his opinion, "that there is question only of the [Dominican] Indulgences of the Rosary."<sup>5</sup> But the contrary is the fact: neither the question in reply to which this Decree was issued, nor any of those proposed on the same occasion, contains the slightest reference to any other than the Brigittine Indulgences. It should, however, be observed that the Decree of 1842 does not regard the case where the Brigittine Chaplet of six decades is used. So far, therefore, as it is concerned, the Decrees of 1839 and 1840 have not been superseded.

For the Apostolic Indulgences no meditation is required. This is evident not only from the omission of any reference to this condition in the *Elenchus*, where the Indulgences are granted to those who *recite* the Rosary, but also from an express decision of the Sacred Congregation.<sup>6</sup>

W. J. W.

<sup>1</sup> *Decr. S. C. Indulg.* (1 Jul., 1839). See *ante*, p. 472.

<sup>2</sup> Its substance, as has already been stated, is given by Bouvier. I have been unable to find the text of the Decree itself. It is not given by Mgr. Prinzivalli in his *Collection of Authentic Decrees* (Rome, 1861).

<sup>3</sup> MAUREL, *Le Chrétien Eclairé*, part 2, art. vii., n. 90.

<sup>4</sup> "An ad lucrandas istas [Birgittinas] Indulgentias meditandum sit . . . super quindecim Mysteriorum? *Resp.*—Affirmative, et juxta Decr. S. C. diei 12 Aug., 1726."—*Decr. S. C. Indulg.* (28 Jan. 1842).

<sup>5</sup> MAUREL, *Le Chrétien Eclairé*, part 2, art. vii., n. 90.

<sup>6</sup> "Daturne obligatio Mysteriorum meditandi, quando Coronis applicata fuit benedictio cum Indulgentiis ordinariis? *Resp.*—Negative, si benedictio respiciat Indulgentias consuetas, quae citantur in *Elencho*."—*Decr. S. C. Indulg.* (1 Jul., 1839).

## CORRESPONDENCE.

THE following "Description of an Antique Statue of the Madonna in Dublin," from the pen of George Petrie, LL.D., M.R.I.A., was forwarded to us for publication by the late Very Rev. Dr. SPRATT, a short time before his lamented decease. We now insert it not only because it illustrates an interesting monument of the Irish Church, but still more that it may remain as a memorial of this distinguished ecclesiastic, who, by his untiring labour and disinterested zeal, merited the esteem and veneration of our clergy and people :—

"There is now preserved in the Carmelite Church, in Whitefriar-street, Dublin, a very interesting sample of ancient sculpture—a Statue of the Virgin with the *Infant Jesus in her arms*, carved in Irish oak, as large as life. The style of the execution is dry and Gothic ; yet it has considerable merit, and is by many attributed to some pupil of Albert Durer's school, to whose time and manner it seems to belong.

"There are some traditional circumstances relative to the preservation of this statue, which are very interesting. It was originally a distinguished ornament in *St. Mary's Abbey*, at the north side of Dublin, where it was not less an object of religious reverence, than of admiration for the beauty of its construction—(See Archdall's *Monasticon*). Its fame, however, was lost when the religious house in which it was deposited was suppressed. The abbey was given to the Earl of Ormond for stables for his train, and the beautiful relic alluded to, was condemned to be burnt by the common hangman.

"One-half of the statue was actually burnt, but it was fortunately the less important moiety, and when placed in a niche, the deficiency is somewhat concealed. The portion remaining was carried by some pious person to a neighbouring inn-yard, where, with its face buried in the ground, and the hollow trunk appearing uppermost, it was appropriated to the ignoble purpose of a *hog-trough*!! In this situation it remained concealed until the religious tempest had subsided, and the vandalism of the *Iconoclasts* had passed away, and then it was restored to its ancient respect, in the humble Chapel of St. Michan's Parish (Mary's-lane), which had timidly ventured to rise out of the ruins of the great monastery, to which the venerable statue originally belonged.

"During the long night of its obscurity, a great change had, however, taken place in the spirit of the times, more dangerous

to its safety than even the abhorrence of its Iconoclastic enemies. No longer an object of admiration to any except the curious antiquary, it was considered of such little value by its owners, that about the year 1820, the ancient silver crown which adorned the head was sold, for its mere intrinsic value, to Mr. Mooney, of Capel-street (a silversmith), and melted down as old plate.<sup>1</sup> The statue itself would, most probably, have shared the fate of its coronet, had it been composed of an equally precious material; but, fortunately, it was rescued for a trifling sum, in the year 1822, by the Very Rev. Dr. Spratt, of Whitefriar-street Church, where it is at present deposited at the Epistle side of the High Altar."

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## DOCUMENTS.

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### I.—ENCYCLICAL OF OUR MOST HOLY FATHER TO THE BISHOPS OF THE CATHOLIC WORLD.

PIUS PP. IX.

*Venerabiles Fratres, Salutem et Apostolicam Benedictionem.*

Ubi Nos arcano Dei consilio sub hostilem potestatem re-dacti tristem atque acerbam vicem hujus Urbis Nostrae et oppressum armorum invasione civilem apostolicae Sedis Principatum vidimus, jam tum datis ad Vos litteris die prima Novembris anno proxime superiori, Vobis ac per Vos toti orbi catholico declaravimus qui esset rerum Nostrarum et Urbis hujus status, quibus obnoxii essemus impiae et effrenis licentiae excessibus; et ex supremi officii Nostri ratione coram Deo et hominibus salva ac integra esse velle jura Apostolicae Sedis testati sumus, Vosque et omnes dilectos filios curis vestris creditos fideles ad divinam Majestatem fervidis precibus placandam excitavimus. Ex eo tempore mala et calamitates quas prima illa luctuosa experimenta Nobis et huic Urbi praenunciabant, nimium vere in apostolicam dignitatem et auctoritatem, in Religionis morumque sanctitatem, in dilectissimos subditos Nostros reipsa redundarunt. Quin etiam, Venerabiles Fratres, conditionibus rerum quotidie ingravescentibus, dicere cogimur Sancti Bernardi verbis: initia malorum sunt haec; graviora timemus.<sup>2</sup> Iniquitas enim viam suam tenere pergit et consilia promovet, neque jam valde laborat ut

<sup>1</sup> This Crown is generally supposed to have been the identical one used at the coronation of Lambert Simnel, in Christ's Church, Dublin.

<sup>2</sup> Epist. 243.

velum obducat operibus suis pessimis quae latere non possunt, atque ultimas ex conculcata justitia, honestate, religione exuvias, referre studet. Has inter angustias, quae dies Nostros amaritudine complent, praesertim dum cogitamus quibus in dies periculis et insidiis fides et virtus populi Nostri subjicitur, eximia merita vestra, Venerabiles Fratres, et dilectorum Nobis fidelium quos cura vestra complectitur, sine gratissimo animi sensu recolere aut commemorare non possumus. In omni enim terrarum plaga exhortationibus Nostris admirabili studio respondentes Christifideles Vosque duces et exempla sequuti, ex infausto illo die expugnatae hujus Urbis assiduís ac ferventibus precibus institerunt, et seu publicis atque iteratis supplicationibus, seu sacris peregrinationibus susceptis, seu non intermisso ad Ecclesias concursu, et ad sacramentorum participationem accessu, sive praecipuis aliis christianae virtutis operibus, ad thronum divinae clementiae perseveranter adire, sui muneris esse putarunt. Neque vero haec flagrantia deprecationum studia amplissimo apud Deum fructu carere possunt. Multa immo ex iis jam profecta bona etiam alia, quae in spe et fiducia expectamus, pollicentur. Videmus enim firmitatem fidei, ardorem caritatis sese in dies latius explicantem, cernimus eam sollicitudinem in Christifidelium animis pro hujus Sedis et supremi Pastoris laboribus et oppugnationibus excitatam quam Deus solus ingerere potuit, ac tantam perspicimus unitatem mentium et voluntatum, ut a primis Ecclesiae temporibus usque ad hanc aetatem nunquam splendidius ac verius dici potuerit quam his diebus nostris, multitudinis credentium esse cor unum et animam unam.<sup>1</sup> Quo in spectaculo virtutis silere non possumus de amantissimis filiis Nostris hujus almae Urbis civibus, quorum ex omni fastigio atque ordine amor erga Nos et pietas itemque par certamini firmitas luculenter eminebat atque eminet, neque solum majoribus suis digna sed aemula animi magnitudo. Deo igitur misericordiae immortalis gloriam et gratiam habemus pro vobis omnibus, Venerabiles Fratres, et pro dilectis filiis Nostris Christifidelibus, qui tanta in vobis, tanta in Ecclesia sua operatus est et operatur, effecitque ut, superabundante malitia, superabundaret gratia fidei, caritatis et confessionis. "Quae est ergo spes Nostra et gaudium Nostrum et corona gloriae? Nonne vos ante Deum? Filius sapiens gloria est Patris. Benefaciat itaque vobis Deus et meminerit fidelis servitii et piaae compassionis et consolationis et honoris, quae sponsae Filii ejus in tempore malo et in diebus afflictionis suae exhibuistis et exhibetis."<sup>2</sup>

Interea vero subalpinum Gubernium dum ex una parte

<sup>1</sup> Act. 4, 32.

<sup>2</sup> S. Bern. ep. 238 et 130.

Urbem præperat Orbi facere fabulam,<sup>1</sup> ex altera ad fucum catholicis faciendum et ad eorum anxietates sedandas, in conflandis ac struendis futilibus quibusdam immunitatibus et privilegiis quae vulgo *guarentigie* dicuntur, elaboravit eo consilio ut haec Nobis sint in locum civilis principatus, quo Nos longa machinationum serie et armis parricidalibus exiit. De hisce immunitatibus et cautionibus, Venerabiles Fratres, jam Nos iudicium Nostrum protulimus, earum absurditatem, versutiam ac ludibrium notantes in Litteris die 2 Martii pr. pr. datis ad Venerabilem Fratrem Nostrum Constantinum Patrizi Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae Cardinalem, sacri Collegii decanum ac Vicaria Nostra potestate in Urbe fungentem, quae typis impressae protinus in lucem prodierunt.

Sed quoniam subalpini Gubernii est perpetuam turpemque simulationem cum impudenti contemptu adversus Pontificiam Nostram dignitatem et auctoritatem conjungere, factisque ostendit Nostras protestationes, expostulationes, censuras pro nihilo habere; hinc minime obstante iudicio de praedictis cautionibus a Nobis expresso, illarum discussionem et examen apud supremos Regni Ordines urgere et promovere non destitit, veluti de re seria ageretur. Qua in discussione cum veritas iudicii Nostri super illarum cautionum natura et indole, tum irritus hostium in velanda earumdem malitia et fraude conatus luculenter apparuit. Certe, Venerabiles Fratres, incredibile est, tot errores catholicae fidei ipsisque adeo juris naturalis fundamentis palam repugnantes, et tot blasphemias, quot ea occasione prolatae sunt, proferri potuisse in media hac Italia, quae semper catholicae Religionis cultu et Apostolica Romani Pontificis Sede potissimum gloriata est et gloria-tur; et revera, Deo Ecclesiam suam protegente, omnino alii sunt sensus, quos reipsa fovet longe maxima Italorum pars, quae novam hanc et inauditam sacrilegii formam Nobiscum ingemit ac deplorat et insignibus ac in dies majoribus suae pietatis argumentis officiisque Nos docuit uno se esse spiritu et sensu cum ceteris Orbis Fidelibus consociatam.

Quapropter Nos iterum hodie ad Vos voces Nostras convertimus, Venerabiles Fratres, et quamquam Fideles vobis commissi sive litteris suis sive gravissimis protestationum documentis aperte significaverint quam acerbè ferant eam qua premimur conditionem et quam longe absint ut iis eludantur fallaciis quae cautionum nomine teguntur; tamen Apostolici Nostri Officii munus esse ducimus ut per Vos toti Orbi solemniter declaremus, non modo eas quae cautiones appellantur quaeque Gubernii Subalpini curis perperam cusae sunt, sed, quicumque tandem sint, titulos, honores, immunitates et pri-

<sup>1</sup> S. Bern. ep. 243.

vilegia et quidquid cautionum seu *guarentigie* nomine veniat, nullo modo valere posse ad adserendum expeditum liberumque usum divinitus Nobis traditae potestatis et ad tuendam necessariam Ecclesiae libertatem.

His ita se habentibus, quemadmodum pluries declaravimus et professi sumus, Nos absque culpa violatae fidei juramento obstrictae nulli adhaerere conciliationi posse quae quolibet modo jura Nostra destruat aut imminuat quae sunt Dei et Apostolicae Sedis jura; sic nunc ex debito officii Nostri declaramus nunquam Nos admissuros aut accepturos esse nec ullo modo posse, excogitatas illas a Gubernio Subalpino cautiones seu *guarentigie* quaecumque sit earum ratio, neque alia quaecumque sint ejus generis et quocumque modo sancita, quae specie muniendae Nostrae sacrae potestatis et libertatis Nobis oblata fuerint in locum et subrogationem civilis ejus Principatus, quo divina Providentia Sanctam Sedem Apostolicam munitam et auctam voluit, quemque Nobis confirmant tum legitimi inconcussique tituli, tum undecim et amplius saeculorum possessio. Plane enim cuique manifesto pateat necesse est quod, ubi Romanus Pontifex alterius Principis ditioni subjectus foret, neque ipse revera amplius in politico ordine suprema potestate praeditus esset, neque posset, sive persona ejus sive actus Apostolici ministerii spectentur, sese eximere ab arbitrio illius, cui subesset, imperantis, qui etiam vel haereticus vel Ecclesiae persecutor evadere posset aut in bello adversus alios Principes vel in belli statu versari. Et sane, ipsa haec concessio cautionum, de quibus loquimur, nonne per se ipsa luculentissimo documento est, Nobis quibus data divinitus auctoritas est leges ferendi ordinem moralem et religiosum spectantes, Nobis, qui Naturalis ac divini juris interpretes in toto orbe constituti sumus, leges imponi, easque leges, quae ad regimen universae Ecclesiae referuntur, et quarum conservationis ac exequutionis non aliud est jus quam quod voluntas laicarum potestatum praescribat ac statuatur? Quod autem ad habitudinem pertinet inter Ecclesiam et Societatem civilem, optime nostis, Venerabiles Fratres, praerogativas omnes et omnia auctoritatis jura ad regendam universam Ecclesiam necessaria Nos in persona Beatissimi Petri ab ipso Deo directe accepisse, immo praerogativas illas ac jura, aequae ac ipsam Ecclesiae libertatem, sanguine Jesu Christi parta fuisse et quaesita, atque ex hoc infinito divini sanguinis ejus pretio esse aestimanda. Nos itaque male admodum, quod absit, de divino Redemptoris Nostri sanguine mereremur, si haec jura Nostra, qualia praesertim nunc tradi vellent adeo deminuta ac turpata, mutuaremur a Principibus terrae. Filii enim, non domini Ecclesiae sunt Christiani Principes; quibus apposite inquebat

ingens illud sanctitatis et doctrinae lumen Anselmus Cantuariensis Archiepiscopus: "ne putetis vobis Ecclesiam Dei quasi domino ad serviendum esse datam, sed sicut advocato et defensori esse commendatam; nihil magis diligit Deus in hoc mundo quam libertatem Ecclesiae suae."<sup>1</sup> Atque incitamenta eis addens alio loco scribebat: "nunquam aestimetis vestrae celsitudinis minui dignitatem, si Sponsae Dei et Matris vestrae Ecclesiae amatis et defenditis libertatem, ne putetis vos humiliari si eam exaltatis, ne credatis vos debilitari si eam roboratis. Videte, circumspicite; exempla sunt in promptu, considerate Principes qui illam impugnant et conculcant, ad quid proficiunt, ad quid deveniunt satis patet, non eget dictu. Certe qui illam glorificant, cum illa et in illa glorificabuntur."<sup>2</sup>

Jamvero ex iis quae alias ad vos, Venerabiles Fratres, et modo a Nobis exposita sunt, nemini profecto obscurum esse potest, injuriam huic S. Sedi hisce acerbis temporibus inlatam in omnem Christianum Rempublicam redundare. Ad omnem enim, uti aiebat S. Bernardus, spectat Christianum injuria Apostolorum, gloriosorum scilicet Principum terrae; et cum pro Ecclesiis omnibus, uti inquebat praedictus S. Anselmus, Romana labore Ecclesia, quisquis ei sua aufert, non ipsi soli sed Ecclesiis omnibus sacrilegii reus esse dignoscitur.<sup>3</sup> Nec profecto ulli dubium esse potest quin conservatio jurium hujus Apostolicae Sedis cum supremis rationibus et utilitatibus Ecclesiae universae et cum libertate Episcopalis ministerii vestri arctissime conjuncta sit et illigata.

Haec omnia Nos, ut debemus, reputantes et cogitantes, iterum confirmare constanterque profiteri cogimur, quod pluries Vobis Nobiscum unanimiter consentientibus declaravimus, scilicet civilem S. Sedis Principatum Romano Pontifici fuisse singulari divinae Providentiae consilio datum illumque necessarium esse ut idem Romanus Pontifex, nulli unquam Principi aut civili Potestati subjectus supremam universi Dominici gregis pascendi regendique potestatem auctoritatemque ab ipso Christo Domino divinitus acceptam per universam Ecclesiam plenissima libertate exercere ac majori ejusdem Ecclesiae bono, utilitati et indigentis consulere possit. Id vos, Venerabiles Fratres, ac vobiscum Fideles vobis crediti probe intelligentes, merito omnes ob causam Religionis, justitiae et tranquillitatis, quae fundamenta sunt bonorum omnium, commoti estis, et digno spectaculo fidei, caritatis, constantiae, virtutis illustrantes Ecclesiam Dei ac in ejus defensionem fideliter intenti, novum et admirandum in annalibus ejus exemplum in futurarum generationum memoriam propagatis. Quoniam vero misericordiarum Deus istorum

<sup>1</sup> Ep. 8, l. 4.<sup>2</sup> Ep. 12, l. 4.<sup>3</sup> Ep. 42, l. 3.



bonorum est auctor, ad ipsum elevantes oculos, corda et spem Nostram Eum sine intermissione obsecramus, ut praeclaros vestros et fidelium sensus, et communem pietatem, dilectionem, zelum confirmet, roboret, augeat; Vosque item et commissos vigilantiae vestrae populos enixe hortamur ut in dies firmiter et uberius quo gravius dimicatio fervet, Nobiscum clametis ad Dominum, quo ipse propitiationis suae dies maturare dignetur. Efficiat Deus ut Principes terrae quorum maxime interest, ne tale usurpationis quam Nos patimur exemplum in perniciem omnis potestatis et ordinis statuatur et vigeat, una omnes animorum et voluntatum consensione jungantur, ac sublati discordiis, sedatis rebellionum perturbationibus, disiectis exitiis sectarum consiliis, conjunctam operam navent ut restituantur huic S. Sedi sua jura et cum iis visibili Ecclesiae Capiti sua plena libertas, et civili societati optata tranquillitas. Nec minus, Venerabiles Fratres, deprecatione vestra et Fidelium apud divinam clementiam exposcite, ut corda impiorum, coecitate mentium depulsa, ad poenitentiam convertat antequam veniat dies Domini magnus et horribilis, aut reprimendo eorum nefanda consilia ostendat quam insipientes et stulti sunt qui petram a Christo fundatam evertere et divina privilegia violare conantur.<sup>1</sup> In his precibus spes Nostrae firmiter in Deo consistant. "Putatisne avertere poterit Deus aurem a carissima Sponsa sua, cum clamaverit stans adversus eos qui se angustiaverunt? Quomodo non recognoscet os de ossibus suis et carnem de carne sua, imo vero iam quodammodo spiritum de spiritu suo? Est quidem nunc hora malitiae et potestas tenebrarum. Ceterum hora novissima est et potestas cito transit. Dei virtus et Dei sapientia Christus Nobiscum est qui et in causa est. Confidite, ipse vicit mundum."<sup>2</sup> Interim vocem aeternae veritatis magno animo et certa fide sequamur quae dicit: pro justitia agonizare pro anima tua, et usque ad mortem certa pro justitia, et Deus expugnabit pro te inimicos tuos.<sup>3</sup>

Uberrima demum caelestium gratiarum munera Vobis, Venerabiles Fratres, cunctisque Clericis Laicisque fidelibus cujusque Vestrum curae concredit a Deo ex animo adprecantes, praecipuae Nostrae erga Vos atque Ipsos intimaeque caritatis pignus Apostolicam Benedictionem Vobis iisdemque dilectis Filiis peramanter impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum die decimaquinta Maii anno Domini MDCCCLXXI.

Pontificatus Nostri Anno vicesimoquinto.

• PIUS PAPA IX.

<sup>1</sup> S. Greg. VII, ep. 6, l. 3.    <sup>2</sup> S. Bern. Ep. 126, n. et 14.    <sup>3</sup> Eccli. 4. 33.

## II.—LETTER OF THE BISHOPS OF BELGIUM TO THEIR CLERGY, ON THE TRADITIONALIST CONTROVERSY.

“ REVERENDI ET DILECTISSIMI DOMINI.

“ Rescripta Roma venerunt circa nonnulla dubia nuper exorta de sensu Constitutionis *Dei Filius*. Rumor ferebat quasdam circa Traditionalismum et Ontologismum doctrinas, prout Lovanii a nonnullis Professoribus tradebantur, vi hujus Constitutionis oecumenicae Synodi Vaticanae, esse liberas. Nunc autem unicuique nostrum scripsit Eminentissimus Dominus Cardinalis Patrizi die septima Augusti currentis anni sequentia, quibus omne dubium prorsus evanescit :

“ ‘ SANCTITAS SUA, pro ea qua urgetur in servanda doctrinae puritate sollicitudine, omnibus antea simul auditis istius Ecclesiasticae provinciae Episcopis Romae nuper degentibus, et in concilium quoque adhibitis S. Romanae Ecclesiae Cardinalibus una mecum Inquisitoribus generalibus, mandavit expresse declarari, prout a me Amplitudini Tuae hisce litteris declaratur, per memoratam Constitutionem Synodalem, praesertim per monitum ad ejusdem calcem relatum, nedum haud infirmari vel moderari, quinimo novo adjecto robore confirmari decreta omnia utriusque S. Congregationis S. Officii et Indicis hac de re edita, illudque potissimum quod litteris meis ad singulos in Belgio Episcopos die 2 Martii 1866 datis continetur.

“ ‘ Quocirca diligentissime curandum erit ut commemorata decreta accuratiori quoque studio observentur, et omnis e medio tollatur dubitatio quae eorumdem decretorum vim labefactare ullo modo conetur.’

“ Ne igitur Clerus noster tanti ponderis declarationem ignoret, eam cum Parochis omnibus communicandam duximus, quo fiat ut non modo erroris periculum avertatur, verum etiam obsequium debitum decretis a Sancta Sede jam diu hac de re editis magis magisque in nostris Dioecesisbus augeatur.

“ Pax autem Dei, quae exuperat omnem sensum, custodiat corda vestra et intelligentias vestras in Christo Jesu.

- \* VICTOR AUGUSTUS, Archiepiscopus Mechliniensis.
- \* GASPAR JOSEPHUS, Episcopus Tornacensis.
- \* THEODORUS, Episcopus Leodiensis.
- \* JOANNES JOSEPHUS, Episcopus Brugensis.
- \* HENRICUS, Episcopus Gandavensis.
- \* THEODORUS JOSEPHUS, Episcopus Namurcensis.”

## ROMAN CHRONICLE.

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**F**RIDAY, the 16th of June, 1871, the Feast of the Sacred Heart, will be ever memorable in the Annals of holy Church. On that day, for the first time in the long course of eighteen hundred years, a successor of St. Peter celebrated the Jubilee of his Pontificate. This striking fact would, of itself, have sufficed to quicken the joy of the Christian world ; but on the present occasion there was something more ; for, the Pope, who thus entered on the 26th year of his Pontificate, was Pius the Ninth, one of the most august in the long line of the Church's Pontiff-Kings, and one who has compendiated in his sacred Pontificate all the glories of his greatest predecessors.

What was the spectacle presented to the world by the Church of God on that memorable day ? First of all, the faithful of every nation, and clime, and tongue, from the rising to the setting sun, were assembled around the altars of the Prince of Peace, pouring forth their fervent thanksgiving in heartfelt gratitude to God for the mercies He has accorded to His Vicegerent upon earth, and praying that many years may still be granted to the present great Pontiff to rule the Church of Christ.

At the same time an acclaim of joy resounded throughout the Catholic world. On the Continent there was scarcely a city wherein illuminations and laurel wreaths and festive decorations did not publicly bespeak a family feast celebrated by the faithful ; a feast which was enjoyed alike by rich and poor, young and old, the noblest palace and the humblest hut, and in which all was peaceable, and serene, and calm, the more remarkable by the sad contrast which society, in so many countries, now presents of mourning for the past, or fears for approaching evils. Countless deputations, too, arrived in Rome to lay at the feet of the august Prisoner in the Vatican, the expressions of sympathy and devotedness of the Christian world, and in return bore with them to their respective nations the blessings of a Pontiff who, with the sublime dignity of Vicar of Christ, and with the bright aureola of sanctity and glorious deeds, now wears the purple wreath of the confessors of Christ. Ireland, which yields to no nation of Christendom in the devoted ardour of her attachment to the Holy See, manifested her joy on the present occasion in a thousand various ways. The sacred Triduums thronged by the faithful ; the discourses that were delivered ; the

innumerable addresses that were forwarded by clergy and people ; the telegrams that were despatched from different parts of the country ; the bonfires that lit up the Tipperary hills and other Catholic districts, were all so many proofs of the sacred enthusiasm which pervaded our devoted people. One of the addresses merits special mention. It was forwarded in the name of the womanhood of Ireland, and its 200,000 signatures were accompanied by more than £3,000 to the feet of the Holy Father. We may also mention one telegram which some Irish Zouaves forwarded to their former brothers in arms, expressing their joy in the following spirited words :—

“Viva Pio Nono, Papa Re,  
All hail unto this glorious day ;  
Let the Zouaves with one voice sing  
God preserve our Pontiff-King.”

We would wish to insert in full the many addresses presented on this happy occasion, and the beautiful responses given by His Holiness ; but our limits will not permit us to do so. We cannot, however, forbear treasuring up a few of the loving words thus uttered by our most Holy Father. Replying to the deputation of the laity of Italy, he said : “If the devotedness to the See of Peter shown forth by the faithful throughout the Catholic world, and the thanksgiving they have rendered to God for guarding, by His protecting hand, His weak and unworthy Vicar, are dear to me, yet, as an Italian, I cannot but be specially moved by the affection which has been displayed towards me by the devoted Catholics of Italy. When, on a former occasion, from the balcony of the Quirinal Palace, which I am now told is no longer mine, I gave my blessing to Italy, my words were travestied by some, as if I gave my sanction to the spirit of revolution ; and then came a communion and other acts, which I do not wish to mention, which showed how perverse were the designs of these wicked men. But I then gave my blessing to Italy, and once more I do so now, for the innumerable good works which are everywhere performed throughout this country, for the ardour of love which its people manifest above all others, and for the sufferings in the cause of justice which they have endured, and still endure. I bless this land, fertilized by the blood of countless martyrs, and illustrious by its many models of heroic sanctity in every age. All parts of Italy, at the present day, have given indubious proofs of devoted attachment to the Vicar of Christ ; but you will permit me to name, first of all, the city of Turin.” . . . . Replying to the French deputation,

His Holiness also said : " I cannot express the sentiments which agitate my heart in hearing you. Yes ; I love France. I have always loved her ; I always shall love her. France is impressed upon my heart ; and every morning, in offering up the holy sacrifice of the Mass, I pray for her who has given me, and who still gives me, amid her misfortunes, so many proofs of devotion, respect, and love. I recognise with pleasure that France has constantly shown her devotion for me and for the Holy See. She is admirable for her charity. In her good works, in her pious foundations, which belong to her character, she overlooks no misery, and her women especially do wonders. Yes, women play a great Christian part in France—a sublime part. Nevertheless I must speak the truth to France. She has to suffer a more formidable evil than the revolution, more formidable than the Commune let loose from hell, with its men who flung fire about Paris, and that great evil is Catholic liberalism."

The Irish residents and visitors in Rome—eighty in number—presented a beautiful address on the 23rd of June. They were introduced to the Holy Father by Very Rev. Monsignor Kirby, the venerable Rector of the Irish College, and the address was read by Count De La Poer, M.P. for Waterford. His Holiness, in reply, passed the highest eulogy on Ireland, her hierarchy, and people, and spoke of their fidelity and generosity with an affection and earnestness that touched the hearts of all who were present. In the address mention had been made of St. Columbanus ; the Holy Father took occasion thence to speak of the glorious deeds of that great Saint, and added : " It is to this that the Irish people owe the fervour and piety which now characterize them, that they love to walk in the footsteps of their saints : the examples of those bright ornaments of your Church in early ages, and their intercession before the throne of God, will enable you to overcome every difficulty, and to triumph over all your enemies."

# MONASTICON HIBERNICUM,

OR,

## A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE ANCIENT MONASTERIES OF IRELAND.

[N. B.—The text of the “Monasticon” is taken *verbatim* from Archdall: the notes marked with numbers are added by the Editors.]

### COUNTY OF CORK.

selected as the burying place of the Barrys.” Though Buttevant has now dwindled to a village, it was formerly a walled and corporate town; and to judge from its ruins, must have been of considerable importance. The Barrys ruled here with regal splendour, and almost with royal power. Such a centre was it become of piety, that Smith writes: “This whole town formerly seems to have been an assemblage of churches and religious houses” (*History of Cork*, i., 315), and it merited from Borlase the eulogy, that it was “an old nest of abbots and friars.” Ward, in his “MS. History,” gives the following account of the Franciscan Convent of Buttevant: “It was built in 1251, and was placed under the care of the Superior of Cork in 1260. In the reign of Queen Elizabeth the friars were several times driven away from it, and some of them were arrested and thrown into prison. All the buildings, with the exception of the church, were ruined, and that was preserved on account of the tombs of the nobility there buried, but all the images were broken. Still some of the friars continued to reside there, partly in the conventual buildings or their ruins, and partly in the neighbourhood.”

Wadding also writes regarding this place:—“Buttefania, or Buttevania: by Pisanus it is corruptly called Bachonia, and by Rodulphus, Bathonia. The town was formerly large and frequented, now it is reduced and poor. Two illustrious families, the Barrys and Lombards, had their residence there. Some say that the convent was erected by the Barrys, others by the Prendergasts; but I think it was by the Barrys, whose magnificent tomb was erected in the middle of the choir, and whose whole family always evinced their piety towards our Order. In the church are many sepulchres of nobles. It is wonderful with what care the friars have repaired some of the ruins of this convent.” In the crypt is an immense collection of bones and skulls, which are popularly supposed to be the remains of those who fell in the sanguinary battle of Knockinoss on the 13th of November, 1647. Among those who were slain on this occasion was the famous MacAlistair MacDonnell, surnamed Colkitto. It is said, however, that a great portion of these human bones were brought to this church from the ancient abbey of Ballybeg, about half a mile distant, by a farmer who got possession of the abbey-land and graveyard, and who was justly solicitous to deposit such remains in consecrated ground. In the south gable of the transept is a slab with the inscription:—“Pray for the souls of Maurice Fitzgerald, Esq., of Castleishen, of the house of Desmond, who died the 16th day of September, in the year 1726, and Dame Helena Butler, his wife, of the house of Ormond, who died in the year 1721, whose bodies are deposited in this vault along with their ancestors, until the resurrection of the dead, with Christ our Lord.” To the south-west of the friary, and about thirty yards from it, stands a square tower, which is described by Smith as being called Cullin, and as having been built by an earl of Desmond. It is at present traditionally known as “Caislane Caoimhin,” and appears to have originally formed part of the conventual buildings. It is now built into and connected with the Catholic parish church, which is deservedly reckoned among the handsomest parochial structures in the south of Ireland.

*Brigowne.* Regarding the round tower which once adorned this very ancient town, Father Smiddy thus writes :—

"It must be admitted that, in not a few instances, human hands have assisted the elements in obliterating all vestiges of many round towers. This was the case with respect to the Round Tower of Roscarbery, of which not a trace now remains ; and also with regard to the round tower which stood near the Church of St. Finbarr, in the city of Cork. In the year 1720, a violent storm threw down the Round Tower of Brigowne, near Mitchelstown, leaving standing of it only a fragment or stump about fifteen feet high from the base. In that state it continued till about fifty years ago, when this fragment was taken down, and the stones used in the erection of a new glebe-house or parsonage in its immediate neighbourhood. The key-stone or lintel over the door, which had on it an inscribed cross, the workmen refused to take away ; and that is either buried in the adjoining cemetery, or perhaps, forms there now the footstone of an unknown grave. St. Finneachan, or Finchu, was, at an early period, bishop and abbot of Brigowne. His staff or crozier was kept there for ages as a venerable relic ; and, of himself, there is in the ancient Book of Lismore, a curious biography, replete, according to the taste of the age in which it was written, with legends, wonders, and supernatural incidents. Finncu means the *fair hero or warrior*, a name which, probably, he obtained because, as this record of his life states, he had often, even on the battle-field, personally assisted his friends in the cause of right against might. The site of his monastery was called *Bruighe-amhane*, which means the field or farm of the river. Though the round tower and monastery have disappeared, the ruins of the old church are still standing there, and the memory of Finneachan himself lives distinct and undying in the local traditions of the people."—"The Round Towers," &c., page 195). All will not agree with the learned writer as to his explanation of the name *Brigowne*. Mr. Joyce, in his "Irish Names," &c., page 356, gives a different derivation : "*Bri* (he says), signifies a hill or rising ground, the same as the Scotch word *Brae*. Brigowne, a village near Mitchelstown, in Cork, once a celebrated ecclesiastical establishment, where are still to be seen the remains of a very ancient church and round tower, is called in Irish *Bri-gobhunn*, i.e., the hill of the smith. In our present names, this word does not occur very often : it is found simply in the form of *Bree*, in Donegal, Monaghan, and Wexford ; while in Tyrone, it takes the name of *Brigh*." Gibson in his "History of Cork," II., 468, gives a still less plausible origin for this name. "The parish may have derived its ancient name from the mountain stream or river *Bregog*, of which Spenser speaks." It seems to me that as St. Abban has been from time immemorial the patron of this place, its name might easily be explained as *Brigh-Abbaun*, i.e., "the hill of St. Abban."

*Ross*, formerly known as *Ross-aílithir* (i.e., Ross of the pilgrims), and now generally called *Ross-carberry*, from the townland in which it is situated, is an Episcopal See, and lies at the head of a creek about seven miles from Clonakilty. Camden says the harbour was formerly navigable for ships. Lynch, Archdeacon of Killalla repeats this statement in his MS. History of the Irish Sees, but adds, that already, in his time, the harbour was blocked up with shifting sands. He further tells us that the name *Ross* in Irish has three distinct meanings, being used to designate a meadowy plain, a grove, and, more frequently, a promontory. This last meaning would well correspond with the territory of which we speak, which, jutting out into the sea, presents quite the appearance of a promontory ; whilst the smiling fields which adorn the surrounding country, would justify the application of the name in its first meaning. The diocese was, from the earliest times, co-extensive with the territory of the *Corca-laidhe* : at Lynch's time it was eighteen miles in length, and four or five in width, and consisted of twenty-four parishes, besides three detached parishes, situated around Berehaven. St. Fachtna, in Irish Fachtna, who is also called Lachtna, is patron of the See, being founder of the monastery, and Bishop of Ross in the sixth century. He was disciple of St. Finbarr in the famous school of Loch-Eirche, and before proceeding to Ross, was abbot of the Molana monastery, near Youghal. He also, like most of the contemporary saints of Ireland, received lessons of heavenly wisdom from St. Ita, the Brigid of Munster. Ross soon became so famous that crowds of students and religious flocked to it from all parts, so that it was distinguished by the name of *Ross-aílithir*, that is,

Ross of the pilgrims. The birth of St. Fachnan, and the future greatness of his school, were foretold by St. Kiaran of Ossory, whose mother was of his family, and who himself was born in the territory of Ross, at a place still called *Traigh-Ciaran* (i.e., St. Kiaran's strand), in Cape Clear Island. St. Fachnan, having lost his sight by some accident when he was somewhat advanced in years, it was restored to him through the merits of St. Mochoemog, also called Pulcherius, who was then in his mother's womb, and whose future sanctity was foretold by St. Fachnan. It is also related of our saint that it was his daily habit to retire for silent recollection and private prayer to a secluded spot on the side of a hill, near the monastery. It happened that one day he left his scroll of prayers behind him. Rain fell heavily during the night, but in the morning his prayer-book was as dry as Gideon's fleece, for the angels had built a small chapel over it. The traces of this ancient oratory may still be seen. The precise date of the foundation of the celebrated monastery of Ross cannot be fixed with certainty. Ware says it was founded about the year 590, and his opinion has been adopted by later writers. It would, probably, be more accurate to place the foundation of the monastery before the year 570, and the death of the saint about the year 590. The Life of St. Mochaemog states, that it was by the advice of St. Ita that St. Fachtna proceeded from the monastery of Ross to the parents of Mochaemog, through whose merits his sight was restored to him. St. Brendan, patron of Kerry, is also mentioned among those who visited and gave lessons of heavenly wisdom in Ross. These two facts sufficiently prove that the monastery was established before the death of St. Brendan, which took place in 577, and of St. Ita, which is marked in our Annals in 570.

In some Latin documents our saint receives the epithet *Fachtna facundus*, "St. Fachtna the eloquent:" sometimes his name is simply Latinized *Sanctus Facundus*.

In the Irish records he generally receives the designation of *Mac Mongach*, i.e., "the hairy child," because at his birth his head was covered with hair:—"Fachtna, Mongach quia cum caesarie natus," as the Calendar of Cashel explains that name. This designation betrayed Usher and others into error when they style our saint *filius Monghich*, "the son of Mongach." The genealogy of St. Fachtna is thus accurately given in the "Sanctilogium Genealogicum":—"Fachtna, the son of Maonaigh, the son of Cairill, the son of Fiachna, &c., descended from Lughad, son of Ith," and from the genealogical tables, we should conclude that the holy Bishop Brandubh, whose feast is kept on the 3rd of June, and Saints Casan and Cailcin, were brothers of our saint. The O'Driscolls, in whose territory Ross was founded, belonged to the same race, and made it one of their tribe-duties to enrich the monastery and church of their patron saint with lands and other endowments. After St. Fachtna twenty-seven bishops of his tribe ruled the See of Ross, as is thus expressed in the ancient quatrain preserved in the Book of Lecan:—

"Seven and twenty bishops nobly  
Occupied Ross of the truly fertile lands,  
From Fachtna the melodious, the renowned,  
To the well-ordered Episcopate of Dongalach."

The names of these bishops are not mentioned in our annals, only their number is recorded, and their jurisdiction, which was co-extensive with the territory of Corcalaidhe. This example should serve as a warning to the student of our Ecclesiastical History not to infer from the silence of our annals in regard to other districts, either that there was no regular succession of bishops or that there were no fixed boundaries for the ancient Sees of the Irish Church.

St. Fachtna is commemorated in all our ancient Martyrologies on the 14th of August. The entry in the Martyrology of Donegal on 14th August seems, however, at first sight to exclude St. Fachtna from the See of Ross. The whole entry for that day is as follows:—"Fachtna, Bishop and Abbot of Dairinis Maelanfaidh, in Hy-Cennselach; forty-six years was his age, and he was of the race of Lughaidh, son of Ith, according to the Seanchus: Échlech, Cuimmen, and Caemhan, three sons of Daighre: Brocadh: Dinil."—(Martyr. of Donegal, page 219.) Thus all mention is omitted of Rossaithir. There is, however, some confusion in this entry, owing, probably, to a transposition of names. We are, happily, able to detect the error by the corresponding entry in the Martyrology of Tallaght, as preserved in the Roman fragment of the Book of Leinster, which is



as follows :—"XIX. Kalendas Septembris. Fachtna mac Mongan o Ros Ailithir : Dinil Macintsair : Mac-intsaer, Episcopus et Abbas Darinsi Maelianfaid : Broccain Mac Lugdach : Cummini : Coemain : Aicclig." Thus, it was not St. Fachtna who was Abbot of Darinis Molana in Hy-Kinnselagh, but St. Mac-in-tsaer ; what, possibly, gave occasion to this confusion of names, was the tradition mentioned by Lynch, that St. Fachtna, before proceeding to Ross, was abbot of another monastery called also Molana, situated on the islet of Dair-inis, at the mouth of the Blackwater. See further mention of this monastery in Archdall, at the *County Waterford*.

In the Felire of St. Ængus, the name of St. Fachtna occurs in the strophe for the 14th of August :—

"With the calling of Fortunatus,  
Over the expansive sea of ships,  
Mac-an-tsaer, the noble chief,  
The festival of Fachtna mac Mongach."

So also he is commemorated on the same day in the metrical calendar of Marianus O'Gorman :—

"Great vigil of Mary :  
Gregory, and the bright hero Felix,  
The just Eusebius in their company :  
The sons of Daigre, with Dinil ;  
Let Brocad be in their presence :  
Fachtna the smooth, fair, hairy son,  
Eiclec, Cummen, Coeman,  
Not narrow fences this structure."

St. Cuimin of Connor, in his beautiful poem on the characteristic virtues of the saints of Ireland, thus celebrates the zeal and devotedness of St. Fachtna :—

"Fachtna, the generous and steadfast, loved  
To instruct the crowds in concert,  
He never spoke that which was mean,  
Nor aught but what was pleasing to his Lord."

It is generally supposed that the St. Fachnan, patron of Ross, is the same with St. Fachnan, patron of Kilfenora. Two circumstances strongly confirm this identity, viz. : that their festivals are now kept on the same day, the 14th of August, and that the same tribe was dominant in both territories. However, Lynch informs us that in his time (1660) the feast of St. Fachtna, the holy founder of Kilfenora, was kept on the 20th of December.

As regards the old Cathedral of Ross which, thanks to the munificence of the O'Driscoll family, was one of the most remarkable structures of the kingdom, the following interesting details are given in the Consistorial Acts of the year 1517 :—

"The city of Ross was situated in the province of Cashel, in the middle of a fertile plain, rich in corn-fields, and stretching along the sea-shore. It was encompassed with a wall, had two gates, and contained about two hundred houses. In the centre of the town was the cathedral church, dedicated under the invocation of St. Fachnan, an Irish saint, confessor, whose feast is celebrated on the vigil of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary. The walls of the church were of cut stone ; there were two entrances—one lateral, the other in the front, and in both you descended by three steps to the level of the church. Its floor was unpaved, and its roof was of wood, covered with slates. The interior of the church presented the form of a Latin cross, and in size corresponded with the church of St. Maria del Popolo in Rome. It was divided into central nave and aisles, and the nave was separated by stone pillars from the aisles. Its roof was of wood, covered with slates ; in the centre was the choir with wooden benches, and at the head of the choir was placed the high altar. To the left of the altar was the sacristy, well supplied with vestments, crucifixes, silver-gilt chalices, and mitre

(To be continued.)

# THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

AUGUST, 1871.

## TWO LETTERS OF DR. LYON, PROTESTANT BISHOP OF CORK, WRITTEN IN 1596.

ON Friday, 12th of August, 1580, about four o'clock in the morning, Lord Arthur Grey de Wilton, arrived at Howth; and on Wednesday, the 7th of September, was, by virtue of Queen Elizabeth's Letters Patents, which were solemnly read by Nicholas White, Master of the Rolls, sworn Lord Deputy in St. Patrick's Church, before the Lord Justice Pelham, the peers and counsellors of the state. Grey was a ruthless Puritan, and the Queen sent him to Ireland "to dissolve the spell of Rome;" or in plain phrase, to compel the Irish to accept the doctrines of the so-called Reformation. Pelham had not succeeded in effecting this; and it occurred to Her Majesty that Grey's swordsmen might achieve what his predecessor's ranting preachers were not able to realise. In Grey's suite were three remarkable men—Spenser, the poet, his Excellency's Secretary; Sir Walter Raleigh, statesman, soldier, navigator, poet, and philosopher; and William Lyon, a native of Chester, who, in 1573, was made Vicar of Naas, and, four years afterwards, obtained dispensation "to hold the same, with any other benefice, for life, and leave to live in England, and transport the profits of his vicarage into that kingdom." A special favourite of the Queen was this Lyon: for, one month before Grey landed, her Majesty advanced him to the Vicarage of Bodinstown, in the county Kildare; and when the new deputy was sworn, caused him to be appointed chaplain to his Excellency. "A Chief Governor of Ireland," says Swift, "can never fail of some worthless illiterate chaplain, fond of a title and precedence." Was the Dean thinking of Lyon when he penned that reflection?

Lord Grey had been hardly a week in Dublin when he marched, with over a thousand men, to suppress the O'Byrnes, who, with their chief, Feagh-Mac-Hugh, were then in revolt against the English Government. The result of his Excellency's raid is too well known to require minute description here. His troops were ignominiously routed, with the loss of about 800 men, in Glenmalur; and himself owed his personal safety to the fleetness of his horse. Towards the close of September, of same year, some eight or nine hundred Spaniards arrived in Smerwick Bay, and set about fortifying OILEAN-AN-OIR, or Fort-del-Ore, where they were joined by their Irish allies. Burning to retrieve the "disaster in the glen," Grey marched from the metropolis about the end of October, and reached Dingle on the 7th of November. Having planted his batteries on the 9th, a vigorous fire was opened on the feeble defences thrown up by the Spaniards, who immediately sent out some officers to treat with the Lord Deputy, who insisted on the absolute and unconditional surrender of the garrison. Believing that their lives would be spared, the Spaniards laid down their arms; but no sooner had they done so, than Grey, as he himself tells us, "put in certeyn bandes who streight fell to execution, and slew six hundred men," who never could have foreseen such an act of deliberate murder and treachery. Sir W. Raleigh had a hand in this villanous business. Spenser, surnamed "the Gentle,"

became the apologist of his lord; nay, maintained that he had acted as he ought; and Lyon, the chaplain, could see nothing but what was edifying in a hideous massacre which is said to have revolted even Queen Elizabeth herself.

After two years spent in vain attempts "to dissolve the spell of Rome," Grey was recalled to make way for the Lords Justices, Loftus and Wallop, who were sworn in September, 1582.

In that year died one Sheyn, or Sheehan, whom Queen Elizabeth made bishop of Cork in 1572. Little has been ascertained of this schismatic's antecedents, and for that little we are indebted to a poem, composed in 1577, by Eugene O'Duffy, a celebrated Franciscan, who was intimately acquainted with the flagitious lives of the so-styled bishops of Cashel, Cork, and Limerick. Sheyn, it would appear, was a low-bred, ruffianly fellow, lewd and ribald, whose obscene blasphemies had secured him the countenance of the Deputy, Sir W. Fitzwilliams. Invested with all the power the state could place at his disposal, Sheyn, during the ten years he held the important place of Queen's bishop, inflicted every manner of outrage on the Catholics of Cork, amercing them for absenting themselves from the novel liturgy; and taking a barbarous delight in destroying objects of art, which, for centuries, had been endeared to popular devotion. One of his greatest feats was the burning of the image of St. Dominic in Cork; and so far as iconoclasm was concerned, he proved himself the most ruthless member of that impious triumvirate which, in his day, persecuted the Catholics of Munster.

Meanwhile, Lyon was not overlooked by his friend and patron Lord Grey. The services of such a man could not be forgotten, and the year 1582 saw him installed Protestant bishop of Ross. In the following year he obtained the sees of Cork and Cloyne from the Queen, who, in 1586, annexed the two sees to that of Ross in his person. In 1595 he was named member of a commission appointed "to find out ways and means to people Munster with English inhabitants," after the "Irish Papists" of that province had been almost exterminated by sword, fire, and famine. In this devilry, Lyon, Raleigh, Spenser, and others of minor note acted allotted parts with unmitigated cruelty. The bishop could not reform the Munster Catholics, and the next best thing was to wipe them out from the face of the earth! Like his predecessor, he affected great horror of crosses, images of saints, and other such "superstitious objects," many of which he caused to be destroyed by the stone hammers of the posse that always accompanied him in his raids. The beautiful Franciscan monastery of Timoleague suffered greatly at the hands of this worse than Vandal; for he and a colleague of his—one Hanmer—dilapidated the edifice founded by Donald Mac Carthy in 1320, when they required stones for their new mansions in Cork and Ross. Lyon died at an advanced age, in 1617. The remarkable letters we subjoin, and which were never printed till now, have been copied for us from the originals in the S. P. O., London. Both documents show what manner of individual Lyon was—canting knave, implacable persecutor of the Catholics, and withal, a baffled and disappointed man, simply because the unscrupulous and sanguinary expedients to which he had recourse, failed to divert the Catholics of Cork, Cloyne, and Ross, from the Faith of their Fathers.

"THE BISHOP OF CORK TO LORD HUNSDON, THE LORD  
CHAMBERLAIN.<sup>1</sup>

"*Cork, July 6, 1596.*

"MY VERIE GOOD LORD—Your great zeal to religion, carefulness of her Majesty and of the State, and hearty affection to all that love the truth, hath emboldened me to trouble your honor with this long and tedious letter, beseeching your honor for the causes aforesaid, to vouchsafe the reading, and

<sup>1</sup> He was of Queen Elizabeth's nearest kindred. Naunton in his "Fragmenta Regalia," says that "Hunsdon's Lattin and dissimulation were alike, and that his custome of swearing, and obscenitie in speaking made him seeme a worse Christian than he was."

to pardon my boldness herein, to have patience, and to give me leave to deliver my griefe touching the miserable state of God's Church heere in this province, and other places of the land as bad I feere me. I speake of that which I perfectly know, which is as I have said, the unhappy state of the comonwealth of this untoward country, for as all things come from God, so the government of all Christian comonwealths are grounded upon his holy and sacred word, and the obedience of the subjects upon the knowledge of the same; and where there is no knowledge of God and his truth, there can be noe obedience to magistrates, nor submission to lawes, nor true hearts to their prince. And this is the case of this countrey; the people of this kingdom are a true paterne of the premises. The people are ignorant of God and his truth, led by false teachers, that draw them away from their obedience to her Majesty's goodly lawes, and proceeding to that palpable and damnable blyndnesse to obey her Majesty's capital enemy that Antichrist of Rome, swearing the people to the Pope, and that they shall not come at divine service, taking XII<sup>d</sup> of everyone so sworne (this is true, and divers have confessed that they would gladly come to service, but that they are sworn to the contrary), and VI<sup>d</sup> for every masse they heare after the oath so taken. And yf any will have his child baptized in the church, they shall hardly get gossips (as they call them), as the lawe apointeth, but one poor man, that is, the clerck, his wife, and a poore minister, these are the comon gossips. In the city of Corck, all is done in private houses, by massing priests. About March last, was XII. months were committed by Sir Thomas Norreys,<sup>1</sup> myself, and others, seven or eight recusants of the city of Cork, which would not by any persuasions conform themselves, upon whose commitment their wives preferred a petition to Sir Thomas, by whom I was made acquainted therewith. The contents of it in part was this, that it was her Majesty's pleasure that none of her subjects in Ireland should be dealt withall for any matters of Religion, and that it was so knowne to some of the best in the kingdom. This was in their petition which Sir Thomas Norreys hath, and heereupon they stand very stubborn and are the more obstinate. Whether it be so I referre to your honor. My answer to them was that her Majesty had made lawes for her subjects in Ireland, to observe one uniforme order in divine service and administration of sacraments (which is grounded on the word of God), requiring their obedience therein, and punishing them if they did not

<sup>1</sup> President of Munster; he was slain by Thomas Burke, at Killeely, Co. Limerick, July, 1599.

perform the same, but any lawes or prohibition to the contrary, I knewe none from her Majesty ; therefore I would observe that which I knew, and not take notice of them of the contrary. Under correction (my good Lord), to yield my simple opinion, yf these priests and seducers be not prevented they will hazard the state of this kingdom, and now is the time to reform them, for they are of no force in this country, and unprovided of weapon. I knowe by myne own experience, for having the ministering of Carbery, Ibane, Coursyes Countrey, Beare, and Bantrey, which countreys are able to make III hundred horsemen, and 3 or 4000 footemen amongst all those at this last service, they were not able to furnish XX horsemen or 200 footemen with weapon, for they had none, neyther are there any weapons in all the countrey ; they have turned them to mattocks and plough-irons, which I was nothing sory to see, except they were better minded to her Majesty and her lawes. But the cities and townes are very well furnished with weapons, and they shew themselves very perverse and obstinate ; the young merchants among them goeing to their masses with their daggers and pistolls ready prepared. They were not soe ready in the service against the Ulster traytors, but made forth the simplest of the people. XII good men had bene better than an hundred such as they appoynted in Corck, but went not. They of these parts were very unwilling to goe thither, because Tyrone is of their faction, and hath the Pope's Legate with him, one O'Gallogher,<sup>1</sup> an Irishman, and bishop, appoynted from the Pope, and is called the Bishop of the Derry ; he directeth the traytor in all his dealings (as I was enformed by a credible person), and many priests are gone out of this countrey to Tyrone.) That traytor he hath also three English Jesuits with him ; the Recusants of this city said that they are comanded not to reason with any of us ; that is an especiall charge they have. All which things I leave to your honors godly care. Oure state heere is very dangerous. The Lord of his mercy put it into her Majesty's heart, and the rest of that most honble. state to see to the reformation of the same, for the furtherance whereof I most humbly crave your honor's favor. Here are five Justices of Peace that sit on the Bench every Sessions, but they never took the oath of Supremacy to her Majesty, nor will they. Two of them utterly refused at the general sessions holden in Marchlast. Hereby they generally are mightily drawn away from their loyaltie to her Majesty's godly lawes now within these

<sup>1</sup> Raymond O'Gallagher, Bishop of Derry, from 1569 to 1601, when he was killed by English soldiers near Coleraine.

two years, soe far that where I had a thousand or more in a church at sermon, I now have not five; and whereas I have seen 500 communicants or more, now there are not three, and not one woman, either at divine service or comunion, which thing (my good Lord), if it be not looked unto will grow to a great mischief in the comonwealth. The estate of God's church and his holy word is now like to be trodden under foote of the ungodly, and the good estate of this comonwealth like to be brought in hazard, if it be not prevented, soe wickedly are they bent; if it be lett grow without punishment and correction, their hearts being alienated from her Majesty, there is noe trust in their bodies. The ground of all these mischiefs is the lack of teachers, neither will they come to be taught as her Majesty hath apoynted, and by the lawes it was prescribed. It is lamentable (my good Lord) to see, and most woefull to heare, that in this province there is not one preacher of this nation; I meane of the Irishe; and very few in other parts of the kingdom, which is a token (I feare me), that God hath cast them off. The cause of all these evils before rehearsed, is the want of dew execution of those godly lawes which are established, whereby (not obeying for conscience sake), they are emboldened forwards in their ungodliness, disloyaltie, disobedience, and rebellion, and out of this cause springeth the boldnesse of the people. The Pope's Legate, friars, priests, and seminaries, of whom this countrey is full, as also the city of Corck; whereas there be X seminary and seducing priests resident within the city, maintayned and kept dayly by the Aldermen and Merchants of the city, to say masse, baptize, minister the sacraments, and other their popish and hereticall ceremonies in their private houses, and when I am out of the town they walk openly and comonly in the street, accompanied with the aldermen and officers of the city, and conveyed forth of the towne, when they goe to say their masses in the countrey abroad, neyther want they any thing. I have their names, and who maintaineth them, and how farre I have dealt heerein, to the discharge of my dewty, in my function to Godward, and my obedience to her Majesty, may appear by a letter written by me unto my honor. good Lord, the Lord Deputy.<sup>1</sup> And therefore my honor. good Lord, I desire that your honor may further this my lamentable complaint to her Majesty, and that most honor, state there, that redress may be had of these things, for the preservation of her Majesty, and the comonwealth of this poore countrey, and safeguard of those few professors of the trueth, which are here resident

<sup>1</sup> Sir W. Russell, Lord Deputy, June 1594 to 1598.

in this land. Under reformation, I speak it with all humility, as one that earnestly desireth the good of the church, and the peace of this kingdom, that some order may be taken that these seducers, as priests, friers, jesuits, and seminaries, and their maintainers, may be restrayned, and some sharpe punishment devised for them, according to your honor's grave and wise discretion, that those that are in Corck, Waterford, Limerick, Clonmell, Cashell, Federt, Kilmalock, Youghill, and Kinsale, and other townes may be reformed (whereon the reformation of the whole countrey dependeth); for the example of the cities and townes marre the countrey, their trade being beyond the seas, from whence they bring little good, and in the countrey they may be streightley looked unto, and also that none come over from beyond the seas, as they daylie doe, I mean of those wicked priests which are the sowers of rebellion in this kingdom, and will doe mischief if it be not looked into in tyme. My good Lord, I knowe more than I will trouble your honour with at this tyme, my dewty is to deliver my knowledge, it lieth in your honor, and the rest of that most honorable Counsell to cause redresse. I have been acquainted with their manners and life these XXV years (so long I have dwelled heere), and have been bishop these XIV years, and I have observed their doings, but I never saw them so badly mynded as they be nowe in generall (for it is a generall revolt through the whole kingdom, at this present, and therefore the more dangerous), which may be imputed to this, that they have had the reynes of libertie let loose unto them, and have not bene kept under, whereas they are a people, as your honor very well knoweth, which feeling the rigor of justice and severely regarded, are a good people in their kind, and with dew justice and correction (but not oppressed, extorted, nor unjustly dealt withall), they will be dewtifull and obedient, but let them have favour and be well entreated, they will waxe proude, stubborne, disobedient, disloyall, and rebellious. This I know, my good Lord, by experience. Also the priests<sup>1</sup> of the country forsake their benefices to become massing priests, because they are so well entreated, and soe much made of among the people. Many have forsaken their benefices by the persuasion of these seminaries, that come from beyond the seas; they have a new mischief in hand, if it be not prevented. Good, my Lord, I am bold to discharge my duty and that part which I owe to my Sovereign Lady the Queen's Majesty for the great

<sup>1</sup> *Priests, i.e.,* the Protestant Ministers. The Established clergy often assumed the name of *Priests* in Elizabeth's reign, but the faithful people of Ireland always refused to honor them with this title.

graces and favours she hath bestowed upon me. The best name that they give unto the divine service appointed by her Majesty, in the Church of England or Ireland, is the Divell's service, and the professors thereof, Divells, and when they meet out of the profession, they will cross themselves after the Popish manner, and any that company with us, or receive any living of me or the like, being apoynted by her Majesty, they excommunicate him or them, and will not suffer them to come in their company. My good Lord, I have caused churches to be re-edified, and provided books for every church through my diocese as Bibles, New Téstaments, Communion Books, both English and Latin, and the Injunctions, but none will come to the church at all, not soe much as the cuntry chirlls; they follow their seducers, the priests and their superiors, none remayneth that the churches may be frequented with a Christian congregation, which is the thing that I desire, all which I leave to your honor to be considered of, beseeching the Almighty to stirre up your honor by his holy spirit, to have a care heereof to further God's cause and the reformation of this miserable comonwealth to the glory of God, the benefit of his church, the honor of her Majesty, the good estate of this kingdom, and the suppress-ing of the ennemy, of the same of the which I am sure your honor hath a special care. Also I must not forget the perverse recusants that come out of England hether, and especially to these parts, and most part to Waterford, the sink of all filthy superstition, and idolatry, with contempt of her Majesty's godly lawes and proceedings.

In Waterford, the Mayor and Sheriffs of the citie come not to church, neyther will they take the oath of supremacy, and in this citie of Corck the baylifs refuse the oath, neyther come they to the church, and I questioning with one of the last year's baylifs named Richard Rawley, for whom I sent to know the cause why he would not come to the church, nor obey any of her Majesty's ecclesiastical lawes, he made me answer that he was sworn to the league, that he should never come to the church nor obey any of her Majesty's ecclesiastical lawes touching the same. What answer I made him, and the discourse betwixt him and me I will not trouble yo. ho. with. All the premises are true; I would be loathe to informe yo. ho. otherwise, but will justify them if I were before her Majesty. These intelligences I had from themselves, because I visit the country several times in the year, and do observe things here, and learne the dispositions how they are inclined and bent; there is not any thing done but I get knowledge thereof among themselves concerning church



government, and many things that concern the comon wealth and the state of this kingdom, which I think, in conscience, myself bound to observe, and advertize those thereof that have authority and will reforme the same, and specially considering that the government and charge of the church within myne owne diocese is committed to me by her Majesty under God. Therefore I must seek all ways and means to discharge myself and the trust reposed in me by the assistance of God's holy spirit. Therefore, I am bold to presume to deliver these things to your honor, to be imparted to her Majesty if it seem good to the same ; pardon my rudenesse, but consider the playnenesse and trueth of the matter, and the earnest desire I beare to the good of God's church and the peace of this kingdom with my hearty and humble love, and obedience towards her Majesty. These men look for and desire a change, and that maketh them so obstinate, swearing against her Majesty's lawes (a thing most contrary to the nature of subjects), and swearing themselves to the Pope, that they may, with the more favour, be received when alteration cometh, which I trust in our good and gracious God, shall never be seen in our dayes; although the bloody Papists do leave noe ways nor meanes unassaied or unattempted to bring their ungodly desires to effect. My conscience moveth me and my duty bindeth me to deliver these things, for the dangerous sequels that are like to ensue if they be not prevented in tyme, for I am persuaded, and do partly know the same by experience, that a great part of the people of this kingdom are noe better than mere infidels, having but a bare name of Christians without any knowledge of Christ or light of His truth, in that I myself have examined divers of them being LX. years of age or upwards, and have found them not able to say the Lord's Prayer or the articles of the Christian faith neither in English, Latin, nor Irish, neither have they ever been taught the same or examined by the priests whether they could say the same or not. Therefore, in my opinion, there is neither truth nor credit to be reposed in their oaths, words, or promises, as by their deeds is verified. And as for those that profess religion and can yield accompt of themselves in some sorte, there is as little trust to be given to the oathes or words of them as of the other, for they build upon the Pope's dispensacons and pardons, with the absolutions of Popish priests, persuading themselves that they may lawfully swear and forswear themselves unto any sincerely professing the Gospel whatsoever oaths by them made notwithstanding. This I have proved many times, so that by means of the ignorance of the one and the super-

stitious blind opinion of the other, there is little truth to be expected among them, and therefore can they bear no loyall heart towards her Majesty. I, with many others besides myself, have noted their services done on behalf of their prince and country, and I never saw nor heard that any of the Irish nation did ever any good service or apprehended any traytor or felon except it were in revenge of some private quarrel or secret grudge borne in respect whereof their service hath been shewn and not of any good mind they beare to her Majesty or reformation of the comon wealth, and suppressing of bad-minded men and evill members of the state and countrey. Once again (my most ho. good Lo.) I humbly desire that some order may be taken for these seditious priests, otherwise it is to be feared that they will overthrow all, as they have made a dangerous entry to perform their mischievous entents and devises, which will be cause of an infinite charge to her Majesty to suppress them.

And heere I thought it an advise worthy the noting to your honor that it is an usuall thing amongst them heere in Munster, after meals and some sorte of thanksgivings made (without the once naming of her Majesty) to pray for the good estate, with the speedy and safe returne of their good Lord James, meaning the Earl of Desmond's sone, who now is there in England in the Tower, where I heartily wish he may still remain, and I would that a great many here in this country of that mind were there with him. But ceasing any further to trouble yo. ho., I humbly take leave.

Yor. Lps. most humbly at comaundment.

W. CORCK and ROSS.

Corck, the vi<sup>th</sup> of July, 1596.<sup>1</sup>

I humbly beseech yo. ho. at yr. good leysure to peruse these few notes enclosed, and to consider thereof according yo. ho. grave wisdom, pardoning my presumption and overboldness with yo. ho., which thing I humbly crave.

<sup>1</sup> Enclosed in the above was the original of the following letter, which Lyon addressed to Sir William Russell, then Lord-Deputy of Ireland. The reader will perceive that the pseudo-bishop of Cork, etc., etc., was fertile in suggestions for the "suppression of Popery," persecution of Catholic schoolmasters; settlement of the land question; systematic coercion; abolition of usages peculiar to Irish lords and their dependents; and inhibition of games of which the Irish of all classes seem to have been very fond. Lyon's fabrications and contradictions are so transparent that the reader requires no aid of ours to detect them; and it is almost superfluous to add that the tone of scurrility pervading the entire composition is identical with that to which our ears have been familiarized in the 19th century. If Lyon ever gave himself any concern about the fantastic idol Posterity, he would not have bequeathed us an epistle which, viewed in all its aspects, is eminently calculated to provoke a hearty laugh.

A view of certen enormities and abuses meete to be considered of, praying yo. ho. to vouchsafe the perusing thereof at your best leasure.

First, that all comon wealthes and good government do depend upon the true worship of God, and knowledge of his will taken out of his holy and sacred word, the contempt of which word doth abound in this barbarous country, so that there is no hope of the elder sort, except God in his abundant mercy do open their eares and eyes to hear, see, and soften their hard hearts to receive the sweet dew of his grace revealed in his word; but that a care may be had of the younger sort, to bring them up in the feare of God (if God will shew mercy upon them); that all bishops be streightley commanded upon a payne, that none by them be admitted to teach publicly or privately within their diocese but such as are sound on religion, and that will teach the children to them committed the principles of religion. Far better they were ignorant in wickednesse than learned to practise mischiefs, rebellion, and troubles in the comon wealth; as the most parte do apply their learning to that end, as by experience it is well knowne and dayly proved, for the youth will not come to the church no more than the older sorte, for example whereof I comanded the schoolmaster, which teacheth in the towne where I dwell, to bring his scholars to church or else he should not teach them; upon this the most part of his scholars went away and left the school. And now lately within this quarter of this yeare (according myne usuall custom) I made search myself in schools for books, and what books were taught there, whether according her Majesty's lawes, and searching I found to my great grief her Majesty's stile and title torne out of all the grammars to the number of 74 in one school; the leaf in the grammar quite torne out which conteyneth in it: "Elizabeth, by the grace of God, Queen of England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Fayth, &c.," and in the end of the leaf: "God save the Queen," whereupon I caused search to be made in all schools in my diocese, and found them all torn out, although they came new from the merchants' shops. I sent for two of the schoolmasters and examined them upon that point, if they acknowledged her Majesty's title as is above said. The one said her ancestors were so, but he denied her to be so, the other likewise denied, whereupon I comitted them to prison, and there they remain. And what good shall be looked for in this comon wealth where the youth are taught by such schoolmasters?

That no scholars leave the realme to go beyond seas to any

school or university, but to those in England, for beyond seas they practise mischief, and when they come home they set it abroad to the overthrow of Christ's true religion, and subverting of the peaceable estate of this comon wealth, as at this time we find our poor country (I mean those that desire the successe of Christ's gospell) to be troubled by them.

By such means the cities and corporate towns grow stubborn, disobedient, and indurate, and a general contempt of her Majesty's ecclesiastical lawes established for the advancement of the gospel, and the sincere setting forth of Christ's holy and sacred word, instead of whose word these false apostles, Jesuits, and seminaries do teach the dregs of mens traditions and Antichrists religion by means of which false teachers they will swear and forswear. And there is a general revolt in all cities and towns in the country, and I am credibly informed they have sworn in many cities and towns to stand in defence of their Romish religion, and all this cometh to pass by their seducers, Jesuits, and seminaries, hedge-priests, and Rome-runners, which (under correction) are to be looked unto, otherwise what will ensue?

The citizens and corporations grow wealthy, proud, stubborn, obstinate, disobedient, and rebellious. They have furniture, good store in every citie and corporate towne. One example and instance I will give of their undutifulness towards her Majesty and her Grace's progenitors who have in most bountiful sort, bestowed upon the cities and corporate townes large charters with most liberal gifts, and yet tied them to observe certain good orders for their well government, but how those good points are kept I refer it to their government, and in that if her Majesty direct any comission for the advancing of her revenue, redressing of disorders, reforming of the comon wealth, and to look into their disordered government, then they will bring forth a point of their charter against her to defeat her hignesse in her right. But they will never bring forth their charter any way to farther her service but by compulsion. This is one sure token of their undutifulness towards her Majesty. In the late rebellion, and in all stirs the cities and townes maintain and releave the traitors with vittles, as wine, aquavitæ, and bread, and with powder, shot, swords, targets, sculles, and other munitions. After the traitors were received to grace they confessed the same. They will also allege a point of their charter for this. In full and open shew of their spurning of her Majesty and other godly proceedings in cities and corporate towns, there are no children baptized in the churches, but in private houses; no communicating in the churches; no resort to

divine service, nor sermons, neither of men, women, nor children; the like obstinacy was not seene, nor rebelling minds since her Majesty's reign, as hath bene these two yeares past, and they go in defensible sort to their idolatrous service. What will come of these things if it be not looked unto, and these rebellious minds tamed? This I know to be true, the most part of my own knowledge, and some part by credible information given to me. Those seditious enemies, the priests, have their houses for rent in the city of Corck and other cities and townes where they say their masses and walk in the streets, and are conversant with the best in the citie, but when they are sought for they are conveyed away. Also where there are store-houses for the safe-keeping of her Majesty's munition, it is not meet (under correction) that Irish Papists should have the keeping of the same, as in the cities of Munster they have. It is not convenient that those who hate her Highnes' lawes and religion, should keep her defence. Under God what may come of this I refer to your godly judgment. As their charters are always ready against her Majesty, and that they challenge all fines and amerce-ments imposed upon them, to the great hindrance of the revenue, specially in Waterford, Limerick, Corck, and the town of Kinsale; it were meet that they should be compelled to shew their charters, whether they have observed them according to their grants or forfeited the same, that thereby it might be bridled and their obstinacy brought into subjection to her Majesty's lawes. And this is most true. Reform cities and towns, and reform all the countries round about them, both in religion and civility. It is confirmed by experience, for the cities and townes are lanterns unto the countries wherein they are; if the citizens and townesmen be good they give a light to the country, if they be bad the country learn of the townesmen their naughtynesses. Bridle the cities and towns, then the country will obey.

The Lord, in His mercy, inspire yo. honor's heart with His holy spirit (whose zeal in the gospel, and care of Majesty is knowne to all men) to think thereon.

That all archbishops and bishop ordinaries and officials under them may be comanded and compelled upon a payne to make diligent inquiry who hath absented themselves from divine service, as it is now established, upon Sondays and the holydays, and to certify their names to the Lord Deputy that the fine sett down in the statute made in the second year of her Majesty's reign, which is XII<sup>d</sup>. (every Sondag and holyday for their absences), may, by direction, be taken up and employed to such godly uses as it ought to be, as repairing of churches, relief

of the poor, to holy poor soldiers, or to the maintenance of the College,<sup>1</sup> or other godly uses, which will amount to a great some, and specially in cities and townes, for there are many that never came to church sithence her Majesty's reign ; better it were bestowed to some godly use than that such wicked perverse people should pass unpunished. And for as much as by statute, it is to be taken up by churchwardens ; the most part of the parishes have no churchwardens at all, of purpose because they will not levy the fine ; and those that have churchwardens will not do it, though they have been comanded, therefore both the negligence and contempt is to be punished, and the defect supplied by her Majesty's direction.

It is dangerous to admit any of the Irish to any office about the state, or to the place of a clerk or writer, but such as are found sound in religion ; for, if they be otherwise, they are not to be trusted, unfaithful to God, and untrusty to man.

Pardon my boldness, my good Lo. in writing, and my rude and simple stile in penning ; it is zeal unto the truth, my duty to her Majesty, and natural affection to her Majesty's preservation in prosperity long to reign over us. These citizens being so stubborn, and absenting themselves from church, I would to God it might please her Majesty to set a governor and garrison in every city and towne ; and that the enemies of God's truth, the papists and recusants of every city and towne, might maintain them of their charges till they do reform themselves ; for they maintain both bishops and priests beyond the seas, and they have legates here, and receivers that collect for them, and send it them, as I am credibly informed, and I do partly believe it ; for there is never a bishoprick in Ireland but it hath two bishops, one from her Majesty, and another from the Pope ;<sup>2</sup> and the Pope is not so liberal, but he will rather receive than give ; but he is content to give them the name to serve his own turn. My good Lo. pardon my boldness in troubling yo. Lo. with my rude writing : the Mayor of Waterford which is a great lawyer, one Wadding,<sup>3</sup> carieth the sword and rod (as I think he should do) for her Majesty ; but he nor his sheriffs never came to the church sithence he was mayor, nor sithence this reign, nor none of the citizens, men nor women, nor in any other towne or city throughout this province, which is lamentable to hear, but most lamentable to see ; the Lord in his mercy amend it when it shall please his gracious goodness to look on them.

<sup>1</sup> Trinity College, Dublin, founded 1590.

<sup>2</sup> Dermot M'Craghe was bishop of Cork from 1580 to 1606.

<sup>3</sup> Wadding was Mayor of Waterford in 1596 ; and the celebrated FATHER LUKE, O.S.F., was eight years old when Lyon was penning his letter.

As the cohabiting and living of men together breedeth love and civility, the contrary of necessity bringeth hatred and barbarousness and dispersed dwellings abroad, which is a maintenance of idleness and thieves; for, that the people of the country, specially in the province of Munster, dwell scattered by bogs and wood sides, and such remote places where idle men and thieves do lurck, and are there relieved; then if they be sought for they start into the woods and bogs, and so escape. For remedy, redress, and reformation whereof, their tenants continue not past three years in a place, but run roving about the country, like wild men fleeing from one place to another. That order might be taken that no lord, gentleman, or freeholder let his land but for 21 years, and to condition with his tenants to enclose with quicksett and ditch such portion of land as he shall take by lease, according to his ability, every year a portion, and to make lanes and gates in the lanes, whereby if any rebellion or spoiling be, they shall not be able to carry away the prey suddenly, but that they shall be met withall, and also that they make trenches and ditches about where their dwelling shall be, that their goods shall not lie open to the spoile of the enemy. It will not only defend themselves but prevent the relieving of thieves and idle men, for one will bewray another for fear, lest he himself should be brought into danger by keeping of them, and it will cause them to build houses, plant orchards and gardens, and set idle persons on worck. That some straight order may be taken for idle persons, as *caroughes*,<sup>1</sup> *hazards*,<sup>2</sup> rimers, bards, and harpers, which run about the country not only eating the labors of the poor, but bringing news and intelligences to the rebells, and bruit false news and tales, which breedeth great mischief, and also the rymers do make songs in commendacon and praise of their treasons, rebellions, spoilings and preyings to the great encouraging of such a people, as this if not stayed under Government.

That all lords and gentlemen be comanded that they keep no idle men but such as are officers in their houses, for the lords and gentlemen used to take *quiddyes*<sup>3</sup> and night suppers upon their tenants, and upon others which are not their tenants, which is a great nourishing of vagabonds, for when they go to these *quiddyes*, then these bards, caroughes, rimers, hazards, and harpers flock after them in multitudes.

It were good if order were taken that these quiddyes, night suppers, coyne, and livery, if they be lawfull to be taken, were

<sup>1</sup> Card-players.

<sup>2</sup> Dicers.

<sup>3</sup> This is Lyon's equivalent for the Irish "*cuidh*"—allowances for chieftains and their retainers.

turned into certen rent, for then they would not maintain so many. And the sheriffs of the counties are in fault for these idle men, for they will not apprehend them because they shall get nothing by or from them, for they will not serve but for profit; they serve themselves but not her Majesty. The sheriffs buy their offices, therefore they must needs sell, pull, plunder, and pilfer to gett up their money again. They can never make up their money but by falsehood and deceit; this is too true, and therefore it is good for sheriffs to have a pardon after they come out of their office.

And it hath been a comon thing within these three years that lawyers and petty foggers,<sup>1</sup> when they were ready to go to Term, to go about and enquire who would have a pardon, and so they would gather 20 or 30 or 40 names, and for 20s., or 4 nobles a piece, they should have their pardons, and this was to beare their charges to the term, and so the Governors are abused, and amongst these numbers there should be some that procure their pardons for feare more than that they had need thereof, and others of good accompt, but bad men, were thrust in amongst these men, which if the Governor had known he would not have granted their pardon, and this came by corruption of clercks, whom the Governor gave credit unto, and trusted.

Also there are certen lands called Chauntry Lands, which in England are granted to her Majesty, by Act of Parliament, as well as the abbeys, but not so in Ireland. If a Parliament were here it would be very beneficial to her Majesty, or to the new college lately erected, which would amount to a great sum, for there are very few churches; but they have Chauntry Lands belonging to them, some churches 20 pounds by the year, and some more which were given for the maintaining of massing priests, and soe I think they be used yet, or taken up by Lords and gentlemen, whose ancestors bestowed them upon massing priests; it were better bestowed upon the uses aforesaid. Again, all the lawyers of this Realme borne in the land are most obstinate and indurat recusants, a thing too well known.

God amend it!

<sup>1</sup> Low legal quibblers, like Boyle, first Earl of Cork, who, acting on the fears of the unfortunate Irish, contrived to swindle and plunder them.

“Your pettifoggers damn their souls,  
To share with knaves in cheating fools.”—HUDIBRAS.



## LETTERS OF BALMEZ.

## XX.—HOMAGE DUE TO THE SAINTS.

MY ESTEEMED FRIEND—Day by day I am more convinced of your deficiency in reading in matters of Religion, as I suspected in the beginning. I know it is not *reading* you are deficient in, but *good* reading; for I discover, at every turn, you have taken care enough to look over the writings of Protestants and infidels, avoiding a glance at the works of Catholics, as if they were prohibited books. Allow me to observe, that a person educated in the Catholic religion, and who practised it in his childhood and youth, cannot exculpate himself at the tribunal of God from the spirit of partiality so manifest in such conduct. To assert continually that one has an ardent desire of embracing the true religion, as soon as discovered, and, nevertheless, to constantly go in search of arguments against Catholicity, and abstain from reading the apologies in which all these difficulties are answered, are extremes that cannot be easily reconciled. This contradiction is by no means new to me; because I am long profoundly convinced that sceptics do not possess that impartiality of which they boast; and even though they are distinguished from infidels, because instead of saying, "this is false," they say, "I doubt if this be true," they nevertheless entertain prejudices, more or less strong, which make them abhor Religion, and desire it may not be true.

The sceptic does not always render himself an exact account of this disposition of his mind. Perhaps he often deludes himself into the belief he is sincerely seeking the truth; but if his conduct and words be attentively observed, he will be found to take a secret pleasure in raising objections, and relating facts that may wound Religion; and no matter how he boasts of his temperance, he does not generally avoid giving his objections a passionate or even a sarcastic tinge.

I do not desire to offend you by these observations; but, at the same time, I wish you would take them into account. You will lose nothing by examining and asking yourself—"Am I seeking the truth with sincerity? Is it true that in the difficulties I raise against Catholicism, there is no mingling of passion? Is it true that nothing of the hatred and aversion which the works I have read breathe against the Catholic religion has stuck to me?" I wish you would now and then ask yourself this, as by doing so you would, besides performing a work becoming a sincere man, remove no few obstacles which impede your coming to the truth in matters of religion.

You will probably tell me you wonder at the preceding observations, as you have observed in this discussion greater decorum than is generally observed by the adversaries of Religion. I do not deny that your letters are distinguished by their moderation and refined tone, and, though you do not hold my convictions, have had delicacy enough not to wound the susceptibilities of him who professes them ; but still I have remarked that, notwithstanding your good qualities, you are not completely exempt from the general rule ; for, when disputing about Religion, you manifest a desire to view things under the aspect that can wound it most, and, whether inadvertently or not, endeavour to avoid contemplating its dogmas in their sublimity, their magnificent aggregate, and their admirable harmony with everything that is beautiful, tender, grand, and sublime. I have often had occasion to observe this, and at present I see no signs of amendment ; so I think you will pardon me if I do not except you from the general rule, but consider you more passionate and prejudiced than you imagine.

Precisely in the letter I have just received this sad truth is deplorably apparent. In spite of protestations to the contrary, the trail of Protestant fanaticism and Voltairian levity is manifest in every line of it ; and I could scarcely believe that before writing it you did not consult some of the oracles of the misnamed Reformation or the false philosophy. In spite of what you say of *popular belief*, and the enchantment you experience on witnessing the religious fervour of *simple people*, it is evident you contemplate all this with benign disdain, and consider you pay sufficient tribute to the sincerity of believers by abstaining from openly condemning or ridiculing them. We are much obliged for your goodness ; but let me tell you, the beliefs and customs of these *simple people* are capable of a better defence than you imagine. Far from the homage and invocation of Saints, and the veneration of their relics and images, being the religious pabulum of simple people only, they can afford matter for consideration of the highest philosophy. It is not the credulous and ignorant alone who hold them, but men of the most eminent genius, like St. Jerome, St. Augustine, St. Bernard, St. Thomas of Aquin, Bossuet, and Leibnitz.

On reading this last name you will believe my pen has made a slip, and I have written it by mistake. How is it possible that Leibnitz, a Protestant, could defend the doctrines and practices of Catholicity on this point ? Nevertheless, it is written in his works, which are in the hands of the whole world ; and it is not my fault if the author of the pre-

established harmony, the eminent metaphysician, the famous archæologist, the profound naturalist, the incomparable mathematician, the inventor of the infinitesimal calculus, agrees in this matter with *simple people*, and is something less of the *philosopher* than many who know no more history than compendiums in decimosexto, nor philosophy than the rudiments of the schools, ill acquired and worse retained, nor geometry, than the definition of the straight line and the circumference.

I have been insensibly led into these general considerations, and the preamble of this letter has grown rather long, though I am far from considering it inopportune. Discussion should be carried on temperately, but the interests of truth should not be neglected. Whenever it is necessary to remind you, sceptics, of your spirit of partiality, it should be done; and we should have no scruple in sometimes telling you, you discuss without having studied, and combat what you have a profound ignorance of.

The homage of Saints does not appear to you very rational, nor even conformable to the sublimity of the Christian religion, which gives us such grand ideas of God and man. How is this devotion to the Saints opposed to these grand ideas? Because "it appears man degrades himself by paying to the creature the worship due to God alone." I see you have been imbued with the objections of Protestants, a thousand times answered, and a thousand times repeated. Let us clear up our ideas.

The homage paid to God, is an acknowledgment of his supreme dominion over all things, as their creator, ordainer and preserver. It is an expression of the gratitude the creature owes the Creator for the benefits received from Him; and of the submission, respect and obedience to which he is obliged, in the exercise of his understanding, his will, and all his faculties. External homage is the expression of the internal; and is, besides, an explicit acknowledgment that we owe all to God, not only our soul, but also our body, and are ready to offer Him not only his spiritual but also his corporal gifts to us. It is evident the homage of which I speak belongs exclusively to God; the homage due to God alone can be rendered to no creature; to hold the contrary, would be idolatry—a crime condemned by natural reason, and the sacred Scriptures, long before philosophic zeal condemned it.

There are few accusations more unjust, or made for a more distorted purpose, than that which charges Catholics with idolatry, on account of their dogma and practices in the homage of Saints. It is enough to open, I will not say, the works of theologians, but the smallest catechism, to see that such an accusation is highly calumnious. Never, in any Catholic

writing, has the homage of Saints been confounded with that of God ; if a man fell into such an error, he would be at once condemned by the Church.

The homage rendered to the saints is a tribute paid to their eminent virtues ; but these are expressly acknowledged to be the gifts of God : by honouring the saints, we honour Him who has sanctified them. So that, though the immediate object be the saints, the ultimate end is God himself. In man's sanctity, we venerate the reflection of the infinite sanctity. These are not arbitrary explanations, conjured up on purpose to get rid of the difficulty. Open where you will the *Lives of the Saints*, or a collection of panegyrics ; listen to our orators and our catechists—everywhere you shall meet with the doctrine I have just laid down. Another observation : the Church prays on the feast of the saints ; and to whom does she direct her prayers ? To God himself. Mark the beginning of them—*Deus qui—Omnipotens sempiterne Deus—Præsta quæsumus Omnipotens Deus, &c.* And in the end she always refers to one of the persons of the Most Holy Trinity, or to two, or to the three.

I cannot conceive what answer can be made to reasons so decisive, and I do not fear you will continue to accuse us of idolatry : after these explanations it is impossible, if you act with good faith, to insist on such an accusation.

I am now going to consider the question under other aspects, and particularly in relation to the discordance you say exists between the Homage of Saints and the sublimity of the Christian ideas about God and man. Religion, by giving us grand ideas about man, does not destroy human nature ; if it did so, its ideas would not be grand, but false.

It is a common saying among theologians that grace does not destroy, but elevates and perfects nature. True revelation cannot be in contradiction with the constitutive principles of human nature. Hence it results that the sublimity of the ideas which religion gives us about man, are not opposed to the natural conditions of our being, however insignificant. Our greatness consists in the sublimity of our origin ; in the immensity of our destiny ; in the intellectual and moral perfections which we owe to the bounty of the Author of nature and grace, and in the aggregate of the means with which He has supplied us to attain the end for which He destined us.

But this greatness does not destroy the fact that our soul is united to a body ; that besides being intelligent we are also sensible ; that at the side of the intellectual will are found the feelings and the passions ; and that, consequently, in our grief, in our desires, and in our actions we are subject to certain

laws from which our nature cannot prescind. It were to be desired you would not lose sight of these observations, for they serve to prevent the confusion of ideas, and the vague use of the words *sublimity* and *grandeur*, which can occasion serious mistakes, according to the object to which they are applied.

As the opportunity presents itself, allow me to observe that the ideas of greatness and infinity are employed to ruin the relations of man with God. How is it possible, it is said, that an infinite being could occupy itself with one so insignificant as we? And no one sees that the same argument might be used by one who took it into his head to deny the creation. How is it possible, he might say, that an infinite being could have occupied itself in creating things so insignificant? All this is highly sophistical: the ideas of finiteness and infinity, far from destroying, explain each other reciprocally.

The existence of the finite proves the existence of the infinite; and in the idea of the infinite is found the sufficient reason of the possibility of the finite and the cause of its existence. The relation of the finite with the infinite constitutes the unity and harmony of the universe: this bond once broken, all is confusion, and the universe a chaos.

After these explanations about the true acceptation of the words *grand* and *sublime*, let us examine whether the dogma of the homage of saints is opposed to the sublimity of the Christian doctrines.

We can love a good thing, though finite; we can respect a respectable thing, and venerate a venerable thing, without any humiliation unworthy our *sublimity* arising therefrom. Now allow me to ask you, Is not an eminent virtue a good, respectable, and venerable thing? And if it be so, and there can be no doubt about it, I think there can be no inconvenience in Christians paying a tribute of love, respect, and veneration to those who have distinguished themselves by their eminent virtues. This observation would be sufficient to justify the homage of saints; but I shall not confine myself to it, for the question is susceptible of much greater amplitude.

Whilst man lives on earth, subject to all the weaknesses, miseries and dangers which afflict the children of Adam in this valley of tears, no one, no matter how perfect he may be, can be sure of not straying from the path of virtue: daily experience gives sad testimony of human frailty. And this is one of the reasons why the love, respect, and veneration which the virtuous man deserves, even on earth, are offered him with a certain fear and hesitation, in application of the wise saying of not praising a man before his death. But when the

just man has passed to a better life, and his virtues, proved like gold in the crucible, have been acceptable to the infinite Wisdom, and he has secured the precious crown he merited by them; then the love, respect, and veneration due to his virtues can be displayed without danger; and this is the motive of the homage so affectionate, so tender, so full of confidence and profound veneration, which Christians render the just, who for their great deserts, occupy a distinguished place in the mansions of glory.

I cannot discover, my dear friend, how there can be a want of dignity in an act so conformable to reason, and even the most natural feelings of the human heart. When we are shown a person of great virtue, we regard him with respectful veneration and esteem; and can Christian people not do the like, with respect to men, who, besides their eminent virtues, intimately united with God in eternal blessedness? Imperfect virtue is worthy of veneration, and is the perfect which has been crowned with ineffable felicity not so? When a person honours a virtuous man, far from humiliating, he exalts and honours himself. And can it be possible that what is true with respect to men on earth, is not true with regard to those in heaven? A little more logic, my dear friend; for the contradiction is too manifest. The *simple people*, of whom you speak with *benignity* and *compassion*, have on this point more philosophy than you.

I could scarcely imagine you even so delicate as not to be able to endure the multitude of images and statues of saints with which the churches of Catholics are filled. I thought that, if not the interest of religion, at least the *love of art*, should render you less susceptible. The difference between the coldness and nakedness of Protestant churches, and the splendour and life of Catholic temples, is generally remarked by believers as well as by infidels; and precisely one of the causes of this difference is found in the fact, that art inspired by Catholicity, has profusely scattered its admirable works, in which it presents to the eye and the imagination the most elevated mysteries, and perpetuates with its prodigies the memory of the virtues of our saints, and the ineffable communications with which, elevating themselves to God, they felt a presentiment in this life of the felicity of the future.

I wish to be indulgent with you: I wish to attribute the difficulty you propose to me to some distraction, or an ill-meditated thought; for without this indulgence, I would find myself obliged to tell you a harsh truth—that you have no taste, no heart, if you have not perceived the beauty abounding in this Catholic practice.

It is strange, when attacking the customs of Catholicity with respect to the images of the saints, you did not advert to the fact that you were putting yourself in contradiction with one of the most natural feelings of the human heart. How is it possible you have not here discovered the hand of religion, elevating, purifying and directing to a useful and august object, a feeling common to all countries and all times? Do you know any people that has not endeavoured to perpetuate the memory of its illustrious men in images, statues, and other monuments? And is there anything more illustrious than virtue in an eminent degree, as the saints possessed it? Were not many of them great benefactors of humanity? Will you dare to sustain that the memory of the conquerors who have inundated the earth with blood, is more worthy of perpetuation than that of the heroes who have sacrificed their fortune, their ease, and their very lives to the good of their fellow-men, and transmitted to us their spirit in institutions, which are the alleviation and consolation of all classes of misfortunes? Can you regard with more pleasure, the image of a warrior, who has covered himself with laurels, too frequently stained with black crimes, than that of *St. Vincent de Paul*, the shield and consolation of all who were in misery whilst on earth, and who yet lives, and is met with in all hospitals, beside the bed of the sick, in his admirable *Sisters of Charity*.

You will tell me all the saints have not done what *St. Vincent de Paul* has done; but you cannot deny that those who have not confined themselves to contemplation are innumerable. Some instruct the ignorant, seeking them out in town and country; others bury themselves in the hospitals, serving the feeble sick with inexhaustible charity; these divide their riches with the poor, and then take on themselves the duty of interesting all beneficent hearts in favour of the unfortunate; those boldly enter the dens of corruption, with the ardent desire of improving the morals of defiled and degraded beings: in fine, you shall scarcely find a saint in whom you will not discover a jet of light, and virtue, and love, spreading in all directions, and to great distances, in benefit of his fellow-men. What is there irrational or unworthy in perpetuating the memory of actions so noble, so grand, and useful? Have not all peoples of all countries and times done the same after their own manner? Do you think the prodigies of art are badly employed in such a work as this?

Suppose we are treating of a life passed sweetly in the midst of contemplation, in the solitude of the desert, or in the practice of modest virtues in the obscurity of the domestic hearth: even in this case there is no inconvenience in *arts*

consecrating itself to perpetuate their memory. Do we not meet at every turn with profane pictures, descriptive of a family scene, or calling to mind a good action without anything of heroism in it? Is not virtue, be it what it may, even in its ultimate degree, beautiful and attractive, and an object worthy the contemplation of men? But remember, common virtues are not objects of homage among Catholics: to have the tribute of public veneration paid them, they must exist in an heroic degree, and receive, besides, the sanction of the authority of the church.

I abandon with all confidence these reflections to your sound judgment, and entertain the firm hope they will contribute to dissipate your prejudices, by calling your attention to points of view on which you had not thought before. Being an enthusiastic lover of the philosophical and the beautiful, you cannot do less than admire the beauty and philosophy of the Catholic dogma of the Homage of Saints.

I remain, &c.,

J. B.

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## WHAT THE JESUITS HAVE DONE FOR SCIENCE AND LITERATURE.

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### I.—INTRODUCTORY.

ON August 15th, 1534, was laid the foundation of one of the greatest scientific and literary bodies which have ever existed.

On the morning of that eventful day, while the deep, dark shadows of tower, and spire, and cathedral dome were falling on the deserted streets of Paris, and a silence, as of the tomb, gave unmistakable evidence that the voluptuous citizens were buried in sleep, seven men might be seen moving on processionally towards the heights of Montmartre. There was a something about them which would immediately attract the attention of a close observer. They looked like persons who had formed some resolution involving great responsibilities, and difficulties of no ordinary kind; but their calm, grave, yet determined looks, and that air of confidence in some secret aid, known only to themselves, which was stamped upon their countenances, bespoke them just the men whom one would select for some weighty enterprise. With slow but firm step they climb the Martyr's mount—they enter a



subterranean chapel, venerated as the spot where St. Denis gave his blood for Christ—and while worldly Paris was still asleep, they kneel in silent prayer. It was a scene which Raphael would have loved to paint. The darkness of the chapel was relieved only by the lights which flickered on the altar and around the Martyr's shrine, and the solemn stillness was never broken save by the devotional sigh, or muttered prayer, which might now and again escape from the lips of those seven motionless adorers. Let us sketch them hurriedly as they kneel, while one of the party is preparing to offer the Holy Sacrifice.

The man who seems to be their leader, and to whom they pay unequivocal signs of respect, appears to be somewhere about 50 years of age. He is of middle stature. There is an indefinable something about his appearance, which bespeaks him of noble birth, and there is a fiery glance in his eyes, which, even subdued as it now is by religious feelings, proclaims him a man of daring spirit, and inflexible determination.—It is *Ignatius of Loyola*, grandee of Spain, whilom courtier, and officer in the army of his Imperial Majesty, Charles V., but come to swear allegiance to-day to a mightier sovereign.

Who is that other worshipper—he with the finely-proportioned figure, and the bright laughing eye, and the clear soft complexion? That is *Francis Xavier*. In his veins, too, there runs the bluest of patrician blood, and in a short time his fame and name will be echoed, trumpet-tongued, not alone in Europe, but by the banks of the Indus and the Ganges, the Yang-tse-Kiang, and Hoang-ho, and in the distant islands of Japan. Near him kneel two others; they seem mere boys. One cannot have counted, to judge by the eye, more than twenty; the other, perhaps, some seventeen or eighteen summers; nevertheless there are clear traces of high intellectual power already developed on their countenances. They are *James Laynez* and *Alphonsus Salmeron*, who will yet make Europe ring with the fame of their learning. There is another in the group whose appearance strikes us similarly, from the fact that, though all his companions have an unmistakably aristocratic air, he seems of decidedly plebeian origin—that is *Bobadilla*. He is of low extraction to be sure, but so were the Apostles. *Bobadilla* possessed however in an eminent degree virtue and genius—gifts which birth cannot confer, and we shall hear more of him anon. Next to *Bobadilla* kneels *Simon Rodriguez*, a Portuguese gentleman, and if outward looks can be a true index of the inward feelings of the soul, then we must unhesitatingly pronounce *Simon Rodriguez*, of

*Azevedo, a saint.* But one of the number now remains unnoticed—it is *Peter Faber*, a Savoyard, the only priest among them, and he is just approaching the altar to offer up the unbloody sacrifice. The six worshippers, dead to every earthly thought, attend during the celebration of the tremendous rite with reverence and marked devotion; they receive the Holy Communion from the consecrated hands of their companion Faber, and then, prostrate before the Sacred Host they, all seven, vow to God to place themselves at the service of the Supreme Pontiff, to be by him employed in whatever capacity he might judge most conducive to the advancement of religion, and the good of the church.

Such was the origin of the celebrated order of the Jesuits; and that vow pronounced in the little Chapel of Montmartre, 337 years ago, if it has brought confusion and constant defeat into the camp of the enemies of religion, has wrought almost incalculable good, not alone for the church, but also for the cause of science, letters, and civilization.

It has been so ordained by Providence that in every reaction against the church, a power should be found within the Church's own fold more than capable of counteracting the evil, and of turning the tide of victory in her favour.

Perhaps the most terrible religious revolution which has ever occurred within the well-nigh nineteen centuries of the Church's existence, was the so-called Protestant Reformation. That rebellion was hatched in the brain of proud, ambitious, and licentious men—men gifted by God with more than ordinary talents, which, however, they abused to overthrow, as far as in them lay, God's power on earth. In so doing they were aided and abetted by the great ones of the world, who could not brook the restraint which Divine law would place upon their conduct. They were, also, favoured by the avarice of *lordlings*, who sought to supply purses emptied through extravagance, by converting into them those treasures which the piety of their ancestors had consecrated to the service of God. They found easy dupes among an ignorant peasantry, who might have been easily persuaded to adopt *any* religious views, when put before them by men who would not scruple to impose upon their credulity, and to stir up within them a spirit of fanaticism by means of that wild, impassioned oratory which the first heralds of Protestantism could use with such effect.

The motive power and guiding spirit of Protestantism was *intellectual pride*. An Augustinian friar, believing himself to be the most distinguished preacher in Germany, fancied that a slight was put upon him when his Dominican

brother was called upon to occupy the pulpit on a remarkable occasion. It was the old sin—"Eritis sicut Dii;"<sup>1</sup> and this infection of intellectual pride caught hold of almost all the followers of Luther and Calvin. They proclaimed the dawn of a new era of progress and enlightenment, when the human mind disenthralled, would lord it over the antiquated doctrines of the fishermen of Galilee; and a few half-educated Germans and Frenchmen would overthrow those doctrines which had been received and approved of by Tertullian, and Origen, and Cyprian; by Leo and Augustine; by Basil and Gregory of Nazianzen; by the Greek philosophers of the Areopagus, and the wise old Roman Senators, sitting beneath the shadows of the Capitol, in the Forum;—by what there was of sterling intellect, and public worth, and private virtue in three portions of the globe for 1,500 years.

It was a bold venture, this, on the part of the so-called reformers, to throw down, if we may use the phrase, the glove of intellectual challenge to Catholic Christendom. But Catholic Christendom, nothing daunted, accepted the challenge, and God raised up, in the persons of the Jesuits, men who could take up that glove and fling it back, with tenfold vigor, in the faces of the wretched miscreants who would rend the seamless garment of Christ. God raised up an Order, which was to be a living witness, that as the Roman Church is the *sole depositrix* of the Redeemer's doctrine, so she is the *only* herald of true enlightenment and civilization, and can at any time produce from within her fold, men, who in the varied departments of science, and literature, and art, are able to hold their own against the world.

The men so raised up to combat the religious revolution of the sixteenth century were *The Jesuits*. To use the truthful and eloquent words of Balmez—"the spirit of the coming ages was essentially one of scientific and literary progress. The Jesuits were aware of this truth; they perfectly understood it. It was necessary to advance with rapidity, and never to remain behind: this the new institute does; it takes the lead in all sciences, it allows none to anticipate it. Men study the oriental languages; they produce great works on the Bible; they search the books or the ancient Fathers, the monuments of tradition, and of ecclesiastical decisions: in the

<sup>1</sup> It is a remarkable fact, that as the first rebellion of creatures against their Creator was the result of intellectual pride, so all, or nearly all the rebellions against the teaching and authority of the Church—God's representative on earth—have arisen from the same cause: so fell, in days gone by, Tertullian and Origen, Arius and Eutyches, Luther and Calvin, Voltaire and the infidels of the eighteenth century, not to mention in our own times, *De Lammenais*, *Passaglia*, *Pere Hyacinthe*, and the most recent of heretics, *Dr. Döllinger*.

midst of this great activity the Jesuits are at their posts; many supereminent works issue from their colleges. The taste for dogmatical controversy is spread over all Europe; many schools preserve and love the scholastic discussions; immortal works of controversy, came from the hands of the Jesuits, at the same time that they yield to none in skill and penetration in the schools. The mathematics, astronomy, all the natural sciences, make great progress; learned societies are formed in the capitals of Europe, to cultivate and encourage them; in these societies the Jesuits figure in the first rank. The spirit of time is naturally dissolvent; the institute of the Jesuits is interiorly armed against dissolution; in spite of the rapidity of its course, it advances in a compact order, like the mass of a powerful army. The errors, the eternal disputes, the multitude of the new opinions, even the progress of the sciences, by exciting men's minds, give a fatal inconstancy to the human intellect—an impetuous whirlwind, agitating and stirring up all things, carries them away. The order of the Jesuits appears in the midst of this whirlwind, but it partakes neither of its inconstancy, nor of its variability; it pursues its career without losing itself, and while only irregularity and vacillation are seen among its adversaries, it advances with a sure step, tending towards its object, like a planet which performs its orbit according to fixed laws. . . . In consequence of the discovery of the new countries in the east and west, a taste for travelling, for observing distant countries, for the knowledge of the language, manners and customs of the recently discovered nations, was developed in Europe. The Jesuits spread over the face of the globe, while preaching the Gospel to the nations, do not forget the study of the thousand things which may interest cultivated Europe, and at their return from their gigantic expeditions, they are seen adding their valuable treasures to the common fund of modern science."<sup>1</sup>

And yet, it must be ever born in mind that science and literature are by no means the *primary* objects proposed to themselves by the Jesuits. The society of Jesus is not, and was never intended to be either a scientific institute, or an academy of men of letters. It is nothing more or less than a Religious Order, in which the members, beside their own individual sanctification, aim at preaching the Gospel to unbelievers, inculcating the practice of its maxims on those who believe, and assisting all towards the attainment of eternal life. These are the primary ends of the society, and if it has cultivated science and literature, with almost unprece-

<sup>1</sup> Balmez, *European Civilization*, chap. xlvii.

dented success, it was only because its members judged these to be, under existing circumstances, highly efficacious *means* towards the achievement of that *end* for which the society was instituted.

We propose to treat, in a series of papers, these literary and scientific labours of the Jesuits. We should wish that it were in our power to do so in a single notice, but the spirit of research among Loyola's learned children has been so extensive, their studies so varied and profound, their acquirements so rare and so brilliant, that more space is required to chronicle their labours than could reasonably be afforded in a single, or even many numbers of the RECORD.

However, before we attempt this task, which we have proposed to ourselves, we had better reply to a not unreasonable objection—"Have not the Jesuits," it will be said, "been often and triumphantly defended; why then ask us to pore over your prosaic pages?" We freely admit that the Jesuits have been ably defended, and that by writers in comparison with whom we are but "lispering babes." Some members of that illustrious order, have been themselves apologists for their brethren. French infidels of the eighteenth century have more than once spoken in their praise. English High Churchmen and Presbyterians of the Kirk have vindicated their honour and integrity;<sup>1</sup> but above all the most enduring

<sup>1</sup> It may not be out of place to cite here one or two testimonies regarding the literary merits of the Jesuits. We make our selection from *hostile* authors, and we do so merely "*en passant*," as we shall frequently produce similar ones, in the course of these papers.

*D'Alembert*, surely no friend of the Jesuits, writes these remarkable words:—"Ajoutons, car il faut être juste, qu'aucune société religieuse, sans exception, ne peut se glorifier d'un aussi grand nombre d'hommes célèbres dans les lettres. Les Jésuites se, sont exercés avec succès dans, tous les genres: éloquence, histoire, antiquité, géométrie, littérature profonde et agréable, il n'est presque aucune classe d'écrivains on elle ne compte des hommes du premier mérite."—*D'Alembert* sur la destruct des Jesuites.

*Bacon* pays the following high tribute to the Jesuits as a teaching body—"Ad pedagogiam quod attinet brevissimum fore dictu; consulte scholas Jesuitarum: nihil enim quod in usum venit his melius."—*Bacon* de augmento scientiarum, lib vii., cap. iv. And the Protestant Historian *Prescott*, though violently antagonistic to the Jesuits as a *religious* body, is forced to confess that they have rendered distinguished services to the cause of science and literature. "But amidst many bad consequences," he writes 'flowing from the institution of this order, mankind, it must be acknowledged, have derived from it some considerable advantages. As the Jesuits made the education of youth one of their capital objects, and as their first attempts to establish colleges for the reception of students were violently opposed by the universities in different countries, it became necessary for them, as the most effectual method of acquiring the public favour, to surpass their rivals in science and industry. This prompted them to cultivate the study of ancient literature with extraordinary ardour. This put them upon various methods for facilitating the instruction of youth, and by the improvements which they made in it, they have contributed so much towards the progress of polite learning, that on this account they have merited well of society. Nor has

monuments of the services which they have rendered to religion and civilization, to science, and letters, and art, must be found in the savage untutored hordes brought through their influence under the regulation of civilized life—the wild prairies cultivated under their direction—the mighty rivers traced to their source and navigated under their superintendence—the untold mineral wealth of countries, almost unknown, explored under their guidance, and by their skill—and, above all, the countless millions dwelling in the shadow of death, brought, through their agency, under the sweet yoke of Christ: these are testimonies, stronger than written words, to the zeal, the energy, the self-sacrificing devotion, and the brilliant talents of the Jesuits. But though such testimonies be eloquent, they entirely fail to conciliate the nineteenth century in favour of the Jesuits. The Jesuits are supposed to be the great prop and mainstay of Papal power, and hence the world—the heretical, the infidel world—will persist in saying to them *Maran atha*. By a decree from Florence, dated 4th of last March, the Infidel Government of Italy has robbed them of their colleges, and that magnificent institution, the Roman College, which has numbered in the past, and counts at present so many men of brilliant intellect and world-wide fame within its halls, is now a government office, in the possession of a few miserable Piedmontese officials. The late Communist government of Paris, following in the footsteps of their Italian brothers, also robbed the Jesuits, and has added one crowning outrage by murdering, with the martyred Archbishop of Paris, eight of Loyola's sainted children. At this moment the Jesuits are more or less persecuted in Italy, in Spain, in Portugal, in Austria, and in France. Decrees of banishment are pronounced against them—legal restrictions of quite an exceptionable character are imposed upon them; fines and confiscations fall fast and heavy on them; and all this has been done in the name of liberty, fraternity, and equality, in the name of progress, civilization, and enlightenment. Out upon *such* progress! Shame upon the shameless miscreants, who would prate of civilization amidst the smouldering embers of the fairest city in the world, reduced to ruin by their hands; who would hold up to scorn, as the enemies of enlightenment, the most learned body of men that has ever existed; who treat as ferocious wild beasts the men who have made the shelves of every library in the world groan

the order of Jesuits been successful only in teaching the elements of literature; it has produced, likewise, eminent masters in many branches of science, and can alone boast of a greater number of ingenious authors than all the other religious fraternities taken together.”—Prescott, Charles V., Book vi.

beneath the records of their talents and their industry. It is the age of progress, of civilization, of enlightenment. Well, be it so. In our future papers we undertake to demonstrate, by an appeal to authentic history, that in every department of science, and literature, and art, the Jesuits have, as a body, held the first place during the last three centuries. We do not know whether our labours will succeed in inducing even one of their enemies to think less harshly of them; at all events, it will afford us lively satisfaction to place on record, in an *Irish Ecclesiastical Journal*, what it is that the Jesuits *have* done for science and literature.

W. H.

## THE PONTIFICAL JUBILEE OF PIUS IX.

*(Translated from the "Civiltà Cattolica.")*

THE man that could gather within the narrow limits of a fish-pond the immensity of the troubled ocean, might safely attempt to describe, in a few pages, the Pontifical Jubilee of the 16th of June, 1871. But, God be praised! Rome still feels the irresistible, deep, and ardent enthusiasm which the occasion called forth, and, with the capital, all the provinces of Christendom; and our object now is merely to jot down a passing notice for the benefit of those that shall come after us.

Full twelve months before the hoped-for event, a short circular was addressed by the Society of Italian Catholic young men to Catholics of every nation, calling on them to celebrate it with every token of festivity; the youngest of the brethren, and those nearest the common Father, seemed chosen by God to summon the more distant. Their address was translated into every civilized tongue, and received everywhere with heartfelt applause. The filial love of near 300 millions of men, who recognise in Pius the Ninth their father, scarcely required this appeal; for it was impossible that such an event could pass unnoticed, or not be signalised with extraordinary and ever-memorable jubilee. From the first Pope down to our days, history furnishes no example of a Pontificate out-living its twenty-fifth year. Pio Nono, first and alone, sees the years of Peter, first and only one for nineteen centuries, first and only one from amongst two hundred and fifty-five predecessors. This privilege, because unprecedented, shines out as a divine seal on his pontifical career, not miraculous to be sure, but extraordinary beyond doubt, admirable, and

closely resembling the prodigious. This is the first reason we may give for the unanimous upheaving of Christian society to celebrate the Pontifical Jubilee of Pius the Ninth; and what is more, viewed from the standpoint of Christianity, every year of this reign of a quarter of a century contains in itself the oporosity and history of a complete pontificate; so that we may safely affirm, in the course of so many years, no Pontiff ever wrought so much in the threefold capacity symbolized by the triple crown with which he is adorned. The history of this reign will form ponderous volumes, all resplendent with genuine glory, and many chapters worthy to be engraved on plates of gold. Pius the Ninth, created Pope in forty-eight hours of conclave, with a marvellous unanimity of votes, blessed (the first movement of the heart of a Pontiff-King) with pardon the rebels to the State, reformed the laws, attempted a constitution more pleasing to the age—a constitution which would have lasted had the age been better and less ungrateful. Pius the Ninth, during his regal career, protected and fostered, even more than Leo the Tenth, science, letters, arts, studies, libraries, academies, and institutions of civilization; he built innumerable new monuments, and restored many old ones. He it was who restored the Episcopal Hierarchy, dead for three centuries, in Holland and England, and we might say created it, and made it to flourish, in the United States; fifteen sees he raised to the archiepiscopal dignity, and erected one hundred and eleven new bishoprics. He it was who imparted such fervour to the work of the Foreign Missions; resisted schismatic despotism, even when aided by the evil tendencies of the secular power; in sweetest language invited heretics back to the bosom of the Church; called sinners to penance by proclaiming four universal jubilees; enlightened the wanderers by his incessant condemnation of error, the continuous encouragement afforded to wholesome literature, and his loving watchfulness in regard to the universities. He it was who negotiated eight concordats with honest governments; unmasked and smote, in the light of day, the evil workings of secret societies; whilst, on the other hand, he inspired incredible ardour in the works of Catholic association amongst the laity, and peopled the world with fruitful and benevolent brotherhoods. But his greatest solicitude was the dignity of the clergy; hence, day by day he gave his approval to new religious congregations, whilst he studied to reform the abuses of the old ones; the secular clergy he endowed with splendid institutes both within and outside of Rome; he drew closer the ties which united the Eastern Church with him; and the universal



episcopate was gathered within his charitable embrace. At no period of the Church's history were spectacles witnessed similar to those presented during the Pontificate of Pio Nono : four times did the bishops assemble round his throne in numbers beyond all expectation, worthy of a Pontiff that deserved such an episcopacy. Heaven—even heaven itself we may say it—is his debtor. No Pope decreed the honours of the altars to such a number of blessed souls ; none more solicitous than he to restore their temples ; for St. Peter he celebrated a centenary which will form a central point in his history ; to St. Joseph he accorded the universal charge of the faithful ; for the Blessed Virgin he raised new sanctuaries, ordered new solemnities, and placed on her head the most brilliant of her crowns ; and the Sacred Heart of Jesus witnessed increased splendour in its adoration and increased numbers among its clients. Even if Pius IX. bore no other gems in his crown, history will assign him three, brilliant and sparkling, which will render him for ever conspicuous to the eyes of posterity—the definition of the Immaculate Conception, the Syllabus, and the Vatican Council—I am wrong : there is a fourth, which gives lustre and relief to all the others—persecution. If great undertakings place him on a level with the most illustrious of his predecessors, this renders him like to Jesus Christ, whose Vicar he is. If a just man that suffers is an agreeable spectacle in the sight of heaven, the greatest benefactor of our present humanity, treated by the wicked as the greatest malefactor, and yet always in the act of praying for his executioners, must be the delight of God and men. Now, Pius IX. sees ingratitude, calumny, treachery, injustice, and sacrilege conspiring against him ; he tasted the bitter fruits of exile, of spoliation, and imprisonment ; he witnessed attempts against his throne, and (horrible to be told !) he knew of the plots against his life. Who ever heard an angry word fall from his lips ? No ; no man ever passed through a reign of a quarter of a century so hunted down by the wicked, so loved by the just as Pius IX. For both these reasons, perhaps, God granted him the longest of pontificates ; they have certainly rendered it the most famous. For it is literally true that of no one of his predecessors was the name so frequently written or uttered in assemblies and conversations, in praise and in blame—according as they were good or bad—as the name of Pio Nono. No man can number the biographies written of him, the statues and busts made of him, the medals engraved of him, the pictures and photographs by which he has been made familiar with the faithful. Pio Nono loves his children with immense love, and in the same

degree is he loved by them. And fools will ask, how is it this Pontifical Jubilee agitates the universe?

Yes, the earth was moved—moved to its centre. The means of expressing public joy are endless in variety; but any one that would undertake to collect the discoveries of those days, would certainly form the most complete catalogue known. Volumes of information would be furnished to him from China, Japan, Arabia, Greece, the East, the islands of Oceanica, Africa, and more particularly Abyssinia and Senegal, India, America, and remote Australia. Everywhere sacred functions, extraordinary discourses, prayers, high masses, crowds round the Table of the Lord—generous offerings to the poor king—subscriptions and addresses, and acts of congratulation to be delivered by solemn embassies. Everywhere appeals made to orators and poets, music, decorations, illuminations, processions, etc., etc. We know not where to commence or how to select. The Christian nations all appeared worthy of the eyes of God and men; each had a national hymn ascending to heaven, in thanks for the Pontiff so long preserved to them, and in prayers for his speedy triumph; and at the same time a river of love flowed from every country and city towards Rome—a river of congratulations, of promises, and of gifts. But these pilgrims—ambassadors of the Christian world—scarcely set foot upon the soil of Italy, when they heard the lugubrious sound of the chains which bind the Papacy. They had to walk between two files—one, of the immense majority, and almost entirely of the people, who received and welcomed them as brethren; the other of the government and its votaries, who received them unwillingly, as a murderer would, who fears he may be despoiled of his victim. Let the reader judge from the acts of the government in homage to the Pope. It was published in all the journals, that a minister of state had enjoined it on all the commandants of Italy and Rome to maintain complete liberty for the Catholic demonstrations; but facts contradicted words. The government, too, had a Judaical anxiety to join in harmony with the joyous faithful, but withdrew the moment it became aware of the preparations of the secret societies in disapproval; and still more because of the avowed determination of the Catholics to repudiate all connexion with them. A villa, belonging to an august personage in Tuscany, was illuminated on the 16th of June, and a religious function actually celebrated at the Pitti Palace; but let us pass on. A surprise was even attempted in the shape of a compliment—an actual compliment. The envoy of Lanza, Visconti-Venosta, and the like, was Bertolet Viale, a general

famous only for his victories over the clergy, and he presented himself at the Vatican, to congratulate Pio Nono, "*appropinquavit Jesu, ut oscularetur eum.*" On what could he congratulate him? On nothing except on seeing the Vicar of Christ surviving unavenged the wicked war waged against him by Viale and his friends; perhaps he wished to add that the cup was not yet drained, and promise the remainder of the dregs. Hence it was intimated to him "*viva voce,*" that by reaching Cardinal Antonelli unexpectedly, his mission was accomplished, and not to push further. And this courtesy (for nothing else was shown him), appeared rather too much than insufficient. They tolerated the "*Herodes eum illudit;*" but did not care to hear the "*Ave, Rabbi.*" No one doubted that with all the display of proclamations, moderation, etc., the Italian Government intended to use the greatest cruelty possible towards an innocent victim, torture him, and then show clean hands, saying, "*Innocens ego sum a sanguine justit hujus.*" The government was devoured with rage at seeing the Catholic demonstration; every applause made to the Pope was called a violation of public order; every kind word said of him was reputed a declaration of war on themselves; every aspiration of faith was condemned as a plot or a felony. Hence its rage could not be concealed, but became manifest; they summoned preachers before them to reprove for pretended excesses, and warned them against a repetition. Threats and bravado! At Bologna, the Questor forbade the illuminations, giving it to be understood that in case of disobedience, they would imprison some of the principal citizens. And the execution of the threat was naturally apprehended; for, but a few days previous, they endeavoured, with a great display of public force, to confiscate a richly mounted snuff box presented by Pius IX. to Dr. Acquaderni. In the valley of the Lamore, at Marradi, the innocent display of the "Mortarelli," was prohibited. At Arpino, a citizen was arrested for having at his window a bust of Pius IX. surrounded by wax lights; the bust of course was seized. In Bassano, three priests were prosecuted for having by them lists of subscribers to Peter's Pence, and keeping up correspondence with the Catholic Committees; and a schoolmistress, guilty of having allowed her pupils to sign an address, drew down the anger of the manager (an apostate priest named Malucelli), and was brutally exposed, and threatened with dismissal. At Leghorn, a police officer publicly insulted the Deputies of the Genoese Catholics, and ill treated the volumes of names which they were bearing to the Pope. At Velletri, a priest was dragged off to prison amidst jeers and

insults, on the suspicion of having advised an illumination, which took place notwithstanding, and in spite of the Questor. Hundreds of other similar facts we omit to mention. The better to hide the hand which dealt these blows, the government called into requisition its old terms of friendship with the secret societies. All that is bad, vile, and ruffianly in Italy seemed, during those days, to have become the guard of honour to the magistrates, and charged with executing the wicked plans of the government. They had liberty to dare anything, even to violate private domiciles, smash windows, maltreat and wound individuals. The police always arrived—too late, excused the offenders, and sent them away with a blessing. In Turin, for several hours, the assault with stones was maintained against the windows of Marquis Fassati and General Pampana; in Pistoia, Chevalier Bandi had to withstand a similar siege, as had also Lady Macdonald in Florence; and so it was in several towns, but the police knew nothing about it. Occasionally they sided with the rioters, as in Genoa, where they entered the houses, and put out the lights obnoxious to the mob. At Padua, about fifty armed men entered the Church crowded with the faithful, drowned the preacher's voice by their diabolical howling, and violently ejected the people. Where was the government? Several days after it arrived with a rebuke for the Inspector of public security, not for the outrage committed in the church, but because the ruffians, who had not sufficiently learned moderation, went straight from the church to plunder the government offices. If they had confined themselves to the outrage committed in the House of God, they would have been let free, as their brethren outside the Vatican, who assailed the disarmed Catholic young men with hatchets and pistols; as the police and soldiery at the Gesu; or as the rioters in Parma, who rushed into St. John's Church, crying—Down with the Pope! Death to Catholics! *Viva la Commune!*

In Florence, three or four priests are wounded in the streets; a bomb explodes in the cathedral; a horde of cannibals, maddened by the applause with which the people greeted their beloved archbishop, Simberti, shouted "Down with him," and assaulted (but in vain, owing to the resistance of the people) his carriage and palace. The police arrested the inoffensive defenders of the archbishop. A lady, protected by a foreign flag, was waited on by a police sergeant that he might excuse an insult offered to the flag, and gave as his excuse that the affair happened whilst he was relieving guard. "Did you take six hours to relieve guard?" she asked. "Try and illuminate again," he answered, "and you shall see that we will do our duty." "I have tried it once," was her reply, "and

that is enough." But the great effort of tyranny, cloaked with the finest hypocrisy, was reserved for Rome. There, more than elsewhere, the journals obeyed the Government, calumniated the Catholic party, as they called it, but, as truth would have it, the people of Rome. It was their daily occupation to insult citizens, visitors, the Pope himself; to misrepresent facts, and shamelessly falsify every violence that was perpetrated. Fire was opened by an unscrupulous denunciation of death to Catholics who would dare openly to show their devotion. This was done both by the organs of the secret societies and of the Government, without any effort at disguise. Conspiracies, Zouaves, and foreign correspondences were invented; and this in order to cover a still more disgraceful felony planned by the Government against the old soldiers of the Pope, guilty of no other crime except their noble constancy in refusing to don the Italian uniform. They were suddenly set upon by the police, wherever they could be found, handcuffed, and dragged off to prison, to the number of some hundreds. The good people complained loudly of this treatment shown to brave and loyal soldiers, but to no purpose. When strangers who were then in Rome shall relate these events, they will be thought to have come from visiting Kaffraria. In the streets, every charlatan who wore a uniform, was at perfect liberty to lay hands upon any passing citizen under pretence of arresting a Zouave in disguise. A gentleman attached to a foreign embassy was all but handcuffed right under the entrance to the Vatican. A young friend of ours, Raphael Santi, was searched in the public street, and no arms being found, they deprived him of a light walking stick which he had in his hand. A little boy, who was insulted by some Jews, after bearing with it for some time, finally struck one of them; he was immediately incarcerated. Within the precincts of their own dwelling two young men were chanting the "*Te Deum*" they had heard in St. Peter's, accompanying themselves on a pianoforte; the national guard arrive, rush into the apartment, and drag them off to prison. Three young ladies, who had lost their father, were suspected of having assumed mourning because of the sad turn of public affairs: they were, in the most ruffianly manner, sneered and pointed at near the Argentine Theatre. An officer of the Italian army had the baseness to stop some ladies entering a church, and ask them what they were going to do;—he got the answer he deserved:—" *We are going to pray God to rid us of your presence.*" At least they might have respected foreigners—sacred ground always amongst civilized nations! The Government seemed to desire as much. Through regard for them the police ordered the removal from

shop windows of some of the grosser caricatures derisive of everything sacred in heaven and on earth. Besides, the minister Gadda wrote to the Syndic of Rome that it was his wish that the festivities for the Pontifical Jubilee should serve as "a splendid confirmation of the complete liberty which religion and her ministers may enjoy in Rome." Notwithstanding all this, the strangers found nothing guaranteed in Italy and Rome, except the liberty to insult the Pope and his adherents. The government forbade the railway companies to give strangers going to Rome the benefit of the excursion fares; at all the stations they were watched closely by the Italian gendarmes, and treated roughly; in Bologna the German deputations dare not leave their hotels, not even to pay a pious visit to a celebrated sanctuary outside the walls. We can scarcely describe the way they were treated on reaching Rome—that Rome whose hospitable courtesy has no superior. One would imagine that the government undertook the task of defaming Peter before all nations. The military stations were reinforced; a division of cavalry was summoned to Rome for the occasion; another regiment of Bersaglieri brought in from the neighbourhood; twenty-eight companies of the National Guard kept under arms; carbineers, police, municipal guards swarming at every corner; the patrols marched with ten rounds of ball cartridge and revolvers in their belts: you would think the city was in a state of siege. What was the meaning of such a display of armed force, when the strangers could hear whole detachments of the National Guard shouting: "*Morte ai preti!*" Death to the priests! What use was it, if in the presence of the military, no group of strangers could walk the streets of Rome without being hissed and sneered at, and in not a few instances pelted with stones; what use was it when even on the very threshold of Pio Nono's residence, in sight of the royal troops, a ruffianly mob took up its position the entire morning to insult the visitors going to the Vatican, and utter the most obscene blasphemies up to the very faces of the ladies who accompanied these deputations. Amongst the scoffers everyone could perceive in the very "*front rank, officers of the Italian army*," so we are informed by the "*International*," a revolutionary organ, which called loudly for their punishment. Amidst this great display of public force, every time there was question of entering the basilicas for the functions, or leaving them, you were obliged to pass through two serried ranks of frenzied fanatics, who gloried in manifesting their hostility to religion, and were eloquent in blasphemies against the Pope and Jesus Christ himself. What were the police doing all this time? They placidly and approvingly looked on. Whether it was

their own wish, or because of orders received, certain it is that every stranger could witness this spectacle of artful weakness, and judged it to be either a studied connivance or manifest complicity of the Italian Government with the Garibaldian mob. A list of subscriptions in the sacristy of a certain parish was wanting in some ridiculous formality of date or something else; and the police confiscate it. Where were the guardians of public order when the several deputations arrived at the termini railway station, and were accompanied by a hissing hooting mob down to the Corso? Where were they when a number of German gentlemen were grossly insulted at the very doors of their National Church? The police enjoyed the sport for some days, and then endeavoured to put a stop to it by ordering the strangers not to leave their lodgings. Three gentlemen of the French deputation were searched at the frontier and deprived of their papers; three others were pelted with stones in the middle of Rome, in Piazza Venezia, and one of those was Arthur Loth, the correspondent of the Paris "*Univers*." They say that a stone was deposited near the French embassy, in token of civility, which characterizes the present Italian Government. And whilst the Frenchmen that came to visit the Pope are thus treated, the Communists of Paris walk the cities and towns of Italy in perfect freedom. A Russian gentleman was assaulted by two "*questurini*" near the Vatican, for having worn in his button-hole his national decoration of St. George, black and yellow. Madame Marie Neu, a Prussian lady, from Berlin, celebrated the Jubilee in her own house; she distributed food and alms amongst a number of poor, and, on the table in her reception-room, had a beautiful vase of flowers with the name of Pius IX. in the centre; a little girl of seven years, after luncheon, removed the vase to a work table in the window. Immediately the mob assembles: shouts and hisses are heard through the streets; and the police undertake her punishment. Two National Guards present themselves before the lady, and commanded her not to dare to illuminate that evening, threatening broken windows if she disobeyed. The Tyrolese deputation, more distinguishable because of their peculiar costume, had to put up with frequent and renewed incivilities. Finally, in the piazza Rondanini, they were treated barbarously, and had great difficulty in getting back to their hotel without broken bones. Some English visitors cancelled a filthy epigram scratched on the walls of the Colosseum, and at once up come the soldiers to scatter them. A considerable number of the English deputation put up at the Hotel d'Angleterre; during their absence an immense Italian tricolor was suspended from the balcony of one of the

rooms occupied by them. They order its removal. The hotel-keeper refuses, and collects a band of ruffians to shout under the windows and demand the replacing of the flag; the English pack up their valises and prepare to leave. Meanwhile, the cries of *Viva Vittorio Emmanuele* resound in the street, to which the English gentlemen respond much more lustily, *Viva Pio IX.* Fortunately, at this moment, the British "*chargé d'affaires*" arrived to protect his countrymen; and the police, instead of dispersing the mob, offered to form an escort to the deputation, and get them out safely by a back way. They were ten in number, including Lord Gainsborough, his son, Edward Noel, his daughters, and MM. Moore, Vaughan, English, and Munster. The Spanish deputies fared no better. They went to the Vatican, headed by the Marquis Maceda, a Spanish grandee, and the Marquis di Casa Pizarro, who wore under their outer coats the grand cordons, white and orange and white and blue, national decorations. Their carriage was stopped, and they were ordered to remove these decorations. They stoutly refused, and in consequence would not be allowed to proceed. They took refuge in the house of a Spanish archbishop, and, by his advice, did not assume the decorations until they came to the Vatican. In this wretched manner were Romans and foreigners left by the government to the malevolence of the mob. The pilgrims of the Pontifical Jubilee can confirm all this, and meanwhile the journals of the revolution and their compeers in other lands will go on magnifying the stupendous liberties of the Italian people, and Florence ministers will write to every Court the praises of their own loyalty in the famous legislation of the "*guarantees.*"

(To be continued.)

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## DOCUMENTS.

### I.—LETTER OF OUR MOST HOLY FATHER TO H. E. THE CARDINAL-VICAR OF ROME.

"WHEN it pleased God in his own most wise designs to permit that Rome should be occupied by a hostile army, the usurpers set forth the pretext that Rome was necessary for them in order to complete the unity of Italy, and to bind together all its parts, as if there were not two other small Italian territories which still retain their independent governments, and will long continue, I trust, to maintain their independence. It was not,



however, the sole aim of the prime movers of the revolution to seize on a city like Rome; it was mainly to assail the centre of Catholicism, and to destroy Catholicism itself. All the wicked, all the free-thinkers, all the secret societies of the world have conspired to destroy, if possible, this ever-enduring work of God; and to attain this end, they all have sent some small contingent into this metropolis. All these contingents form here one sole army, which has for its object to insult the images of the Blessed Virgin and of the saints, to outrage and assail the ministers of the sanctuary, to profane the churches and the festivals, to multiply houses of immorality, to deafen the citizens with cries of blasphemy, and to corrupt the hearts and minds, especially of youth, by means of certain newspapers most strikingly immoral, hypocritical, lying, and irreligious.

"This Satanical phalanx has proposed to itself to clear away from Rome what it designates as Religious Fanaticism, thus using the phrase of an Italian philosopher of unhappy memory, who was suddenly cut off in his career some few years ago. Having made itself master of Rome, it now seeks to render Rome irreligious, or at least to make it the head of a religion of Toleration, in accordance with the ideas of those who have nothing higher than the enjoyment of the present life proposed to them, and who fashion to themselves the idea of God, as if it were a matter of indifference to Him how men and human affairs proceed here below. And does the Government which tolerates such disorders itself belong to the same phalanx? Let us hope that it does not, for if it were, it would sadly affirm the downfall of the throne.

"In the meantime, to check in some way this torrent of so many evils, your Eminence will address a circular to the parochial clergy intimating to them to admonish their parishioners that the reading of certain newspapers, particularly those printed in Rome, is prohibited; and that such a prohibition binds not under venial, but under grievous fault. As regards the other evils already mentioned, and the violation of the laws of God and of the Church, each parish priest must bear in mind the words: *Argue, obsecra, increpa*.

"In fine, let us raise our hands to God, and let us hope that these many outrages against Him, against His religion, against society itself, may cease, that thus we may at length be freed from this labyrinth of evils, and enjoy peaceable liberty with the blessings of Faith, Morality, and Order.

"I affectionately impart to you my blessing.

"The 30th June, 1871, Feast of St. Paul the Apostle.

"*Omnes convertantur et vivant ut possint clamare ad Dominum Jesum Xtum: Domine quid me vis facere?*"

## II.—CIRCULAR OF HIS EMINENCE THE CARDINAL-VICAR TO THE PAROCHIAL CLERGY OF ROME.

"THE many impieties and scandals which are witnessed every day in Rome through the efforts of the enemies of God and Holy Church, have reached such an excess as to dishonour the metropolis of the Catholic world, and place it on a level with the most irreligious cities. Such is the wickedness which goes on increasing, and becomes more and more triumphant every day ; such the contempt for everything most dear to piety and faith, that no other parallel can be found than the abomination of desolation foretold by the prophet (*Daniel ix. 27*) in regard to the holy city of Jerusalem.

" At the sight of this lamentable condition of his beloved Rome, His Holiness deeply moved and afflicted, and desirous of applying some remedy to so many evils, addressed to us, on the 30th of June last, a venerated autograph letter, of which we forward an authentic copy to you, in which, after detailing the sacrilegious excesses that are committed and the impious designs which the sectaries and free-thinkers propose to themselves, he orders us to stimulate more and more the zeal and fervour of the reverend parochial clergy of this capital to preserve from the peril of perversion the souls entrusted to their care.

" It is the desire then of His Holiness that they should, in public and in private, admonish their respective parishioners to turn away from those lying teachers who, under the pretence of politics and of progress, seek to rob them of the most precious treasure they possess—that is, their Catholic Faith; to substitute in its stead atheism or religious indifferentism, promising liberty, as the Apostle Peter writes, whilst they themselves are the slaves of corruption : *libertatem illis promittentes, cum ipsi servi sint corruptionis* (2 Epist. ii., 29.)

" These infidels and libertines have for their organs, especially, certain newspapers which are printed here in Rome, and which, besides detraction and calumny, seem to have no other aim than to cast ridicule on all that is most sacred, and to deny the truths revealed by God. In fact, immoral pictures are published in them, parodying the most august mysteries ; articles are inserted which, at one time, under some hypocritical mask, at other times, with barefaced insolence, assail the Church and its venerable head, and texts of the Sacred Scriptures are cited or commented on in a corrupt manner, to attack the dogmas of Catholic faith. And these irreligious newspapers are read through curiosity by the faithful, and are

introduced into Christian families without reflecting on the grievous injury that is thus done to the minds and hearts, especially of the young, who thus drink in the poison of incredulity even before they have tasted the saving food of religion.

The parochial clergy, therefore, will explain to the faithful that the reading of such newspapers is interdicted to them by the natural law itself, on account of the proximate danger to which it exposes them of losing their faith, and that as there is question of a grave precept, those who violate it become guilty before God, not of a venial, but of a mortal sin. But if the light of natural reason teaches that it is unlawful to read impious and obscene writings, so much so that even the Pagan laws prohibited the circulation of such writings in Rome, how much more so must it be unlawful to Catholics when such reading is interdicted to them by the Sovereign Pontiff, whose authoritative voice it is their duty to obey? Lest any one should allege ignorance as to the newspapers particularly immoral, hypocritical, lying, and irreligious, which the Holy Father thus intends to condemn, we add in a note the names of the principal ones.

“The zeal of the parochial clergy, however, should not only be on the alert to banish irreligious newspapers, and to strengthen more and more the principles of faith in the minds of the faithful, but furthermore to unite with faith a purity of life and the practice of virtue even amidst the profanations and wickedness of the libertines. Mindful of the admonition of the Apostle to the Pastors of Souls, that it is their duty to counsel, to conjure, to reprove, let them use all the efficacy of their ministry to preserve the good from the seduction of the wicked, and to bring back the straying to the true paths of life.

“Let them be mindful that it is a grave error to suppose that a city can enjoy even material happiness if the fear of God be banished from it to make way for irreligion and libertinism. No: sin produces nought but misery in nations; whilst the profanation of churches, the violation of the Sabbath and festive days, outrages against the sacred images and the ministers of the sanctuary, blasphemy and immorality, are calculated, above all other things, to draw down upon a city the chastisements of God.

“In fine, let them hold in mind that it is only in the Catholic faith that society can find a remedy for the many evils which now afflict it, and only by the observance of the laws of God and of the Church can it re-attain order, morality, and peace.

“From our Residence, the 6th July, 1871.

“C. CARDINAL-VICAR.

## ROMAN CHRONICLE

1. *Entry of Victor Emmanuel into Rome.*—2. *Deputations to the Holy Father.*—3. *Condemnation of the Revolutionary Newspapers.*—4. *Health of the Pope.*—5. *Canon Audisio.*—6. *Proximate Persecution of the Religious Orders.*

THE unhappy King of Italy has at length reached the culminating point of his unhallowed career. On the 2nd of July, Feast of the Visitation, he entered Rome in triumph, and took formal possession of the Eternal City, as Capital of the Kingdom of Italy. Great official preparations were made for his visit. The municipality, though bankrupt, decreed an enormous sum for illuminations, fireworks, &c., &c., which took place, but unattended with the success which the sum to be expended seemed to guarantee. The weather would not come into the arrangement, and marred a great portion of the elaborate arrangements made in the Piazza del Popolo and at the Capital. The King received the customary deputations and addresses at the Quirinal, where a state banquet was given to two hundred guests; but he declined sleeping in the Pope's palace; and, after entertaining his friends, he asked Prince Doria to accommodate him with a sleeping apartment in his palace for that night—a request which was immediately complied with. What might have been the subject of his Majesty's dreams we are unable to chronicle. They can't have been pleasant.

On the following day, a great review of the troops and National Guard was held in the Piazza del Popolo. The arrangements for the reception of the royal personages completely broke down, owing to a high wind that prevailed during the night, and knocked over a considerable portion of the covered platform, rendering it perfectly useless, and obliging the King to keep his saddle for nearly three hours under a scorching sun. Afterwards, there was the inauguration of the Roman rifle contest at the Acqua Acetosa, an event which brought a large crowd. In the evening, the great ball at the Capitol was remarkable for three things—the hasty departure of the King; the splendour and abundance of the refreshment arrangements, which were done ample justice to by the assembled guests (not less than 2,300 bottles of champagne having disappeared); and the almost total absence of the Roman nobility. Exactly four titled Roman ladies put in an appearance. The King opened the ball, dancing with the Princess Palavicini, and had for *vis-a-vis* his hopeful son

and heir, Prince Humbert, who bestowed his attention on the charming daughter of the confectioner that catered for the refreshment counter. After his first and last quadrille, his Italic Majesty quitted the ball-room about midnight, drove to the railway station, and travelled all night to Florence; and thus ended his second visit to Rome. The affair passed off tranquilly enough, except for the force used in smashing windows, and compelling unwilling citizens to illuminate and display flags, which they did pretty generally.

2. The deputations for the Pope's Jubilee still continue. Shortly after the departure of the King, the Holy Father was greatly consoled by a numerous and influential deputation of the legal profession in Rome, presenting him with a most loyal address. Nearly 400 lawyers were in the deputation, and all profess their undivided allegiance to their only legitimate sovereign, the Vicar of Christ. The Pope, in his reply, eulogised them for their devotion and self-denial, inasmuch as many of them by this act, exclude the chance of advancement under the new regime. He encouraged them to persevere in their good sentiments, and that the day would soon come when justice would be done them either by himself or his successor. They were all presented to His Holiness, who had an appropriate remark for each.

3. Pius IX. has just signalized his imprisoned life by an act of unusual courage. Since the entry of the Italians, Rome has been overrun by infamous journals and periodicals. Nothing is sacred to them, and, day after day, their pages teem with the most shocking blasphemies against the mysteries and practices of religion, against the person of the Pope (notwithstanding the "*guarantees*," ) and even against Jesus Christ himself and his Immaculate Mother. The successor of St. Peter, anxious to save his flock from this deadly plague, addressed a vigorous letter to the Vicar of Rome, Cardinal Patrizi, asking him to direct the parish priests to warn their flocks against the reading of bad newspapers. He entered into the whole question of dangerous reading, and then enumerating eleven of the revolutionary journals published and circulated in Rome, he declared that any Catholic, after this notice, who should read any one of these papers, or permit them to be read by those placed under him, should be held guilty of grievous sin. Cardinal Patrizi immediately addressed a circular to the parish priests making them aware of the Pope's mandate, which was read in all the churches. The journals condemned are the "*Capitale*," the "*Liberta*," "*Don Pirlone*," "*Il Diavolo color di rosa*," and several others, including "*La Concordia*," a liberal Catholic paper. The con-

demnation has had the desired effect. Thanks to the good practical faith of the Roman people, the wicked journals were refused at the vast majority of the newsvendor's, and many of them are so pinched for subscribers and funds as to talk seriously of bringing an action for damages against the Cardinal Vicar. They did organise a demonstration, and threatened to burn his residence, but he sent notice of the plot to the "*Questura*," which was only too happy to send a guard and make a display of their anxiety to enforce order. The mob, seeing the Cardinal's palace under Government protection, diverted their steps to the office of the "*Frusta*"—a courageous little Catholic journal that has the largest circulation in Rome. They battered in the doors, broke the office furniture, and seized all the copies they could lay hands on, and made a bonfire of them in the middle of the street. The police were, of course, not to be found, but the "*Frusta*," nothing daunted, re-appeared as usual the next morning, scourging, literally, the perpetrators of the previous day, and the Government for its manifest connivance, and adding considerably to its list of subscribers. The Romans can appreciate true devotion to a good cause.

4. The Italian newspapers of the Government clique have been industriously circulating the most exaggerated and false statements regarding the Pope's health. Some even went so far as to say that Pio Nono was actually dead, but was kept alive officially by the wily strategy of Cardinal Antonelli. From the style in which they wrote of him, it was easy to see that the wish was father to the thought, and that something was looked forward to by them from the confusion that would result in the event of the Pope's decease. But they are doomed to be disappointed, let us hope for many, many years. True, for a few days the Holy Father suffered from a slight indisposition, brought on from over-fatigue and excitement, attendant on all the extra receptions and audiences that occurred on the celebration of his Pontifical Jubilee. His physicians ordered him to keep his rooms for a few days, and suspend his audiences. But two days sufficed to restore him to his accustomed health and vigour, and ever since he has been going through his daily routine of receiving addresses, and making happy speeches in reply, giving courage, hope, and promise of speedy triumph to the Church over her numerous and powerful enemies. One of the principal causes of his indisposition was the annoyance he experienced at the desertion of two friends that owed everything to him—Professors Alibrandi and Audisio.

5. These two professors, in the Roman University, called

the Sapienza, went, together with the professional staff, to the Quirinal on the 2nd of July, to present their felicitations to Victor Emmanuel on his entering the definitive capital of Italy. Alibrandi repented of his error a few days afterwards, and immediately resigned his chair. Audisio was not so prompt, and yet, of all men living, no one owed so much to Pio Nono. True, in former years he laboured strenuously and wrote ably in defence of the Holy See, and in consequence of his untiring advocacy of this sacred cause, he was deprived by the Piedmontese Government of the lucrative position which he filled in Turin as Director of the "*Soperga*." He came to Rome, and the Holy Father, in reward of his services and to compensate him for his losses, made him a canon of St. Peter's and gave him a chair in the Sapienza. No wonder, then, that this unlooked-for defection in the hour of trial caused so much trouble to Pio Nono. He was deprived of his benefice in St. Peter's, and the chapter of that Basilica lost no time in presenting an address to the Pope signed by all, repudiating in the strongest terms the conduct of their confrere. Report had it that he wrote an humble letter to the Pope craving his pardon, and at the same time tendered the resignation of his chair. But we have not yet seen the text of this document, and still further doubt is thrown on its existence from the fact of his having written a very bitter letter to the "*Unita Cattolica*" complaining of the way in which this journal spoke of him, and defending his conduct in going to the Quirinal. Let us hope that he has ere this seen his mistake and retraced his steps. His name is well known through Italy, and his previous good works would seem to warrant us in indulging this hope.

6. Every symptom portends the speedy immolation of the religious orders in Rome. The Jesuits, of course, come first to be expelled. The clubs and secret societies are leaving no stone unturned to have the sons of St. Ignatius driven from their headquarters in Rome. Demonstrations are organized every other day to howl and hoot under their windows, and insult them in the streets, and already several deputations have waited on Cabinet Ministers demanding their abolition and expulsion from Italian territory, so that when Parliament re-opens, we may expect their speedy deliverance from their present very anxious condition. So much for the vaunted guarantees.

# MONASTICON HIBERNICUM,

OR,

## A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE ANCIENT MONASTERIES OF IRELAND.

[N.B.—The text of the “Monasticon” is taken *verbatim* from Archdall: the notes marked with numbers are added by the Editors.]

### COUNTY OF CORK.

(Continuation of Note 29, page 488.)

and crozier of silver. In the cemetery, outside the church, there was a belfry built in the form of a tower, in which there was one large bell. As for the dignitaries of the church, after the bishop there was a dean, with a yearly income of twelve marks, an archdeacon with twenty marks, and a chancellor with eight marks. There were also twelve canons, each having a revenue of about four marks, and four vicars with a similar income. All these assist daily in the choir, and celebrate low Mass. On the festival days a solemn Mass is sung. The canons reside in different parts of the diocese, which is only twenty miles in extent. The bishop's residence is about half a mile from the city, and is pleasantly situated on the sea-shore. The episcopal revenue consists of corn, tithes, and pasturage, and amounts annually to sixty marks. There are also twenty-four benefices in the bishop's collation.”—(Theiner *Monumenta*, &c., pag. 528-9).

During the Confederate war in 1641, as we learn from Lynch's MS. History of the Irish Sees, “the nave and tower of the cathedral were levelled to the ground, the choir and two chapels remaining intact. One of these chapels was dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, the other to St. Fachnan; and, in former times, so great was the concourse of pilgrims to this church on the feast of the Assumption and Nativity of the Blessed Virgin, that traders used to come thither with their merchandize from all parts of the island, and in the fairs, which had their origin in this custom, no tax was for a long time imposed on any articles of merchandize.” Ware, whose authority is followed by many more recent writers, gives the name of St. Finchad as one of St. Fachnan's immediate successors. For this he rests on a passage in Colgan's *Acta*, page 607. Colgan, in his *Acta*, speaking of the disciples of St. Finbarr, gives, from an old life of that saint, the following names at page 750 :—“S. Finchadius de *Domnachmor*; S. *Fachna seu Facundus de Ria*; S. *Facundus* (i.e., *Fachna*) de Ros-ailither.” Quoting the same passage at page 607, by error of the printer, the words which I have italicised were omitted, and thus the name “S. Finchadius de Ros-ailither” appears there in Colgan's text. This printer's error is Ware's only authority for assigning to St. Finchad the episcopate of Ros-ailither. Others have inserted the name of Conall among the successors of St. Fachnan, relying on the prophetic words recorded by Cathald Maguire, as pronounced by St. Kieran of Saigher, when foretelling the future greatness of both St. Conall and St. Fachtna. This passage of Cathald Maguire, however, makes no mention of the episcopate of Conall, much less of his being successor of St. Fachnan in the See of Ross. I insert, nevertheless, this passage of Maguire, as it makes known to us the birth-place of St. Fachtna, not mentioned by the other authorities :—“Prophetavit Kieranus de S. Conallo et de S. Fachtnano de Ros-alithir dicens : nascetur filius in Tulachteann, qui nobis fido amicitiae foedere junctus erit : et post eum multos monachos et monasteria reget Conallus.”—(*Acta SS.*, pag. 471.) Thus, as regards the early successors of St. Fachnan, we must rest satisfied with the scanty information given in the short record of the Book of Lecan cited above, viz : that twenty-seven bishops in uninterrupted succession ruled the See from its holy patron to Bishop Dungalach. The quatrain, of which we gave a literal



*Strawhall*; <sup>a</sup> in the barony of Muskerry; Ædh, the son of Breic, founded a monastery of this name, and died November 10th, A.D. 588.<sup>b</sup> Part of the ruins are still visible.<sup>c</sup>

*Timoleague*<sup>30</sup>; a village situate on an arm of the sea, in the barony of Ibawn and Barryroe, and eight miles south west of Kingsale. We are informed that Dermot, the Brown, son of Donogh Gad of Carbury, the son of Donogh the Great, died at Miguisy, and was buried in the new monastery of Cregan, in Ibaun, and was removed thence to Teaghmolag in A.D. 1279.<sup>d31</sup> We do not meet with any other account of the

<sup>a</sup> Was anciently called *Enachmidbrenin*, and afterwards *Kilbrenin*. Usher.

<sup>b</sup> Act. SS. p. 422. <sup>c</sup> Smith, vol. 1, p. 206. <sup>d</sup> King, p. 309.

version, was thus translated by O'Flaherty in his *Ogygia*:—"Dongalus a Fachtna, ter nonus Episcopus extat, Lugadia de gente dedit cui Rossia mitram;" and Ware gives the following paraphrase made by Mr. Dunkin:—

"Hail, happy Ross! who could produce thrice nine,  
All mitred sages of Lugadia's line,  
From Fachnan, crowned with everlasting praise,  
Down to the date of Dongal's pious days."

The following passages, extracted for the most part from the Annals of the Four Masters, furnish the few additional particulars that have been preserved to us connected with this See:—

A.D. 824 (i.e., 825). The repose of Conmhach, son of Saerghus, Abbot of Ross-aillithir.

A.D. 839. The death of Airmeadhach, Abbot of Rossaillithir.

A.D. 840. The "Wars of the Danes" mentions an irruption of the Northern Pirates about the year 840, when "they killed Cormac, son of Selbach the anchorite. He it was whom the angel set loose three times, but each time he was bound again. Moreover, Cork was plundered by them, and they burned Ross-aillithir, and Kenmare, and the greater part of Munster. But the men of middle Munster gave them battle, and their slaughter was completed at Ard-Feradaigh."—*Wars of the Danes*, pag. 19.

A.D. 850. Condach, Abbot of Rossaillithir, died.

A.D. 866. Fearghus of Rossaillithir, scribe and anchorite, died. This entry also occurs in the *Chronicon Scotorum*, but at the year 868, "Fergus of Ross-aillithre, scribe, quievit."

A.D. 921. The death of Dubhdabrainne, Abbot of Rossaillithir.

A.D. 1016. Airbhearthach, son of Cosdobhroin, airchinneach of Rossaillithir, died.

A.D. 1055. Colum Ua Cathail, airchinneach of Rossaillithir, died.

A.D. 1085. Neachtain mac Neachtain, distinguished Bishop of Rossaillithir, died.

A.D. 1096. The death of Colum Ua Hanradhain, airchinneach of Rossaillithir,

A.D. 1127. The *Chronicon Scotorum* records the fact, that in this year "the fleet of Toirdhealbach sailed to Ross-aillithre, and despoiled Deas-Mumhain very much."

A.D. 1168. The Bishop Ua Carbhail, Bishop of Rossaillithir, died.

<sup>30</sup> *Timoleague*. The Annals of the Four Masters, 1230, say that the monastery of Tighe-Molagga was built by McCarthy Ribhach, or the Gray Lord of Carbery, and that his tomb was erected in the choir.—Ord. Surv., R.I.A., vol. iv., p. 114.

<sup>31</sup> Tracton Inquisition, 28th April, 4th Q. Elizabeth, finds that John Roche of Kensale, merchant, died 10th April that year, seized of sixty acres of land in Bal-lenemonagh, annual value 2s. 6d., besides reprises.

(To be continued.)

[NEW SERIES.]

# THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

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SEPTEMBER, 1871.

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SOCRATES:

A SKETCH.

*By Professor J. Stewart, of the Catholic University.*

SOCRATES had two biographers, both men of genius, both his contemporaries, and both his pupils; I mean Xenophon and Plato. Xenophon was not very well qualified for the task. He was eminently a practical man, a great warrior, and a great and polished writer of history. But he had not much of a philosophical mind himself, nor did he appreciate it very much in others. His memoirs of Socrates are therefore meagre and scanty. They rather tell us what Socrates was not, than what he really was, being a mere outline sketched from memory, not very worthy of Xenophon, and doing but little justice to Socrates. Xenophon had left the school of Socrates to join the forces of the younger Cyrus in his efforts to take the throne of Persia from his brother, and he had returned, after triumphantly leading the 10,000 Greeks from the remote regions of Babylonia safe to their native land, or at least to the shores of the Ægean. His opinions on the subject of democracy were not popular in Athens. He was banished; and living on an estate granted to him in Peloponnesus, he composed his well-known "Memorabilia," chiefly to defend the memory of his old master from two charges which had been laid against him, and on which he had been convicted and put to death just before Xenophon's return; viz., that he did not worship the gods of his country, but introduced strange divinities, and that he corrupted the youth. As far, however, as Xenophon goes, he is perfectly to be depended upon. He understood the popular portion of Socrates' philosophy, but he was incapable of filling up the meagre outline which he had learned, so as to make it appear a complete and living form, had he desired to do so.

Plato was a biographer of a totally different class. His dialogues, where Socrates almost invariably plays the chief and, indeed, the engrossing part, if we could depend upon them, would show us Socrates vividly as he was. That he never intended to be either his biographer or his advocate, except perhaps in the "Apologia," and the "Phædo" is certain. He has, however, given us a noble picture of his ideal Socrates, which would leave nothing to be desired were we sure that the real man and his ideal were identical.

In his other dialogues, amounting in number to about twenty-six, he develops his philosophy. How much of this philosophy was due to Socrates, and how much to himself, is the difficulty; and like some other mysteries, as the Letters of Junius and the casket letters of Mary Queen of Scots, will, humanly speaking, never be unravelled. We are sure of as much as this, that there is nothing in the dialogues of Plato, attributed to Socrates, inconsistent with the known character and opinions of the philosopher, and in our view of him, perhaps, an arithmetical mean between those of Xenophon and Plato would not be very far from the truth.

Nobody, since the world began, has had such a biographer as Dr. Johnson had in Boswell. Though his personal association with Johnson was only for 276 days out of the twenty years they were acquainted, Boswell, by his intense devotion to his illustrious friend, and his faithfulness in recording whatever fell from his lips, though that was often the reverse of complimentary to himself, has left a book behind him which, in its way, is without an equal. Boswell's *Life of Johnson* is a photograph of the first order, though somewhat coarse: Plato's picture is portrait painting idealized.

When Socrates was born, in the year 469 B.C., the early Greek philosophy was losing its influence everywhere. While every other department of science and literature seemed to spring into existence in Greece, and, I might almost say, in Athens, during that remarkable century, philosophy, as we might expect, had another source. It came from Asia, the cradle of the human race. Founded on the primitive religion which Almighty God revealed to the patriarchs of old, it had, amidst all its corruption, retained some signs of its divine origin. Just as we see the various Christian sects exaggerating some one truth which the Church holds too, till it overshadows all the rest, and at last itself appears only a monstrous fiction; so these different schools of the early philosophy of Greece seized on some one truth of patriarchal religion, and in seizing, exaggerated and caricatured it.

First of all, Thales, who was born at Miletus, in Ionia, 636

B.C., and was the founder of the Ionian school of philosophy, maintained that the universe was full of gods, who knew all things, even the very thoughts of men; evidently a corruption of the primeval doctrine of the immortality and omnipresence of the Deity. He maintained that water was the foundation of all things, though we do not know whether he imagined that water was the material out of which God created the world, or merely that, at one period, the world was submerged in water. He held the moon to be a solid body, and that it received its light from the sun. We are told by Herodotus that he could calculate eclipses.

Next came Anaximander, a disciple of Thales. His speculations also were chiefly physical, like those of his predecessor. He is said to have invented geographical maps, and a species of sundial. He had also his views about the origin of the world. As Thales thought water, so he thought infinity was the final cause of all things. What he meant by infinity is not very well known, but his predecessor is thought to have been a theist, while he is understood to have been a pantheist.

Next came Anaximenes, who held that the infinity of Anaximander was air, *i.e.*, that air was the only uncreated existence, and that even the gods derived their origin from air. Hence he was a real atheist; for what he called gods were only spiritual beings springing into existence from some other cause like ourselves, and in no sense self-existing, or creators of the physical universe. Next Anaxagoras, who was only thirty years anterior to Socrates, and from whom Socrates derived most of his views on physical science. He held the sun was an immense mass of burning matter, and discovered inequalities on the surface of the moon. Anaxagoras was the first who taught, in so many words, that there was a personal god who had created the world out of chaos. But whether even he thought that matter was eternal or not it is impossible to say. Some of his views were afterwards adopted and distorted by the Epicureans; for he held, as they afterwards did, that bodies were in a continual state of flux; that the amount of matter always remained the same, the material atoms contributing to the support of—first, one body, and then, another. But he was not a materialist like Epicurus. Epicurus held that the soul was corporeal, made of atoms precisely as the body, only the atoms were more distant from each other; and so the soul, or the mind, was of a finer texture than the body. But Anaxagoras held that everything had parts except *mind*, and therefore could be dissolved and perish; while he considered *mind* to be the ruling power, and, as it were, the soul of the world. He thought God was such an

infinite self-existing mind, who formed everything out of similar atoms, there being atoms of a different nature for every different substance. Last came Archelaus, a pupil of Anaxagoras, and himself, also with Philolaus, of the Italic school, an instructor of Socrates, who formed a transition point between the early and later Greek philosophers, by introducing some speculations on the nature of justice and the rules of morality. These philosophers belonged to the Greek colonies in Asia Minor, and in the islands of the coast, and hence they were styled the Ionic school.

The other school of early Greek philosophy was called the Italic, for it was founded by Pythagoras of Crotona, a Greek city in the south part of Italy, about seventy years before the birth of Socrates, who was really, for his age, a wonderful astronomer and a great mathematician. He taught that the sun was the centre of the universe, that the earth was spherical, that the stars were worlds, that the moon was inhabited, and the comets were wandering stars with immense orbits. We all know he believed in the transmigration of souls, and insisted on abstinence from wine and meats on the part of his disciples, believing that these articles of food blunted and corrupted the intellect. He enjoined all those who wished to learn from him, silence for five years, and a community of goods; for each disciple, on entering, gave up what patrimony he had into the hands of two officers, a politician and an æconomicus, a president and a minister, who managed the whole for the best interests of the association. Every hour of the day had its appropriate duties; morning walk, meditation, and gymnastics, and discussions on philosophical subjects on the part of those who had the privilege of speaking; self-examination morning and evening. His speculations, though chiefly physical, were, no doubt, partly religious too. His disciple, Philolaus, who was contemporary with Archelaus, and with him an instructor of Socrates, taught that the earth went round the sun, and that it revolved on its own axis; and so for some time, rapid, though uncertain progress in the physical sciences, went on; but philosophical speculations, properly so called, with the principles of religion and morality, were left chiefly in the hands of Socrates and his companions, in whom both the schools of early Greek philosophy converged. And hence, Cicero says in his academical disputations:—"Now, the number and motions of the heavenly bodies, where they rise and where they set, were most accurately treated of by the ancient philosophers down to Socrates, who had been the pupil of Archelaus, the disciple of Anaxagoras; by them were the magnitudes, the dis-

tances, and the orbits of the stars most accurately investigated, and the nature of all celestial things. But Socrates was the first who called down philosophy from the heavens, placed her in cities, introduced her into private houses, and compelled her to enquire into the conditions of human life, the principles of morality, and the good and evil of every human action."

From what we know of Pythagoras and of Archelaus, we can take what Cicero here says of Socrates only with certain restrictions, but in the main he is correct. The advance of these philosophers in physical science made them neglect the moral sciences; after, however, having trained up a vast number of young men to plausible discussion on any subject, cultivated their minds in a certain godless fashion, and given them that fatal facility in public speaking, which was so injurious to the Athenian state. For rhetoric, in the sense in which Socrates condemned it, was introduced into Athens by these sophists, as they were called, or artful contrivers, who coming chiefly from Greek colonies abroad, went about from place to place, were received with public honours, and were entertained in the mansions of the rich and great.

Amongst them was Hippias, a native of Elis, who professed to know everything. "Come, now, Hippias," says Socrates, in the dialogue called the "*Hippias Minor*," "consider through all the circle of the sciences whether it be as I say or not. I know, indeed, that in very many arts you are far ahead the wisest of all men; indeed, I once heard you extolling your great and admirable wisdom, as you called it, while you walked through the money-changers' tables in the Agora. I remember you said that once you went to the Olympic games with every garment which clothed your person the work of your own hands. First of all, your ring; for you began with that, and said it was your own workmanship, for you understood, you said, how to engrave rings; and you had a seal also your own work; and a flesh-brush, and an oil-cruet, which you made yourself; and then, as to the shoes you wore, you said you had cut out the leather and the soles yourself, and that you had made the cloak and the tunic on your shoulders; and besides that—and this I consider the cleverest thing of all, and the greatest proof of wisdom—do you remember your telling us, that the girdle of your tunic was as fine as the finest Persian fabrics, and that you had woven it yourself? And you also said, in addition to all these things, that you were laden with poems, both epic poetry and tragedies, and lyric poetry too, and prose writings of all kinds, all composed by yourself; and about all the arts of which I had been talking to you,

you said that you knew everything far beyond all other men ; and also about the principles of rhythm, and harmony, and grammar, and in many other things too, of which I have dim recollection, you said you excelled. I had nearly forgotten to mention your amazing memory, which you said was your greatest glory."

This was Hippias. Then comes Protagoras, a native of Abdera, in Thrace. He was a great rhetorician, and, perhaps, one of the best of the sophists. However, he has the sophistical boast about him, and thus, in one of the two dialogues of Plato, which bear his name, he answers Socrates, who is introducing a pupil to him called Hippocrates, and has asked what advantages he promises to the young man if he comes to him? "That is a very fair question, Socrates, and I have great pleasure in answering it. Well, if Hippocrates comes to me, he will not have to endure what he would have to suffer at the hands of any other of the sophists ; for they injure their pupils : for when these have just escaped the elementary drudgery, their new masters compel them to learn once more arithmetic, geometry, and music, as if they never had been at school (here he gives a sly glance at Hippias, who was present) ; but if he comes to me he will learn only what he comes to learn—and that is prudence in ordering his domestic affairs, and rhetoric and politics to teach him to manage the affairs of the state." Protagoras came to Athens about the year before Christ, 430, followed by crowds of admirers, who joined themselves to his suite from every Greek city that he passed through on his route. He used to receive from each pupil something like £300 for a single course of lectures ; and we are told by Plato that he made more money than Phidias, or ten sculptors like him. He was banished, however, from Athens for stating in his chair of philosophy, that, as to the gods, he did not know whether they existed or not.

The word *sophist* itself means only a master of one's craft, and has not necessarily a bad meaning. Plato certainly means by it a pretender to knowledge, and uses it in this sense in his earlier as well as his later dialogues. Some people think that he gave it this odious meaning himself—that seems not probable—but he fixed it indelibly and for ever upon them. In the dialogue called the "*Sophist*," Plato puts into the mouth of an unnamed Eleatic philosopher four different definitions of a sophist. The first I will quote :—"He belongs to the acquisitive group, which hunts rich young men for hire, taking money, and in exchange giving them what has only the appearance of education. His art is called *sophistry*, which is a hunt after the souls of rich young men of good repute."

Let us suppose one of these great godless educators to have arrived in Athens. The time of his coming has been previously announced. The whole city has been in a bustle from daybreak. Crowds have been hurrying all the morning to the Peiræus, the harbour about five miles from the city. A deputation has been presented to him on board his ship ; and, in a scarlet cloak, for that is the colour of the robes of a professor of rhetoric, the colour of a philosopher's gown being grey, he is conducted like a prince to the house of Callicles, or some other wealthy Athenian, who has been promised the honour of his presence as a guest.

As it is not yet noon, and the Agora, or market place, will now be nearly full, he pays it a visit first ; and, great as he is, he condescends to mount a platform and inform the bystanders when and where he is to deliver his introductory or exoteric lecture, which Plato calls *ἀπὸδελξίς*, and at what price, perhaps fifty drachmas, or two pounds, admission is to be had. His host then triumphantly carries him to his house.

Next day, or the day after, for our sophist has an eye to business, he delivers his harangue, which is probably in some hall connected with the Lyceum, or other public wrestling and recreation ground—in some such place, one might say, as is to be found in our own Crystal Palace. The lecture-room is already crowded, though the sophist will not arrive for some time yet. When he arrives he is conducted in state to a platform, and enthroned in the chair.

He begins, quietly seated ; but after a time, as he warms to the subject, he rises and gesticulates, his scarlet robes floating around him, while his hearers shout their applause. After all, he has been telling them nothing but the advantages of rhetoric. His course of private instruction is to be paid for at a far higher rate. He is then congratulated by his friends, and does not, through modesty, shrink from their praises. "Was I not great at such and such a burst?" our sophist would say. "Hippias could not have beat me there. I wish Socrates had only been present to hear me ; but he would be sure not to be here. He gets so many lectures at home for nothing from his wife, Xantippe, that he won't pay for any abroad." Our sophist now announces the price of a course of esoteric or private instructions, and retires to the house of his proud, and honoured host.

It is now high time to speak a little more at length of this Socrates, whom our friend seems to despise, and yet, at the same time, to dread. The dread is real, the contempt affected. Socrates devotes his life to the exposure and refutation of the class to which Protagoras belongs. He was born, as I said



before, in the year before Christ 469, and we may suppose him now to be about forty years of age. His father was a sculptor, and so was he himself, and a successful one too; but he has long given up his profession, having a small patrimony to maintain him, and occupies himself with walks in the market place, in the gymnasia, and in every public recreation ground, of which there are many both within and without the city walls, where he joins any group of his fellow-citizens that he sees conversing, and by his questions leads them, as far as he can, to think for themselves, and to think aright; for he does not lay down professedly any philosophical system of his own, though, no doubt, he had drawn out, and more or less wrought into shape, certain strong convictions in his own mind.

The short dialogues, or rather skeletons of dialogues, given in the "*Memorabilia*" of Xenophon, show us his manner of dealing with young men, whom he simply wished to instruct. He discusses with young artists the principles of their arts. He tells them the art of painting consists not only in accurately depicting the appearance of the bodily members, but in expressing the emotions of the mind—and so of sculpture, too. He exhorts a worthy man, Charmides, who was passing his life in indolence, to seek some suitable employment in the service of the state. He rebukes the young and thoughtless Glauco for aspiring to office; and shows him that unless a statesman has acquired a perfect knowledge of state policy, he can neither guide the state aright, nor secure his own reputation. He tells the younger Pericles how the Athenians are to be restored to their ancient power and glory; he shows another young man the injustice of his complaints that the Athenians had preferred Antisthenes to himself as general; he addresses another who had just been appointed general of a division of horse, and asks him for what motive he desired the appointment, showing him that he can only render his soldiers obedient by setting an excellent example before them in everything. I might multiply these instances almost indefinitely; but these are enough to show the practical nature of his instructions to the young. His way of dealing with the sophists was something very different: it was by way of cross-examination; and the sophist was considered to be overthrown • when he had been brought to contradict himself. Socrates seems, indeed, to be sometimes sophistical himself, and to battle, not for the sake of truth, but of victory; but his object was to lessen the confidence of the young in their pretentious instructors, and so gradually emancipate them from their tyranny. Though his irony is very provoking very often, it is always refined and gentlemanlike. He never seems to wish to wound

the feelings of anyone ; and no degree of insult—and that he often receives—can induce him to lose his temper, or abate one whit his usual gentleness of tone.

The class of sophists whose influence he disliked most were the rhetoricians, who professed to supply a want which really existed in the Athenian education, but who supplied it in a way which only made matters worse. Let us see what was the usual education for a young Athenian gentleman in those days, and let us hear it in the words of the great Protagoras himself in the dialogue I quoted before. His object is to make the best of Athenian education certainly. He wishes to show, in opposition to Socrates, that virtue can be taught ; and, as a proof, he takes the care with which parents bring up their children. “As soon,” he says, “as a boy can understand what is said to him, his father, his mother, his nurse, and his sister think of nothing but how to turn him out as good a man as possible. They teach him, bit by bit, what is just, what unjust ; what honourable, what disgraceful ; what he ought, and what he ought not to do. If the boy does what he is bid, it is well ; but if he resists, he is, by threats and blows, twisted into the right way, like a piece of warped wood. After this, they send him to the grammar school, and tell the master they look much more to his turning out a good moral boy than to his progress in letters and in music. His preceptors thus attempt to form him. And when he has learned his letters, and is beginning to understand what he reads, first of all they put into his hands the works of the great epic poets, especially Homer, to be read and learned by heart in school, and in these he finds very many stories related in praise of the deeds of virtuous men, in order that the boy, inflamed by emulation, may imitate the good actions of his ancestors. The teacher of the lyre then, taking him in hand, while giving him instructions on the harp, takes good care that he is virtuous, and does no mischief. And when he has learned to play on the lyre, they put in his hands now the poems of other great poets, such as the lyric poets, and makes him sing them to the harp. Then they send him to the master of the gymnasium, that his body may be strengthened, so as to be the worthy instrument of a virtuous mind, and not to show cowardice in battle. And when he has done with masters, the state makes him learn the laws, and makes him live after the examples they furnish, and not according to his own inclination.” This is certainly not a godless education. Indeed, the Greeks thought the state should do almost everything for them in this way ; and, not having a church, they tried to make the

state a church ; and their greatest men laid it down fully, that the laws of the state ought to be such, that a citizen obeying them might fulfil every duty of morality. They, consequently, considered politics this science, the greatest of all sciences, and ethics to be only a subordinate branch of politics.

However, the new-fashioned Athenians thought the most important part of education was wanting—that was rhetoric. The only way to advancement or consideration in the state was to become a leader in the Pnyx, and there was no way to that except by fluency of speaking. Hence, when the sophists came, offering to sell the very articles they wanted, to grind the young Athenians for their competitive examination in the public assembly, they were run after, and courted, and exorbitant fees were paid them. Nor were the Athenians able to judge very well the value of the wares offered to them. Only let the teacher offer enough, be loud and confident in his tones, and impressive in his introductory lecture, and that was quite sufficient. And the object of Socrates was simply to put the young, with whom especially he loved to consort, on their guard against the danger they encountered by this heedlessness.

Strangely enough, Socrates was confounded by many, and amongst the rest by Aristophanes, with the very men whom he spent his life in refuting. Perhaps, however, a superficial observer *might* see in this grotesque-looking man, with his stout and burly figure, his prominent eyes, his wide nostrils, immense mouth, and magnificent forehead, who was always engaged in controversy, often, apparently, verbal, and with no immediate practical issue—only another form of sophist.

Let us suppose the sophist who has just delivered his introductory harangue to have been Gorgias, and that the subject was rhetoric. Socrates was not present, but comes into the Agora, where the exhibition had taken place, with his friend Chæriphon, just in time to be too late. They are met by Polus and Callicles, the former a sophist himself, and a pupil of Gorgias ; the latter the rich host at whose house Gorgias is staying. "We are just too late for the feast," says Socrates. "Indeed you are," answers Callicles, "and a rich feast it was ; but if, Socrates, you really wish to hear Gorgias, come to my house where he is staying, and he will be quite willing to repeat his exhibition." "I only want to ask him one simple question," says Socrates ; "and that is, what is the meaning of rhetoric, which he professes to teach ? I can hear the rest of his lecture at another time." So they go to the house of Callicles, and find Gorgias reclining on a couch, wearied with his grand display of oratory. "Ask him," says Socrates to Chæriphon.

"Pray, Gorgias," says Chæriphon, "is Callicles right in saying you are ready to answer any question?" "Quite so," says Gorgias; "I always am ready to answer every question; and for years I have never been asked a question I have not answered scores of times before." "Then, I am sure, you will have no difficulty in answering," says Chæriphon; "we'll try, and you will see." "No, no," says Polus, "Gorgias is wearied; try me; I may not answer so well as Gorgias, but I shall answer well enough for you." Polus, however, breaks down at once; for on Chæriphon asking what art rhetoric was, he says it is the best and the finest of the arts. Socrates interposes, and appeals to Gorgias himself:—"Tell us what art you profess?" "Rhetoric," says he. "Well, then, the art of music is the art of composing melodies; of medicine, that of curing sickness. Of what is rhetoric the art?"—"Of words." "But all the arts make use of words, and they are not all rhetoric?" "Then it is the art of persuasion." "But does not a geometriician, by his demonstrations, persuade? It is not, therefore, the art of persuasion." "Will *you* then say what it is, Socrates?" Socrates says that every useful art has another art; which is the perversion, or the flattery, as he calls it, of itself. He says medicine is the art which prescribes what food is useful for the body; and there is another art which tells what food is pleasant for the body—that art is the perversion or the flattery of medicine, and that art is cookery. Rhetoric, then, is a flattery or perversion. Of what is it the perversion? Of a portion of the science of politics—the judicial art. It enables wrong-doers to escape justice, the worst thing in the world for them—as cookery teaches men to take unwholesome food, which though pleasant at the moment, brings ill-health and misery on them in the end. Medicine, by regulating diet, preserves men's health. Justice preserves their morals. Cookery injures men's health, as rhetoric does their morals. To prove this he shows that it is a greater evil to do injustice than to suffer it; but that the greatest of all evils is for a man to have committed injustice, and not to be punished for it. A real friend would bring a delinquent at once to a magistrate to have him punished. For by this punishment he, in some degree, obliterates the injury that has been done to his soul by his offence. The rhetoric which saves him from punishment really seals his ruin.

My remarks on the "Gorgias" I will bring to a conclusion by a striking passage in the end which shall speak for itself. I shall not translate it, but abridge it. To abridge it is to spoil it, but space does not permit me to do more. "Perhaps," says Socrates, "you may be inclined to believe what

I am going to say to be merely a childish myth, but I think it the truth. Homer tells us that the three sons of Cronos divided the empire amongst them. Zeus taking the heavens, Poseidon the sea, and Pluto the lower world. Now, in the old days of Cronos or Saturn, there was this rule about men's future destiny—a rule, indeed, that still exists, and always will—that the perfectly just man should go immediately after his death to the islands of the blest, and dwell there in perfect felicity; while he who had lived and died in impiety, should go to the regions of punishment and woe in Tartarus. And in the time of Cronos, or Saturn, and even in the beginning of the reign of Zeus, people used to be judged before they died, on the day of their death (for they knew beforehand when that was to take place), by judges appointed for the purpose. Now these judges had often been mistaken, and complaints were sent to Zeus that those who ought to have gone to Tartarus had gone to the islands of the blessed, and the good had been sent to Tartarus. Zeus said 'the reason is because the judges here are clothed when they judge, for they are alive, and the dying man is then clothed with flesh also. Hence, the judges cannot see the soul of the judged. I shall appoint two of my sons, Æacus and Rhadamanthus, as judges, and another, Minos, besides, as an umpire, who, when they are dead, shall judge the soul when it is released from the body, and then it will be soul looking at soul. They shall judge in the meadow where three roads meet, one of which leads to the islands of the blessed, and another to Tartarus: Æacus, those who come from Europe; and those who come from Asia, Rhadamanthus; and Minos, with a golden staff, shall sit as umpire, and decide when either of the others has a doubt.' This is the story, and I believe it," said Socrates, "and from that I infer that death is merely a separation of two things—the soul and the body—and that each retains the characteristics it had during life. The body keeps its own peculiarities. If any one's body was tall when alive, it will be tall when it is dead; if stout, the corpse is stout; if it had long hair, the corpse will have long hair; and if it was marked with the scourge, or with wounds, when he was alive, the corpse also retains the same marks; and if his limbs were broken or twisted when he was alive, they are so also after he is dead. In a word, whatever were the characteristics of the body when alive, those it will retain after death. In the same way, Callicles, I infer that this happens with respect to the soul too. When it escapes from the body, all the natural or acquired dispositions of the soul are exposed to view. When they

come, therefore, before the judge, those from Asia to Rhadamanthus, for instance, Rhadamanthus having made them stand before him, inspects the soul of each. Perhaps it may be the soul of the great king or of a beggar, who has no soundness in him, but whose soul is marked with scourges, and all over scars; here is the mark of a perjury, there of a fraud; here is falsehood, there a weal left by luxury and impurity. Rhadamanthus then despatches him at once to Tartarus. But the object of punishment is twofold—1st, for an example to others, that they, seeing his misery, may refrain from his sin; 2nd, that he may be made better himself. Therefore, of the bad there are two classes—the one the *ἰάσιμοι*, are those who can be cured. They are sent to Tartarus only for a while, till the wounds of their souls are healed by punishment. The other, the *ἀνίατοι*—the incurable—are detained in Tartarus for ever as a warning to others."

This dialogue seems split up into two parts: the first connected with rhetoric and its definition; and the second relating to the question, whether it is better to injure or to be injured? But, though apparently two, the object is really one—to find a definition for rhetoric; and having shown that its object is to get a man off from suffering punishment for the evil he has committed, to prove that this object is bad, because the best thing for a man who had sinned is to suffer. And so there is a certain unity runs through the whole.

The same remark applies to the noblest of all the dialogues of Plato, I mean the "Republic," to which I can do little more than allude. This dialogue seems to be that to which all the others lead. It appears to connect together all the threads of Plato's philosophy, and to present it to us in something of an intelligible shape. I do not by this mean to say that Plato's philosophy was a very definite thing, or one that was intended to hold water as a whole. Very often we feel that Socrates is arguing for the sake of arguing, and that if his adversary had been skilled in dialectics he would not have found it difficult to turn the tables. But logic, as Aristotle understood it, and as we understand it, was not known to Plato. There is very often in his dialogues, on the part of Socrates, a confusion of ideas, and a vague use of words. The very hardest thing for Socrates to do is to give a definition. I suppose few of us will be satisfied with the way he defines Rhetoric as a flattery of judicial science; and fewer still perhaps will think that he has defined justice properly, or proved the just man happier than the unjust, irrespective of contingent rewards and punishments, which is his object in the "Republic." This grand dialogue is divided into ten books, enough to form a large

volume, and yet it is supposed to have occupied no more than a single evening.

There is going to be a grand procession and sacrifice in honour of Artemis at the Piræus, and Socrates, and one of his friends, Glauco, are anxious to see it, and so walk to the harbour in the morning; and after having seen the solemnities, they walk home again in the afternoon, quite content with their day's work. However, they are not allowed to go far; for a young man of the name of Polemarchus has seen them, and he sends a slave after them to stop them, who brings them back again to the house of the old Cephalus, the father of Polemarchus, where the dialogue takes place. The question is about justice and its definition: and it arises in this way: Socrates congratulates Cephalus on his contented old age, and asks him how he is so happy? He answers in the usual way about calmness of mind, and so on; but Socrates suggests that, perhaps, his being rich has something to do with it. Cephalus grants this in a certain degree, while he says that a bad man, though ever so rich, could never be at peace with himself. "What, then," says Socrates, "do you consider to be the greatest blessing which your wealth has given you?" "Why," says Cephalus, "when a man gets to my time of life, he often sits reflecting that, after all, there may be some truth in what the gods declare about punishment after death inflicted on the unjust; and I am glad that I have never, on account of my easy circumstances, been tempted to be unjust, or to deny that I have received deposits, or if I have committed any unjust acts, that I can make restitution immediately." "A very good sentiment," says Socrates; "but does justice mean nothing more than speaking the truth and paying one's debts? Are we always to pay our debts? Suppose somebody lends me a sword when he is in sound mind, and then, a few weeks afterwards, being mad, demands the sword back again that he may plunge it into another man's side. Am I to give it him now? No one would say, I *ought*, or that I ought *always* to speak the truth to a madman." "Of course not," says Cephalus. "Then your definition of justice was not a good one." "And yet," interposes Polemarchus, "this is the ancient definition of Socrates." "I think I must go now to look after my sacrifices," says Cephalus; for he was crowned with garlands for that purpose. He was rather an indolent old man, who was not fond of argument; and he had a kind of foresight that Socrates would have a deal to say before he was done. "But I leave my son, Polemarchus, as the heir to my side." And, accordingly, Polemarchus sustains the argument, that to speak the truth and pay one's debts is to be just.

Then follows an argument as to whether it is best for a man himself to be just or unjust; Glauco, for argument sake, maintaining the latter, and Socrates the former. Glauco insists upon Socrates not showing that justice brought with it rewards and honours in the world; for, he said, it was the reputation for justice that did this. But he insists on Socrates proving, if he can, that a perfectly just man, having the reputation of being perfectly unjust, reviled, scourged, and even crucified or impaled unjustly, is better than the perfectly unjust man who has the reputation of being perfectly just, and who enjoys all the honours of the state and the good things of this life. In order to do this, Socrates builds up his "Republic," on the ground that justice in an individual and in a state is the same thing; in a state, which is larger, it is more easily seen. If we see it there, we can infer what it must be in an individual. He describes how a state gradually arises from the various needs of man; how these needs increasing it naturally grows, and how in a perfect state there is a perfect division of labour. The rulers or guardians of the state are wise, the soldiers courageous, all the citizens temperate, which means that they are obedient to their superiors and masters of their passions;—prudence, fortitude, temperance—these are their great virtues. "But where is justice," he asks. "Look out for it, Glauco," says Socrates; "don't let it escape you; it consists in the perfect division of labour of which I have spoken, and each one minding his own business and nobody's else—that is justice in a state. What is it in an individual man? It means that harmonious and proportional development of the inner man, by means of which each faculty of his soul performs its own functions, without interfering with the functions of another."

And for this definition chiefly was the "Republic" written. When this equable and proportionate harmony does not exist in the soul, that is, when the man is unjust, then he is miserable, and the higher he is in the state the more wicked he is; the master of others while he is not master of himself; he hates himself and he hates all that surround him; he is worse than the tyrannical master of many slaves, for society is in a compact to preserve him from their fury; but if a tyrannical master and his slaves were carried off to an immense desert, and planted in the midst of it, all by themselves, what would the tyrant's dread and horror be? And that is the position of an unjust man who is tyrant of a state. "Therefore, I gather," says Socrates, "that justice is better than injustice, and that the best and justest of men is the happiest, and that the unjust man is the greatest enemy of himself and the state, even if unseen by gods and men."



I wish I had time to do more than briefly allude to a beautiful description of his idea of the judgment to come, which completes the tenth book of the "Republic." A valiant man there was of the name of Er, who died in battle, and was laid on the funeral pile, but after twelve days came back again, and related what he had seen in the regions of the dead. As soon as he died, he said that, with a large crowd of others like himself, he arrived at a strange place where there were two ravines leading down, and two corresponding openings above leading to the mansions of heaven. And judges, seated in the space between, bid the just ascend, with a seal stamped on their foreheads; while the unjust had to descend with the condemnation marked on their backs. For every evil deed they had done they were punished ten-fold. After that they were allowed to go to the abodes of the blessed, while some dreadful malefactors, like Ardiacus the Great, were never to be allowed to be delivered from punishment. I have been longer than I intended; but the subject is so immense, that it is hardly fit to be treated of in a paper at all.

In conclusion, I would say, that the study of the great Greek philosophers, Aristotle and Plato, can be safely undertaken under the guidance of the Catholic religion, and in a Catholic University, and in no other way.

The ethics of Aristotle have been, since the Reformation, as they were long before it, a favourite study in the University of Oxford. In the other great university of Cambridge they have always, indeed, been a subject of examination, but almost entirely for the language, and but little for the matter. In Cambridge, therefore, Aristotle has had but little influence either for good or evil. In both universities the dialogues of Plato have been the subject of lectures, with nearly the same difference of object—in Cambridge as a means of teaching the perfection of the Greek language—in Oxford for the matter contained.

For generations, until only a few years back, the study of Greek philosophy at Oxford was considered to be the great reason why some kind of dogmatic teaching, or what one might call Anglican orthodoxy, was more generally found in one university than in the other.

Now, as we find in the evidence before the Select Committee of the House of Lords on the University Tests Act, the examinations in the final classical school for classical honours have been found to be most dangerous to the faith in any system of religion at all, of those who are to be subject to them, and are, with that view, studying Greek philosophy as the most important portion of that examination. What is

the reason of this difference? I think it is to be found in this—that some thirty years ago, when the first illustrious rector of the Catholic University of Ireland, Dr. Newman, was the leading man in Oxford, Aristotle and Plato were read under the guidance—miserably defective guidance as it was—of the Thirty-nine Articles, and the ordinary Anglican teaching. In this way they led many to better things: men began to see that the Anglican arguments would never be able to hold their ground against the logic of Aristotle, or against the cross-examination of Socrates. This safeguard has now, according to the evidence before this Select Committee, been given up. As appears by that evidence, Aristotle and Plato are not now read or examined in either Oxford or London under the guidance of religion in any shape, but they are supplemented by Mill and the German infidel philosophers. The whole are assimilated, and though the object is a successful examination, the result is destruction of religious belief.

“I think,” says a Fellow of St. John’s College, Oxford, before this Committee, “that it is quite impossible for any man to throw himself into the system of education for the final classical school at Oxford at the present time (I mean really to *assimilate* it, and not merely to study it *ab extra*), without having the whole edifice of religious belief shaken from the foundation. Generally, when one form of religion has been destroyed by this process, the examinees construct for themselves another faith out of the ruins.” This is a sad state of things, and as nobody can doubt the truth of these statements on oath given by the leaders of Protestant education or the chief centres of it, the necessity of a Catholic University becomes more apparent. Most of us here supposed, that though history could not safely be taught to Catholics by one who did not profess the Catholic religion, nor, perhaps, natural science, nor medicine; yet, that classical studies were dangerous, whoever the teacher might be, few of us were found to believe. Now, to Catholics, and especially to Irish Catholics, who have never had the least tendency to materialism, the study of ancient philosophy, properly conducted, ought to be edifying and not dangerous.

We do not read Aristotle and Plato to find out a religion of our own. We have a Divine religion and an infallible Church to guide us, and we are not disedified by seeing the wisest and the best of heathens trying to do, what in the absence of Divine revelation they could not do, make out a religion for themselves; but we are rendered the more grateful to Almighty God for his goodness to ourselves. When we

see that Socrates, with all his wisdom and all his thought, could not find out a better definition of justice in a state, than minding one's own business, or in an individual, than a certain harmony between all the faculties of his mind, we are not inclined to envy him ; nor are we a whit more likely to envy Aristotle when we find him speaking of the good and the virtuous, without being able exactly to define what goodness and virtue mean. Virtue, according to him, is a mean between two vicious extremes. But why the mean should be the good he cannot exactly make clear.

Indeed, it is curious to see how all the new-fangled schemes against religion are only reproductions of Pagan philosophy. What are called the rights of women, which are, indeed, contrary to natural religion and to natural instincts, we see carried to their logical results in the Fifth Book of Plato's "Republic." Darwin's "Origin of Species," which is only another name for Atheism, is found in the germ in the Fifth Book of "Lucretius," who was the exponent of the Epicurean philosophy. And yet the Christian religion was able at its beginning to hold its ground against both. It has no reason to fear, even humanly speaking, that any similar developments of atheistical philosophy will, in the end, prevail against it. The Catholic Church is Divine, and cannot be overthrown ; but it is at least something to know that the weapons which are now used against it are only those which, before our Divine Redeemer was incarnate, were employed against religion altogether, and were then found wholly inadequate for their purpose. We, Catholics, study Pagan philosophy only that we may understand what the greatest minds, without revelation, have been able to effect ; and we see, by studying it, that the reasonings which were not able to withstand our Divine religion in its origin will have no power eventually to obstruct its progress.

#### SOME REMARKS ON "THE DRUIDS, CHURCHES, AND TOWERS OF ANCIENT IRELAND."<sup>1</sup>

FROM the preface to this volume ordinary readers can infer that until the year of grace, 1871, the "subject of the Druids had been inadequately handled," the names of the Irish Churches remained a mystery," and "the key to the cipher of the Round Tower" had not been found. These subjects could not, we are told, be approached without a knowledge of the

<sup>1</sup> " *The Druids, Churches, and Towers of Ancient Ireland.*" An Essay. By Rev. Richard Smiddy. Dublin : Kelly, 1871.

Celtic language, and that language being more essentially of the tongue than of the letter, to know it well without being able to speak it, is an utter impossibility. Now, as we have had "distinguished antiquaries" who could not pronounce a sentence of our language, such of them as have written on the Druids, Churches, and Towers, must have done so inadequately.

Without stopping to point out the fallacy of this argument, not distinguishing, that is, between the spoken and written forms of speech, we need only say that, granting the premises, the conclusion does not follow; for, to mention but one instance, Petrie, an antiquary whose authority, on two of the subjects, is deservedly very great, had the assistance of scholars most intimately acquainted with spoken, no less than with written Irish, Dr. O'Donovan and Professor O'Curry.

Distinguished antiquaries are, we regret, not the only persons who have incurred the Author's displeasure. As representatives of Plagosus Orbilius, we do not object to receive, as well as deal out, hard knocks in a good cause—*petimusque damusque vicissim*—but it is hardly fair to say (pp. 16-17), we "teach boys to derive *theos* of the Greek from *theo*, to run, because we can furnish no better derivation." After that we are not surprised to find (page 29), that when "Latin scholars attempt to give derivations of their own for *ara*, *altare* and *adoro*, their derivations are puerile, far-fetched, and destitute of real meaning."

We have, therefore, studied with some attention the result of our censor's "lengthened labour and application." Printed consecutively, the portions devoted to derivation would fill about 40 pages of his volume. Of the words explained in the book we have compiled an alphabetical list, in which the compounds amount to 208, and the roots or factors to 194. It is, we fear, of too dry a character to interest most of our readers, but—*ex pede Herculem*—from the few specimens we shall give they will be able to judge of the whole. We find many Irish words considered from a new point of view, and the Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Saxon, Welsh, Scotch, Italian, Spanish, French, English, and Peruvian languages, are described as resembling or borrowing from "the language which was, probably, the first spoken by man." Irish scholars will find Etymology enriched by the discovery of *fuilla* as genitive of *fuil* (blood); and their knowledge increased by the rule that when two factors are nouns, the initial consonant of the latter is usually omitted. Nor has Topography been forgotten; and, as an amusing instance, we are tempted to quote the Author's derivation of Iona—

*i*, an island, and *mana*, monks. In the Irish Annals, *i* occurs 13 times, and the Latin forms *ia*, *iae*, are found 85 times. In his Translations of the Annals of Clonmacnoise, Connell Mageoghegan uses an English form, Hugh. Adamnan, who, we may remind the Author, calls his native tongue vulgar—*vilis linguae*—formed, in accordance with his usual practice, a feminine adjective from *i*, *iona*, *insula*, and in later MSS., which are very loose in distinguishing between *n* and *u*, this *Ioua* became the euphonious *Iona*. Will the Author still defend his derivation of Iona?

Such, then, are the results of the Celtic knowledge which cost the labour and application of so much time. A string of words derived and explained upon a principle which we had fondly hoped was long since abandoned by all scholars, and which has been described in terms we do not care to quote, but in which we fully agree, by the Translator of Ebel's Celtic Studies.

*Hoc volo, sic jubeo, sit pro ratione voluntas* is the motto for a book like this. Apparently, without perceiving that he is doing anything extraordinary, the author takes his stand upon word-splitting, and quietly ignores the authority of ages. With the exception of a quotation from Du-Cange, he appeals, as far as we can see, to no work in manuscript or print to support his derivational views. He never alludes to Cormac MacCullenan, whilst he snubs Dr. O'Brien, and pities Eugene O'Curry. We would, however, venture to suggest that much has been said on the other side which our Author, and those, if any there be, who think with him, would do well to examine and refute before they require us to accept their dicta as final. If, to put the matter as briefly as possible, an organic orthography, which can be obtained only in our ancient linguistic monuments, be absolutely necessary for the right knowledge of the Celtic language, what good, may we ask, can result from basing derivations, as the writer of this volume does, on a modern and corrupt form of the Irish? Every one is, or ought to be, proud of his native language; but surely it is damning praise to characterize it as more essentially of the tongue than of the letter.

"Writing"—

A doctrine sage, but truly none of mine—

"Writing as people speak and pronounce is to maim the language, to destroy the etymology, and confound the propriety and orthography."

With the essay which stands first, and occupies the largest space in the volume, we do not intend to deal. In all that relates to Irish history and antiquities, *antiquam exquirite*

*matrem* is our motto too ; not, however, by the quick process of reading Pagan authors, but by the slower method of laboriously investigating our native literature. We have, moreover, a settled conviction that all who possess a knowledge of our ancient tongue can find labour enough—indeed, we fear, too much—in elucidating the true glories of the Island of Saints—the *gesta Dei per Hibernos*. There is not, we learn (pp. 9—10), and there never has been, any native record of the religious system of the Druids. Be it so : let others decide how much the Author's Celtic knowledge has added to the information which can be gleaned from Greek and Latin writers. One question only shall we take the liberty of asking him: Where are "the sources from which it is gathered that 300 books, tinged with Paganism, were destroyed about the year 438?"

We pass, therefore, to the essay on the Ancient Irish Churches, the merits of which may be summed up by saying that it contains very little novel information, and very much novel derivation. The description of the churches is slightly altered from that of Petrie. For instance, doubtless to assist the readers, "polygonal" is glossed "many-sided ;" and "packed" is said to mean "filled." "Stone-roofs" we learn (p. 149) "were entirely of stones, or stone-flags, continued up to the apex of the roof in diminished series, from the perpendicular walls." Windows and doors, if their sides "incline," that is "hang in" from the perpendicular, "are generally more narrow at the head than at the base" (p. 151). So far Dr. Petrie and our author substantially agree, but in the following instances they are somewhat at variance. *Dear-thacks* (Oratories) were, according to Petrie, lighted by a single window ; whilst, according to F. Smiddy, they had scarcely any aperture in the side-walls. Again, to prove these Oratories were sometimes large, Petrie (pp. 352—3) says the Ulster Annals record the burning of Trevet Oratory, and the destruction of 260 persons in it ; but F. Smiddy informs us that, according to the Irish Annals, the Oratory was struck by lightning.

"Who shall decide when doctors disagree?"

On referring to the Four Masters we found, as we anticipated, that Petrie was correct. It was, doubtless, an oversight on our Author's part, as he has correctly quoted another entry from the same Annals.

The Irish names of churches are "fine expressive compounds, formed from pure Celtic roots" (p. 155). Until the Author meets the objection which we have brought against his whole system, this assertion may pass for what it is worth.

Of the many instances we could quote, the following will suffice to illustrate the working of his theory. *Ceall*, a church, which is manifestly formed from the Latin *cella*, is derived in three ways ; and, to prove that *cai*, a house, enters into its formation, we are told of a ruin which is called indifferently *ceall*, and *tigh* (house). We are surprised that any one acquainted with Irish topographical names should argue thus. The words *ceall* and *tigh* are synonymous in this instance, not for the reason here assigned, but because *teach* (*tigh*), a word, as Dr. O'Brien well observes, cognate with the Latin *tectum* and Greek *tegos*, came in Christian times to denote a church or religious establishment. We are informed that *Domhtach* and *Cathach* mean "house of God," and that the former has been softened in pronunciation into *Domhnach*, the Author apparently forgetting that, in making the last assertion, he assumes that a smooth mute passes into liquid. It is also stated and repeated that in the fifteenth lecture on Irish MSS., O'Curry avows his inability to discover the root or real meaning of these two words. We have read the lecture very carefully, and we call on the Author to quote O'Curry's words, or withdraw so grave a charge against an honoured name.

Some of our best antiquaries have misinterpreted *daimhliag* (a stone church), and, until we find better proof than the assertion that they have, we are content to err in such company. There is in Irish no such word as *eclios*, and yet this new word is split, and made the key to the meaning of *eaglais*, a church : *dearthach*, an oratory, is the only word which Irish authorities explain in the same way as our Author ; but, for the reasons given by Petrie (Round Towers, p. 345, seq.), *dair-teach*, oak-house, is the most probable derivation. From an imagined similarity of sound, a Latin loan-word, *teampull*, a temple, is derived from a corrupt modern phonetic form of an old Irish word, *timcheall*. *Aifrionn*, however, is the Author's strong point. He enjoys an easy triumph over the author of the Gaelic Dictionary, who strives to trace it to Arabic and Chaldaic, and Dr. O'Brien, who says it is an original Celtic word. "It is a compound word, formed from pure Celtic roots, manifestly by the early Irish Christians, or their missionaries" (p. 171). What will the Author say when we tell him that not one of those good people ever heard the word *aifrionn* ? Yet so it is : the oldest extant forms are *offrenn* and *oiffrenn*, which were evidently borrowed from the Latin *offerenda*. Our readers will, we fear, be inclined to cry, "*Ohe ! jam satis*," when we tell them that, according to this volume, *Corp Criost*, Corpus Christi, are formed *directly* from the Greek !

"These details, no doubt, are trifling, and, viewed by themselves, perhaps of little importance; but all things are composed of elements, and arise from principles, and true as well as accurate knowledge in the greatest matters is most frequently based upon the habit of applying the judgment in the least."—(Homer, *Ilias*, ed. Clarke, *praef.*)

Few will be disposed to deny the merit of novelty to the Author's theory on the Round Towers. The universal popular name of the Round Tower, in the Irish-speaking parts of Ireland, is *cuilceach*, or *cuilgtheach*, formed from *cuilc*, a reed, and *theach*, a house, the reed-house, or reed-shaped structure. This is the "real true name" in Irish, and is pronounced by the people "with unmistakable accuracy. A kind of *cuilc*, or reed, with a conical head, grows in our bogs and rivers, resembles the lines of the Round Tower, and was taken as the model for it. As the reed was an emblem of St. John the Baptist, the reed-house was a Baptistry."

"Some have said that *cuilceach* is a mere corruption of *cloigtheach*, the bell-house. It is no such thing."

*Corruption*, certainly, is a strong word; however, *de gustibus*, &c. Nothing is lost by the *suaviter in modo*, and so, avoiding the obnoxious word, we beg to say that *cuilceach* is a phonetic form of *cloigtheach*, and to remind the Author that more than a quarter of a century ago the following conclusion was laid down:—"It is equally certain that in all parts of Ireland where the Irish language is yet retained, these Towers are designated by the same term [*i.e.*, *cloigtheach*], except in a few districts, where they are called by the synonymous term *clogas*, or by the term *cuilgtheach*,—which, as I have already shown, is only a corrupted [*i.e.*, phonetic] form of *cloigtheach*, by a transposition of letters very usual in modern Irish words" (*Round Towers*, p. 363). (The passage where he shows it to be a phonetic form our Author can find at pages 19–20.)

Does F. Smiddy think this conclusion sufficiently refuted by an angry denial? If so, the discussion, of course, is closed; if not, let him bring forward his proofs and they shall have our most attentive consideration.

It is said that *cloictheach* means house of stone, and *cloigtheach* a bell-house; but will the Author quote or give references to the passages in Irish Annals and old chronicles in support of this distinction? and, to narrow the matter in dispute, what does he say to the passages quoted by Petrie (pp. 148–151), in which *cc*, *c*, and *g* are found indifferently? Does he think one authority meant a bell-house, and the other a stone-house? This is our reply to the Author's first and principal proof; the proof, indeed, upon which he bases his



theory, and by which he is confident he has "demolished" all who preceded him. Our readers can judge for themselves of its cogency, if the Author does not meet satisfactorily what we have advanced against it.

The other proofs, being subordinate, do not call for a lengthened reply. (2.) The Towers stand near episcopal churches: a statement which we cannot undertake to prove or disprove. (3.) They have in form, site, and emblem the peculiarities of ancient Baptistries in other countries. As regards that, we may mention that many a time

"—— calidus juvena

Consule planco"——

have we seen the octagonal Baptistry of San Giovanni in Fonte, and we would no more compare it to a Round Tower than to the unsightly disestablished steeple which is visible from where we write. We would wish to have the authority, if any there be, for saying that "manifestly" Brechin church "was built by Irishmen, who went to Scotland about the year 500." (4.) The first story is not lighted, because as Baptism was administered by immersion, the "places for undressing and re-dressing should be dark, and candles were lighted during the ceremony; and inasmuch as fire was carried in vessels of burned clay, to light the candles, and heat the apartment, traces of the fire, as well as remains of charcoal and pottery, are found in the lower story."

With respect to the first part of this proof, we refer our readers to Petrie's reply to Dr. Lanigan (pp. 33-4), and the second part of it has been disposed of by the same writer (pp. 78-96), where he discusses the Researches of the South Munster Antiquaries in a strain of delicate irony, that reminds one of La Fontaine's line:—

"Tout est fin diamant aux mains d'un habile homme."

(5.) In the uppermost story four windows face the cardinal points, in accordance with the rubric for blessing the Baptismal font at Easter—*effundat versus quatuor orbis partes*.

"The windows do not *always* face the cardinal points, nor do the windows always consist of four. In some instances, as shall be hereafter shown, they are fewer than that in number, and in many instances more."—(Petrie, p. 34).

(6.) The Towers are built of brown stone, to resemble the colour of the reed: which is an interesting fact, as proving incidentally the colour of the plant in question; and, in fine, (7.) An ancient Irish *Ordo Baptismi* says, *descendit in fontem*, that is, the compartments containing the font, and therefore itself called the font, which is an assertion the author has forgotten to prove.

We have now done with this work. Our criticism has been frank and fairly reasoned, as criticism, to be anything worth, should be. The author's theory, we are firmly convinced, is erroneous; for, in our judgment, he has entered upon a method of investigation which can never be productive of any useful results. Towards the author himself it is, we are confident, not necessary for us to say that we would be understood as entertaining no other than sentiments of the highest respect for his abilities; and, for ourselves, we may add that we feel a legitimate pride in beholding the traditional lore of the history and antiquities of our sainted island as strong as ever amongst the priests of a diocese which justly glories in having been ruled by the author of the *Irish Dictionary*, and the *Dissertations on the Laws of the Ancient Irish*.

B. M. C.

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## LETTERS OF BALMEZ.

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### XXI.—INVOCATION OF SAINTS—A NEW DIFFICULTY.

MY ESTEEMED FRIEND,—I am very glad my last letter did not produce an unfavourable impression on you; and that you do not refuse to acknowledge the beauty and philosophy contained in the Catholic dogma, “presented from that point of view.” I do not wish, however, that what belongs to the thing itself should be attributed to the manner of presenting it. To take up that point of view, which pleases you, I had not to avoid the reality, but to simply show the objects as they are in themselves, and merely indicate the considerations to which the proposed difficulties led.

You are inclined to believe I have attacked my adversary on his weakest flank, but cleverly avoided presenting the dogma in its whole aggregate. You are no longer an enemy of the images of the Saints in churches, which means you have ceased to be an Iconoclast. Now you have taken refuge in another trench, and say that though it does not appear to you wrong to perpetuate the memory of the virtues of the Saints in pictures and statues, and even to pay them, in religious solemnities, a homage of respect and veneration, you do not, however, see the necessity of admitting that incessant communication between the living and the dead, in which the latter are made our intercessors in things which we ourselves can ask for immediately. You add, that as it is one of the

principal characteristics of Christianity to unite man intimately with God, imperfectly in this life, and perfectly in the mansions of glory, it should be considered more proper, more worthy, and above all, more elevated, for man himself to direct his prayers to God, without availing himself of mediators, and translating to the regions of bliss the customs we have here on earth. It is fortunate it is you who propose the difficulty founded on such a principle; for if I, by any chance, had said that man should communicate immediately with God, you would have censured me for jumping, without regard to human nothingness, over the distance there is between the finite and the infinite. You never fail to see what you call the unreasonableness of our side; if we rise high, we exaggerate, we lose ourselves; if we lower our flight, we are grovelling, and forget the sublimity of human nature! One requires great calmness to suffer accusation so opposed; but this is a sacrifice we are bound to make in the cause of truth, which has a right to exact it from us.

The dogma that the invocation of Saints is not only lawful but advantageous, can, like all Catholic dogmas, suffer the examination of reason, without danger of coming out rough-handed. To fix our ideas, and avoid confusion, let us place the question on clear ground. Is there any inconvenience in admitting that God hears the prayers of the just, when they pray, not for themselves, but for others? I wish you would tell me whether, in the eyes of sound reason, this is not conformable with all the ideas we have of the goodness and mercy of God, and his predilection for the just. If you admit a God—not a cruel God, who has no care for the work of his hands, and closes his ears to the supplications of the unhappy mortal who implores his aid—you should also admit that the prayer of man directed to God is not a vain thing, but can and does produce salutary effects. Very well: now is there anything more natural, more conformable with reason, or more in accordance with the feelings of our soul, than to pray to God, not only for ourselves, but for the objects of our regard? The mother, with her tender child in her arms, raises her eyes to heaven, and implores the goodness of the Eternal in its favour; the wife prays for her husband; the sister for her brother; the children for their parents; and the patriarch, when dying, collects his descendants about his bed, and extending his tremulous hand over them, gives them his benediction, and prays heaven to bless them. The prayer of man in favour of his fellow-man is an innate inclination of our heart; it is found in all ages, sexes, and conditions—in all times and countries; it is expressed at every turn in the cry of

nature in which we invoke the God of mercy whenever we witness another's danger.

The communication of intellectual creatures in the bosom of the Divinity—the reciprocal aid they can afford each other by their prayers, is a universal tradition of the human race—a tradition bound up with the sweetest and most intimate feelings of the heart, described by all historians, sung by all poets, immortalized on canvass and in marble by innumerable artists, admitted by all religions, and expressed in solemn ceremonies by all worships. Look over the history of the most remote times, consult the most ancient poets, listen to the popular narratives whose origin is lost in the heroic and fabulous times, examine the monuments, the pride of the most civilized nations; ever, in all parts, you shall meet with this fact. There is a war: the youth of a people is running danger on the field of battle; the wives, the children, the parents of the soldiers implore the Divine aid on their behalf—now in the retirement of the domestic hearth, now in the public temples with solemn sacrifices. There is a traveller from whom no news has been received for a long time; his disconsolate family fears he has fallen a victim of some unfortunate accident, but yet entertains a hope. Perhaps he is wandering solitary and lost in foreign lands; perhaps he has been cast as the plaything of the waves on some inhospitable shore: what is the inspiration of that family? To raise its eyes and hands to heaven, to pray and implore the Divine mercy in favour of its unfortunate member. History, poetry, the fine arts, are an uninterrupted testimony of the existence of this feeling, of this firm belief that the prayers of one man for another are acceptable in the eyes of the Almighty.

Well, now; is there any inconvenience in our desiring the prayers of others, even while they live on earth? Clearly not. If there were, we should have to reject all religion, and put ourselves in open contradiction with one of the most tender and purest feelings that find shelter in the human breast. I do not believe your philosophy goes to so deplorable an extreme. No; you cannot profess a doctrine which drowns the cry of nature, that sounds soft and tender at the foot of the cradle, and is exhaled slowly and prophetically in the portals of death. No; you cannot profess a doctrine which responds with a smile of doubt to the supplication of the mother who prays for her child, of the wife who prays for her husband, of the child who prays for its father, of the old man who prays for his descendants, of the relieved one who prays for his benefactor, of the friend who prays for his friend, and of entire nations who pray for the brave

fellows defending the independence of their country, or carrying to remote corners of the earth the name of their fatherland under a victorious flag.

I need scarcely deduce the consequences of what I have said, for you must have already seen them without any trouble. According to our doctrine the Saints are just men, who enjoy in heaven the reward of their virtues. They do not require to pray for themselves, for they are exempt from all evils and dangers, and have attained the fulfilment of their desires; but they can pray for us. If they could do this on earth, how much more can they do so in heaven? If mortals pray for other mortals, can not or will not those who have attained an immortal felicity pray for us? Their prayers are particularly acceptable to God, and are an agreeable incense which incessantly burns before the throne of the Eternal. They lived like us in this land of misfortunes, and do not forget us. The Church tells us:—"Implore the intercession of the Saints; ask them to pray for you: this is lawful; this is pleasing in the sight of God; this will be useful to you in all your necessities." There is the dogma. If your philosophy finds it is not in accordance with natural reason and the feelings of the human heart, I pity you and your philosophy, and am unable to comprehend the principles on which you found it. To tell the truth, I expect you will willingly yield to the light of these reasons, to which I cannot see what solid or even plausible answer can be made. In which case I cannot do less than remind you of the necessity, so often inculcated, of not proceeding with levity in matters so serious, and of reflecting that in the dogmas regarded by Incredulity with indifference and contempt, there are concealed treasures of wisdom, which are found the more profound the more they are examined by the light of philosophy and history.

I remain yours, most affectionately,

J. B.

## THE PONTIFICAL JUBILEE OF PIUS IX.

(*Concluded.*)

THE Catholic world will learn from its pilgrims that sacrilegious, rapacious, and vengeful Italy, implacable persecutrix of the Holy Father, is not to be confounded with the Italian people. These pilgrims will be able to say, how that this poor people, under the scourge of a government the enemy of Catholicity, and ever ready with confiscations, fines, and

imprisonment—this same people, from the foot of the Alps down to the remotest promontory of Sicily, rose up in one great festival of prayers and congratulations to Pio Nono. They will describe how that 500 Italians joined the other national deputations in Rome ; they will tell how that, on the 21st of June, there were present in the Ducal Hall of the Vatican almost one hundred different deputations from the several cities of Italy, all under the leadership of Doctor Acquaderni, of Bologna, President of the Young Men's Societies ; how these Italians received Pius IX. with shouts of " Holy Father, we wish you free." They will say how Pius IX., with tears in his eyes, replied, " I have blessed, and I again bless Italy for the good works which are everywhere being done. . . . Every part of Italy has given me splendid proofs of attachment, but let no one be troubled if, in the present circumstances, I give Turin the first place. . . . Some good people of that city speak of repentance ; but what have they to repent of ? Is an entire people responsible for the sins of its rulers, or the weakness of its legislators, or the hypocrisy of its ministers, or the foolishness of its sovereign ? With Turin I bless Venice and Florence, whence I have consoling intelligence, and Genoa and Bologna. From Palermo, the other day, a letter was received by me so filled with extraordinary expressions of affection, that I was deeply moved while reading it." . . . And yet the Holy Father, while speaking these words, had not seen the innumerable special deputations of Italians—that assembling in large cities—eight or ten new associations formed of merchants, of matrons, of workmen, of students, and young girls—all for the purpose of sending special messengers and gifts to the Vatican ; nor those albums full of exquisite verses from the Catholic Association of Modena and the "*Genio*" of Reggio, and many other cities, written by some of the most eminent Italian *literati*. The Holy Father did not then know the particulars of the wonderful celebration got up by those of his children who glory in calling him their fellow-citizen—the people of Senigaglia. Bishop, clergy, laity, rivalled each other in enthusiasm ; everywhere the churches sumptuously adorned ; crowds, hitherto unseen, approaching the eucharistic table, with all the demonstrations of jubilee which yet remain at the disposal of a nation chained down by a wicked government. We have before us a mountain of pastorals of prelates, and newspapers full of details ; and, as if that were not enough, another accumulation of manuscript reports which reached us from every quarter. In each of them we are told how that here the festivity excelled any other, was extraordinary, and

deserving of special mention ; and in the detailed report which follows, one can easily see that nothing is told but the bare truth. What can we do ? Which of the cities shall we place first ? And then we have but a few pages at our disposal—not a volume. We have come to the conclusion, therefore, to narrate only what we witnessed with our own eyes in the centre of Italy, in Tuscany.

We were in the very centre of the ample basin of the Ombrone, where noble cities, such as Pistoia and Prato, are snugly located. The festival lasted from the 15th to the 21st, but especially on the 16th day and night the country round was in a whirlwind of excitement. Beyond the walled cities the envy of the sectaries could do but little to throw a damp on the unanimous joy of the population ; wherefore the country folk, without exception, rushed in multitudes to the solemn discourses, crowded round the confessionals and the altar of Life, made the vaults of the churches resound with sweet psalmody, and endless canticles in honour of the Sacred Heart and the Madonna. Very many, to our own knowledge, offered three communions during the Sacred Triduum for the Holy Father. In the parish churches they solemnly consecrated themselves to the Sacred Heart. We witnessed more than once the sacred banners unfolded, and the processions wending their way, the men in religious costume, those from the neighbouring villages bearing lighted torches (one village of 800 souls furnished fifty torch-bearers) ; the rest of the people, with heads uncovered, and beads in their hands, following the baldacchino that was borne over the Blessed Sacrament. We asked those good people what they were praying for, and they readily replied, "*For the triumph of the Holy Father.*"

At the close of day, an artificial day commenced. The hills and mountain sides were brilliant with huge bonfires. It was impossible to count them, for, from the very base to the summit of each mountain, an uninterrupted succession of fires seemed to set the whole country in a blaze. The valleys about responded to the signals from the mountain, and intermingled with the better disciplined illumination of the villages ; huge blazing piles marked the salient points of each town in bold relief upon the landscape. Children marched in groups with flaming masses fixed to the top of long poles, and even the very palliasses were emptied to supply fuel for the many fires. The peasantry would, good-humouredly, remark, "*We must sleep on boards till harvest time*, but what matter—Viva Pio IX." All this was but the theatre of the scene. In the villages the people gathered in the Piazzas and

street corners, and to the sounds of rustic music danced the night through. Old men were seen forgetting their infirmities, and stoutly maintaining the village festival, whilst the younger portion of the males, armed with old muskets and blank cartridge, kept up a continual *feu de joie* from every eminence and vantage point around the towns. Every church bell rang out a merry peal; bands of music, some of them admirably trained, paraded the streets and highways to an advanced hour, and thus the Tuscan Catholics held high festival, and the truculent governmental police dare not present themselves to preserve order. During the days that immediately followed, the same demonstrations were renewed with more or less intensity; and we must add, in homage to truth, amongst the continual cries of *Viva Pio IX.*, none other was heard so constantly as one of imprecation on those who are keeping him a prisoner. We cannot omit making special mention of a cyclopean illumination which was erected right in the centre of Italy, on the summit of Mondrago, in the Valdarno, a point which can be seen from a thousand towns and four provinces. The design was two huge cross keys in fire, with the tiara in the centre, surmounted by a cross, and underneath, in burning flame, the words *Viva Pio IX.* It occupied about a kilometre square, and appeared an inscription set up on the Apennines, dedicating to the Pope all the festivities of Tuscany and the entire Peninsula. God and His angels were witnesses of this uprising of Italy, an uprising of faith, of thanksgiving, and of prayer.

But let us come to Rome. There it was an incessant hymn prolonged for twelve days, sung in chorus by all baptized nations, through their representatives within the walls of Rome, and ascending to Jesus Christ through his Vicar. The solemn receptions at the Vatican commenced three days before the 16th, and the chapters and clergy of the Roman Basilicas were received in the throne room. The Lateran, as the first of the world, was the first to speak. Monsignor Nocello, an eminent Latin scholar, read a poem in the name of the Liberian Chapter, of which he is a member. Every Chapter offered designs of the monuments, by which it proposes to perpetuate the memory of the Pontifical Jubilee. The most splendid comprises an oval effigy of Pius IX., in mosaic, which will be placed in St. Peter's, over the statue of the great Apostle, whose foot is worn from the pious kisses of the faithful. A happy idea thus to unite the two only Popes who reigned twenty-five years. After the representatives of the secular clergy, came the heads of the religious bodies, bringing the double tribute of devotion to the Vicar of Christ, and



offerings to succour him in his glorious poverty. Then followed the civil and military deputations: the fiscal council; the office of memorials, headed by Cardinal Monaco; the superior officers of the Pontifical army present in Rome; a deputation from the Association of the Sacred Heart; and an immense number of the Roman and Foreign nobility and gentry. No one came with empty hands; even the military men laid at the feet of their Prince a considerable sum, snatched almost from the grasp of the usurper, it being the product of the sale of the furniture, &c., belonging to their club. On this day commenced that beautiful aspect of serene festivity which continued for so many days to enliven the Vatican. No sneering face, no hated uniform, no mutual suspicion, but a genuine family meeting of all nations, which, like an oasis in the desert, refreshed the mind saddened by the armed bacchanal that was being celebrated in the streets of the city. The venerable Pontiff showed himself to his children majestic and benign, more florid and vivacious every day amidst these seemingly interminable receptions, which he enlivened with his happiest eloquence. The 14th of June was remarkable for a new example of pilgrimage. The Roman ladies, to the number of 800, assembled early in the morning at St. Mary Major's; thence in ordered files they walked, reciting prayers to Santa Croce; where, prostrated before the Blessed Sacrament, they recited the Litany of the Saints. Then, again re-assembling, they advanced to St. John Lateran to hear a sermon and receive Holy Communion. Wonderful to relate, no accident happened to intercept their pious work, because the police knew nothing of it until it was all over. At the Vatican Cardinal Consolini presented the illustrious confraternity of the Picenians. The Ecclesiastical Academy, headed by its President, Monsignor Cardoni, offered a precious cross and chain of gold, of beautiful design, and brilliant with precious stones. The Parish Priests of the city, from their limited resources, filled a handsome purse, and in Apostolic simplicity offered it to him, from whom shortly before they had received the generous gift of 3,000 scudi, not for themselves, but for their poor. Thus Christian charity ebbs and flows. The officers of the Palatine Guard of Honour were then received. These genuine Roman citizens, ennobled by proofs of valour given to the Pontiff, above all in 1867, and now condemned to inoperative, but not altogether useless fidelity, brought a mitre, accompanied with a most affectionate address. Lastly, the Pope received his faithful Savoyards; generous inhabitants of Annecy, Cham-

berry, and Moriana, they spared no trouble to gather thousands and thousands of signatures to their address, and brought one hundred thousand francs in gold. How well pleased did St. Francis de Sales and Joseph de Maistre look down on them from heaven on the night of the Pope's Jubilee.

The twenty-nine Committees of the "Roman Society for Catholic Interests," united with their pastors, were drawn up in the Hall of the Consistory on the morning of the 15th. With them were joined the Society for Mutual Succour, and the "*Reduci*" from the Papal battles. Along the streets they were honoured with hisses and scoffs, always guaranteed to honest folk by the vigilant Italian police; but they were amply compensated when they saw in the midst of them the Holy Father, delighted to see himself surrounded by the true people of Rome—for they numbered 800 Romans, the flower of the aristocracy and burgess class, representing eight to ten thousand associates, who during these days edified Rome by their devotions in the churches, and every possible attestation of affection to the Holy Father which the liberty that came through the breach at Porta Pia allowed them. The address was read by Prince Don Mario Chigi, the President, and he offered a pectoral cross, designed on parchment, as the artist to whom it had been entrusted had not completed his work in time—"to the end," said the address, "that you may place it upon your Apostolic breast, and so indicate that we are in your heart, united to you in faith, united to you in charity, united to you in Catholic communion, united to you in the hopes, the sorrows, and all the affections of your paternal heart," Loud acclamations greeted the sweet words said in reply by Pius IX. to his Romans. It was then, as far as we can learn, that the clever captain in command of the Royal Guard in the Piazza of St. Peter's called to arms. He thought there was an insurrection in the Vatican! Soon after he breathed more freely, and disbanded his guard; and the "*reactionary*" battalion filed out before him through the great bronze gate, honoured with the insults of the hired ruffians who form the chief reliance of the present government in Rome. About eleven o'clock the Holy Father came down to the Ducal Hall, where over eight hundred Catholic ladies awaited him. Princess Altieri spoke in their name, and reminded him of the Madonna whom he had crowned by the definition of the Immaculate Conception. She told him of their prayers and good works during the imprisonment of the new Peter to obtain the speedy triumph of the Church. Finally she presented the purse of offerings, and a second purse contained marriage dowries for as many young girls as there are parishes in Rome,

to be distributed on the Jubilee day. Then the Signora Gnoli, a clever poetess, recited a beautiful poem in honour of the Sacred Heart. The Holy Father replied in the happiest terms. He had just been informed of a congratulatory telegram sent by the Queen of England. An unanimous shout of "Long live Queen Victoria," greeted the announcement, and at the termination of the audience they met again to forward a telegram to the Archbishop of Westminster, begging of him to thank the Queen of England in their names for her delicate forethought in thus doing honour to their Father.

At length, the great day arrived, "*June the sixteenth, One thousand eight hundred and seventy-one,*" the day on which Providence permitted one of his most beloved Pontiffs to equal and surpass the years of Peter; a day predestined from all eternity by God, and for his inscrutable reasons, this year wonderfully identified with the solemnity of the Sacred Heart. The whole Christian world rejoiced, as thousands of telegrams addressed to the Holy Father testified. Almost all the sovereigns of the world, not excluding the Sultan, united with their people in this testimony of affection. The Holy Father on this day admitted before all others to his private chapel "His Highness Prince Constantine d'Hohenlohe, ambassador extraordinary from the Emperor of Austria," with other distinguished personages of various nations, and administered Holy Communion to them with his own hand. Early in the morning he commenced the audiences: first his household, who presented him with a magnificent reliquary, enclosing a large portion of the relics of the Prince of the Apostles. The rest of the day he devoted to the reception of the Foreign deputations. The first to be presented was the deputation from the Dioceses of England. Later on he received another from the Catholic youth of England, in whose name the Hon. Edward Noel spoke. The Holy Father in his reply said that he was rejoiced to meet the youth of Great Britain, "*and he recommended them concord, that concord which preserved the faith in Ireland.*" At home, in their several dioceses, their fellow-countrymen in England, Ireland, and Scotland, were gathering to prayers, and innumerable despatches brought their felicitations to the Holy Father. Malta was in a flame of jubilee, and the British Government, with an instinctive appreciation of its own interests, favoured the popular movement, legalizing the special holiday voted by the clergy and people of Malta. On the day previous the British *charge d'affaires* presented the congratulations of his most gracious sovereign; and thus the Prince, the Government, Clergy, and people of a great Empire worthily co-operated in this festivity of Pius IX.

The English deputation was followed by the German, the most numerous of all—1,500 deputies. The first 800 were admitted to-day. Every diocese in the two Empires, and of the other states, municipalities, universities, colleges, associations of every kind, were represented ; and the representatives were prelates, princes, professors, ladies, and other distinguished personages. One might well say that all Germany was at the feet of Pio Nono. As they approached the throne they presented their rich gifts, works of art, letters of congratulation, and endless lists of signatures. Prince Lövenstein spoke in the name of all ; and the Holy Father in his reply extolled the firmness of the episcopacy and peoples of Germany, and animated them to fight bravely the battles of the Lord. An enthusiastic "*hoch*," three times repeated, greeted the concluding words of the Pontiff. At that moment one of the ladies, unable to control herself, rushed up the steps of the throne, and prostrating herself at the Holy Father's feet, in sobs and tears, asked his special prayers for a dearly-loved friend. The Holy Father promised them, and amidst renewed applauses and repeated blessings he left the Ducal Hall accompanied by some of the leading German representatives. The private chamberlains and honorary chamberlains, lay and clerical, were also admitted to-day. Monsignor Stonor headed them. He presented a valuable *pennello* or syphon, used by the Pope when consuming the chalice. The address was signed by 152 names of gentlemen, Romans, Italians, and other nations. The Rectors of the several Colleges in Rome were then introduced, then the Neapolitan deputation, then the American. Between one audience and the other he perused the innumerable telegrams and despatches, and dictated the replies. Some few personages of distinction were honoured with private audiences, amongst them the ambassador of Francis Joseph, Prince Isemburg, husband of an Austrian Archduchess, and H.R.H. Don Michell di Braganza. Within the Vatican the old aspect of Rome seemed to have returned ; outside interminable files of carriages and pedestrians on their way to St. Peter's, and saying by their peaceful demonstration to their perverse rulers, "You alone are not with us ; you are the sole enemies of Christianity !" A Te Deum sung in St. John Lateran's, with the voices and hearts of Christians from all parts of the world, closed this memorable sixteenth of June. At the termination of the Ambrosian Hymn, Pius IX. completed the twenty-fifth year of his Pontificate, and entered upon his twenty-sixth. It would be tedious to recount singly and separately the incessant stream of receptions which followed from all parts of the Christian world, from Holland, and Spain, and Hungary,

and the Tyrol ; from Switzerland and Constantinople ; from Canada and the Republic of Ecuador ; from North and South America. For fifteen days was the aged Pontiff exclusively occupied in receiving the congratulations of his children. But two receptions we consider worthy of special mention—Ireland and Belgium. Catholic Ireland was represented by a numerous and distinguished deputation of ladies and gentlemen, who happened to find themselves in Rome for that occasion. They were introduced by Monsignor Kirby, and Count De La Poer read the address. The Holy Father replied in his happiest mood, for he never alludes to the constancy and persevering fidelity of Catholic Ireland without manifesting the liveliest emotion. Holland and Belgium, two twin peoples, in their spacious and fertile plains, thickly studded with populous cities and towns, celebrated the festivity with one heart and one soul. These classic lands of the Zouaves of Pio Nono fought with the arms of universal prayer and gifts of greatest value. All that you beheld, piece by piece elsewhere, was here united. You had military bands rivalling the jubilant expression of the sacred bronzes ; you had the houses of the people adorned with the Papal colours intertwined with the colours of the country ; you had busts of Pio IX. exposed at the windows surrounded with flowers, and the Papal Zouaves in uniform received everywhere with acclamation. But what shall we say of the Ladies of Belgium ? It was not enough for them to be generous in their offerings for Peter's Pence, they would present some more characteristic token of their devotion to the Sovereign Pontiff. They conceived the idea of presenting a tiara adorned with the gems and jewels that they had for their own persons. A committee was formed, and the archbishop's approval obtained. From the first day a perfect torrent of emeralds and rubies and sapphires and topazes and amethysts and diamonds of the purest water showered upon them, from those that went to form the rich diadems of the great ladies down to the unpretending little necklet of the peasant girl, marriage rings, and jewellery carefully accumulated by a fond mother for her eldest daughter were all offered to adorn the crown of Pius IX. More than a good chestfull remained over, but nobody withdrew their gift, and the superabundance was also presented to the Holy Father. Brave nation, you have been for so many years the treasury of Pio IX., you have maintained his army, nothing remained for you but that your daughters should weave his crown !

Poor France ! You saw the Papal kingdom fall amidst your own ruins ; first, your own, then the Pope's ; Sedan and Porta Pia ; Rome taken, Paris taken ; the name of Jesus

hammered off, and the Vendome Column levelled; the Quirinal forced and the Tuilleries burned. And yet, scarcely recovered, still bleeding from your wounds, you thought of Pio Nono. Paris, Rouen, Marseilles, Orleans, Lyons, Cambrai, Lille, Toulouse, Bordeaux, all the cities of France, without exception, held high festival. One great glory was added which was wanting to the others—we mean the terrible outburst of indignation against the persecutors of Pio Nono. Two million congratulations France sent to the Holy Father, rich gifts, and a most distinguished deputation, headed by the Bishop of Nevers and Count Damas; but, above all, the cry of honour, the cry of right, which gives us clearly to understand that old France is not yet dead. Arise, and reign!

Pius IX., having heard the French addresses, and, above all, the special one of the Count Damas on the part of the royal family of France, raised his eyes to heaven, placed his hand on his heart, and said, "*France is written here!*"

But to conclude. What has the world seen in the Pontifical Jubilee of Pius IX.? An unarmed old man, despoiled, a prisoner, who, by the power of his name alone, can agitate nations. Pius IX. had not to spend one farthing to get up this demonstration. The salvation of humanity, therefore, is not yet to be despaired of when it is thus moved to its centre in defence of religion and justice. Would to heaven that sovereigns would hear the cries of their people, weary of pillage and butchery under the name of liberty. But prudent people in the world say, "Too much of the people is adverse to Pius IX.; it is only the clergy and clericals that are with him!" False! Of all the people in the world who are accredited as being his enemies the Italian has the worst reputation in that sense; and yet how came it that upwards of five hundred of the most distinguished nobility and gentry of Italy crowded the halls of the Vatican on the 15th? How came it that such myriads of names were appended to the several addresses: the circle of St. Peter alone gathered 170,000 names. Was it not the Italian people that illuminated their towns and villages and fields wherever the hand of the Government could not reach to extinguish them? Was not "Viva Pio IX.!" the universal cry of the multitudes that thronged the churches, from the little mountain parish to the spacious basilicas of St. John Lateran and St. Peter? Other nations surpassed Italy in their demonstrations of applause to the old man of the Vatican; therefore other nations agree with Italy, and wish what she wishes. "*Qui potest capere capiat.*"

For the rest, what can governments hope for, who, because of the sects or through cowardice, looked on with indifference

on the Jubilee of Pius IX. ? We know not. But certain it is that Pius IX., during the twenty-five years of his reign, saw in France four or five governments almost all more and more hostile to the Papacy, and of one of his persecutors he can use the biblical expression to the letter—“*His place is not to be found.*” Pius IX. saw crowns broken in Spain, and others on the verge of meeting a similar fate ; and so in Greece, in Germany, in Italy, in Servia, in Roumania ; England and Russia ominously threatened by an unknown democracy ; Austria mutilated ; Switzerland, the American Republics, and the United States devastated by fratricidal war. The little kingdom of Piedmont, which alone seems to have fattened on the ruins of the Papacy, what does it hope for ? It is now Italy—true ; but amidst the hatred of so many thrones overturned, wading in a sea of innocent blood, becoming the first nation in the world for crimes unavenged, crowned by defeats on sea and land, and victories more shameful than defeats ; and up to the day on which its capital, wandering from north to south, like the tents of King Odoacer, is placed in Rome, and there established with its innumerable sources of discord, its blasphemous parliament, its unmentionable corruption, by theatres, indecent feasts, and materialistic education, crowned, we say, with infamy in the face of all civilized nations, Italy—which, thanks to heaven, is not the Italian people—which has it reached, the Capitol, or the Tarpeian Rock ? Pius IX. sees that, and knows, moreover, that if his counsels had been listened to, human society would not have to lament the tenth part of its present ruin. At the end of twenty-five years he can say : “Too much am I avenged ; and he who denies Christ in his Vicar has nothing to hope for. This scourge of God, which for twenty-five years has been laid upon governments hostile to the church, and this outburst of faith amongst the people, doing homage to the Pope on the occasion of his Jubilee, establish in us an immense unshaken confidence of a happy future—a confidence founded on the universal sentiment of Christendom, on the heart of the Episcopacy, and on the conviction of Pius IX. Therefore it shall be. Such was the idea of the thirty or forty thousand Romans who chanted in St. Peter’s the incomparable *Te Deum* of the coronation of Pius IX. as Pope and King. It was a *Te Deum* worthy of Rome ; and God read the thoughts and affections of Rome and of Christendom in the solemn united prayer of those that believe in Him. The Catholic world, in thanking Him for the favour accorded, implored another—the speedy triumph of the Church and of Pius the Ninth. It seems to us that when the spirit of the Lord so moves his believers, the triumph has already commenced.

## ROMAN CHRONICLE.

1. Canon Audisio.—2. Deputation to the Pope from the Academy of Catholic Religion.—3. Great Deputation of the Roman People.—4. Munificence of the Pope.—5. Letter of the Pope to Marquis Cavaletti.—6. The Roman University.—7. Roman Journalism.—8. Names of the Piazzas changed.—9. Pius IX. sees the days of Peter, 23rd of August.

1. In the concluding remarks of last month's Chronicle we ventured to express a hope that the distinguished theologian and writer, Canon Audisio, would have, ere this, seen his mistake in visiting the Quirinal, and retraced his steps. We are happy to chronicle in this number the realization of our hopes. On the 28th of July he addressed a very consoling letter to his former disciple, Don Margotti, the editor of the *Unità Cattolica*. Amongst other things he says: "My faith and my sentiments are registered in my published works. Are my friends satisfied with my *Diritto pubblico della chiesa*, and my *Storia dei Papi*? If they are, they may rest assured that I will never depart one hair's breadth from what is written there." And further down he concludes: "Be persuaded that I have never regarded earth in my actions, and I would be mad if I should do so now, that I am about to abandon it. Be also persuaded that I would make any sacrifice sooner than cause the slightest displeasure to the already too afflicted Pontiff." He sought to justify his conduct in going to the Quirinal, by the precedent of fourteen cardinals singing a *Te Deum* in St. Peter's for the French occupation of Rome under the First Republic. But the *Unità Cattolica* very ably explains this fact, and shows clearly that it could in no way form a justifiable precedent.

2. Amongst the many deputations introduced to the Holy Father at this time, we must not omit to mention that of the *Accademia di Religione Cattolica*, which presented an elaborate and learned address. His Holiness, in replying, remarked: "Not the least of the malicious interpretations given to the Decree on Papal Infallibility, is that which reinstates the power in the Popes to depose sovereigns, and absolve subjects from the oath of allegiance. This right was, no doubt, exercised by the Pontiffs in extreme circumstances, not in virtue of their infallibility, but of their authority. The Pontifical authority, according to the laws then existing, and the agreement of Christian nations, who regarded the Pope as the supreme judge of Christendom, extended even civilly over princes and



states. But the present condition of things is very different ; and it is pure malice to say that an infallible judgment regarding a principle of revelation, can have any affinity with a right which the Popes exercised, according to the wishes of the people, whenever the public good demanded. . . . Some are anxious that I should explain and make still clear the definition of the Council. *I will do nothing of the sort (Io nol farò)*. It is sufficiently clear of itself, nor does it require any comments or explanations."

3. On the morning of the 24th of July, the Governing Committee of the *Primary Roman Society for Catholic Interests*, with the Prefects of its thirty branches, were presented to the Holy Father, and they tendered him volumes containing 27,161 signatures, of none but Romans, males, and of full age. The signatures had each appended their residence in Rome. The address was read by his Excellency Prince Campagnano, and it was short, but noble and firm. The Holy Father replied, praising loudly the object and work of this society, and the fidelity of the Romans. He then added : "They say that *I am weary*. Yes, I am weary of seeing so much iniquity, so much injustice, so much disorder. I am weary of seeing religion insulted every day in a city which gave the world an example in respect of faith and morals. I am weary of seeing the innocent oppressed, the ministers of the sanctuary outraged, and all that we venerate and love profaned. Yes, I am weary, but I am not disposed to lay down my arms [here a tremendous burst of applause interrupted the Holy Father's reply for several moments]. I am not disposed to treat with injustice, or desist from the fulfilment of my duty. No, thanks to God, in this sense and for this work I am not weary, and I hope I never shall."

The *Voce della Verità*, the organ of this admirable society, ably explained the importance of this free, courageous, and irrefragable testimony, attested in their own handwriting by 27,161 male Roman citizens of full age, under the pressure of a government introduced by the bombs of last September, and at a season of the year when thousands of the upper classes most devoted to the Pope were absent from Rome. This *black plebiscite* of the Romans, as the revolutionary journals call it, contrasts curiously with the 40,000 votes of great unknowns that were registered on the 2nd of October last.

4. The charitable institutions of Rome are undergoing a slow metamorphosis that bids fair to kill them outright. The Pontifical Government was accustomed to allocate from the public funds 300 scudi (1,600 francs) per month to the refuge for little boys, called "*Tata Giovanni*," a kind of industrial

school. The philanthropic Government of the 20th of September, munificent protector of certain other *generous* professions, suppressed this item in its accounts for the month of August. The Holy Father, who had begun in that institution his holy career of the priesthood and of charity, immediately forwarded to the Refuge the sum denied by the Government of Lanza, thus reassuring the superiors and inmates, who saw their institution threatened with immediate dissolution.

5. Marquis Cavaletti, ex-Senator of Rome, and who has been foremost in every work of religion and fidelity to the Holy See, that has been organized in Rome, conceived, with some friends, the idea of presenting the Holy Father with a throne of gold, and the title accorded by the acclamation of the Catholic world, of *Pius the Great*. To this end he had a beautiful address drawn up, and translated into several European languages for circulation throughout Christendom, soliciting contributions towards the Golden Throne. Several of the Catholic journals took up the affair warmly, and finally the Holy Father came to know of the project, when he immediately forwarded to the Marquis the subjoined beautiful letter, which we give in full.

"MY DEAR MARQUIS SENATOR, AND SON IN  
JESUS CHRIST.

"The innumerable proofs of filial affection which reach me from every corner of the Catholic world, produce in me the liveliest emotion, and place me under obligations of sincere gratitude, which I endeavour to discharge by praying in behalf of so many children of the Church, and by offering for them once each week the sacrifice of infinite value, that of the Holy Mass, and which, to satisfy a general wish, I will apply, please God, on the 23rd instant, asking God to liberate Italy from so many evils that more and more oppress her every day. Recently I was surprised, most beloved son in Jesus Christ—for you were always so devoted to this Holy See—I was surprised, I say, by the information I received, that two new and unexpected proofs of filial love were being prepared by good Catholics for my acceptance, the presentation of a Pontifical throne of gold, and the addition of the title of *Great* to the name of Pio Nono.

"With my heart on my lips, and with all the sincerity of a Father, who tenderly loves his children in Jesus Christ, I will answer as to one and the other. In regard to the precious gift of a golden throne, it immediately struck me to employ the sum which would result from the oblations of the faithful,

in ransoming young ecclesiastical students from the action of a wicked and hitherto unheard of law that forces them to military service. The clergy constitute the golden throne which sustains the Church, and for that reason it is against the clergy that the efforts of the present rulers are principally directed, by spoliation, persecution, and, above all, by rendering vocations to the sanctuary most difficult, and thereby rendering scarce the number of substitutes in the ecclesiastical hierarchy, which, decimated every day by death and persecution, leaves continual vacancies which cannot be filled, to the great detriment of the Church of Jesus Christ. It would appear that the present governors have assumed the duty of destroying everything, and especially what has reference to religion and to the church; and whilst they are profuse in praises and subventions to encourage ecclesiastics that are disobedient to their prelates, and apostates from the faith, they continue their infernal system of keeping out a great number of good men for the sole reason that they are opposed to the doctrines of their persecutors, and anti-christian regulations. But let those blind rulers run on in their way of perdition, for having turned deaf ears to the first promptings of conscience, and learned to scoff at sound doctrine placed before their very eyes, they are gliding down that fatal precipice that slopes to the bottomless abyss. With regard to the second project, that of adding the word *Great* to my name, I am reminded of a sentence of our Divine Redeemer. Having assumed our human nature, he was going through the several towns of Judea, when some one admiring his wonderful works, cried out, *Magister bonus—Good Master*; but Jesus suddenly asked, '*Why do you call me good?—God alone is good.*' If, therefore, Jesus Christ in his humanity declared that God alone is good, why should not his unworthy Vicar say that God alone is great? Great on account of the favours that he grants to this same Vičar; great for the support which he gives his church; great for the infinite patience he manifests towards his enemies; great in the rewards he prepares for all such as abandon the ways of sin, and apply themselves to the exercise of penance; great in the rigours of his justice, which he must adopt for the punishment of the incredulous and obstinate enemies of his church.

"Such being the case, I feel compelled to confirm what I indicated above, that is, I wish that the money collected be spent, not to procure a throne of gold, but to ransom young clerics; and, secondly, I wish to hear my name pronounced as it always has been, being desirous that all should repeat it to the glory of God; '*Magnus Dominus et laudabilis nimis.*'

This is the wish of a father to his dearly beloved children, and with this wish he renews the assurances of his love and gratitude towards them. It is true that the title of Great was given to three Pontiffs who were indeed great, but that happened after their death, when the judgments of men are clearer and more tranquil. May they, meanwhile, remain great in the mouths and hearts of all, whilst I, with all the emotion of my heart, impart to you, to your family, and to all good Catholics, the Apostolic Benediction.

“The Vatican, *August 8th*, 1871.

“PIO PAPA IX.”

This splendid document needs no comment. A monument at the same time of true Christian humility, Christian charity, and paternal love, it will go far to ensure for him from those that survive him, the well earned title of Great, which he feels compelled to decline whilst living.

6. The examinations in the Roman University are over. Last year it had over 1,000 students, this year it had on the rolls only 700; but after the affair of the address to Döllinger, the number was reduced to 300. Little more than half presented themselves for examination, and only 24 (mark the figure 24) were judged deserving of a degree. The degrees in former years always numbered 80 or 90, and even more. Now that studies are suspended, there is question of dismissing the old professors; that is to say, they will be asked, within five or six days, to take the oath of allegiance to Victor Emmanuel, or resign. This step will involve a loss of 28 or 30 of the old professors to the Sapienza. The new professors are already named, and persons that have seen the list say that they are so unworthy of the post that some who came in with the bombs of last September, are disgusted to find themselves in such company. This is the future in store for higher education in Rome, if Providence does not soon intervene, as we pray he may.

7. The edict of the Pope, condemning and prohibiting the reading of the revolutionary newspapers, has told well. Some of the condemned journals, such as the *Tribuno*, *Il Diavolo*, and others of minor importance, have ceased to exist, and the remainder depend more on government subsidy than popular support. On the other hand, the “*Roman Society for Catholic Interests*” is establishing a means of counteracting this evil by founding popular libraries. Good books and good journals will be sold and distributed at a cheap rate. In the Gesu, on a recent occasion, Father Gallerani praised this noble project, and recommended it in the strongest terms to

an immense audience. In the course of his eloquent discourse he reminded his hearers that the *Society of Jesus*, that Society that has done such incalculable good for religion since its foundation, had its origin in the reading of a good book.

On the 19th of August the band of the Roman National Guard played for the first time in public in the Piazza Navona. The music was good, but the Piazza was almost in darkness, and this latter coincidence was availed of to carry out a serio-comic project. Just as the band was engaged in discoursing a very beautiful selection from Verdi's "*Ballo in Maschera*," a number of the unwashed mounted ladders placed at the several angles of the Piazza where the name is painted, and pasted over the name large placards bearing in huge characters the following words:—"Piazza Principe Umberto." So "*Piazza Navona*" is gone, just as "*Piazza Pia*" had to make way for "*Piazza del Plebiscito*."

9. The great day looked forward to by the Christian world—the "*Dies Petri*"—the 23rd of August—came at last, and Pius IX. has passed, and is in the enjoyment of the most florid health. We extract from the *Unita Cattolica*, a hurried description of how the day was spent in Rome. He offered holy Mass at the usual hour in private, but with unusual emotion. This day he offered it for the salvation of Italy. At half-past ten in the forenoon he passed into the Throne room, where he found assembled all his honorary chamberlains—lay and clerical. Their dean, Monsignor Perilli, read an address, and then Commander Datti, in the name of all, presented a superb ciborium, of exquisite design and workmanship. In the same hall a very elegant Latin address was presented from the Catholic University of Dublin, by one of its Professors, Dr. Quinlan, specially commissioned for that duty; and another, accompanied with a large offering in money, from the diocese of Kingston, Canada; some offerings from Florence, exhibited by Monsignor Frescobaldi, and an address beautifully illuminated, from the Seminary of Montefiascone. In the adjoining hall all the Pontifical Noble Guard were assembled in undress uniform to offer their homage and congratulations. The Holy Father addressed them in an appropriate reply. Passing on to another hall he found all the superior officers of the Papal army, a great number of the Roman nobility, merchants, and professional gentlemen, and a few foreigners of distinction; here again rich presents were tendered to him. But in the great hall of the Consistory the largest assemblage of visitors to the august prisoner of the Vatican was in wait-

ing. There was found Dr. Acquaderni at the head of a chosen and numerous band of young Italian Catholics ; there also was the Duke della Regina heading a band of Neapolitan gentlemen and several distinguished personages, Italian and foreign ladies and gentlemen. The Holy Father having ascended the throne, three addresses were read respectively by the Duke della Regina, by the editor of the *Libertà Cattolica*, and by Dr. Acquaderni, all presenting rich offerings to His Holiness. The Neapolitan offering was a magnificent "*sedia gestatoria*," or portable throne, used by the Pope on great solemnities. The offerings presented as the "*elemosina*" for the mass celebrated that morning, amounted to over 150,000 francs—all contributed by Italians. The Holy Father responded to the three addresses in a single speech ; he compared himself to a certain man of the Gospel who fell amongst robbers, and was left on the roadside half dead ; but he consoled the assemblage by recounting all the good that has come out of the present evils, specially noting the efforts of the young Italians to keep sound doctrine and purity of morals. When he withdrew from the hall he was saluted with repeated enthusiastic shouts of "*Viva Pio IX.*" He was in the best of health. An imposing *Te Deum* was celebrated in St. John Lateran's in the evening. The vast Basilica was so crowded that numbers had to remain in the Portico, and on the steps outside. There was nothing to attract the curious, but anything to equal that immense congregation, vociferating the alternate strophes of the Ambrosian hymn, it would be difficult to imagine. The correspondent goes on to say that when the sacred function was over he stopped for about half-an-hour at the top of the street leading to St. John's, and during that space of time he counted *four hundred* carriages that passed him, and as many more were still in the *Piazza*. The number of pedestrians was enormous. And yet they had to encounter the insults and jeers of a ruffianly mob posted at every street corner, to do the base work of the Italian government. They were able to bear the insults, for they had the great satisfaction of knowing that their loved Pio Nono, whom their enemies would wish dead, was alive and well, and at liberty to disappoint their expectations for many a year to come ; which may God grant.

## DOCUMENT.

## NEW HONOURS ACCORDED TO ST. JOSEPH.

## "PIUS PP. IX.

## "AD PERPETUAM REI MEMORIAM.

"Inclytum Patriarcham Beatum Josephum, quem Deus Omnipotens prae omnibus Sanctis suis purissimum verumque sponsum esse voluit in terris immaculae Virginis Mariae, ac putativum unigeniti Filii sui patrem, quemque ad tam sublimia munera fidelissime implenda gratiis prorsus singularibus anxietate et abunde cumulavit merito Catholica Ecclesia gloria et honore in coelis coronatum amplissimo prosequitur cultu atque intimo veneratur pietatis affectu. Quamobrem Romani Pontifices Praedecessores Nostri, ut augerent in dies, ac ardentius excitarent in Christifidelium cordibus devotionem et reverentiam erga sanctum Patriarcham, eosque cohortarentur ad Illius apud Deum intercessionem summa cum fiducia implorandam haud omiserunt quoties opportuna esset occasio novas semper ac majores publici cultus significationes eidem decernere. Inter eos memoria repetere sufficiat Praedecessores Nostros felicitis recordationis Xistum IV. qui festum S. Josephi inseri voluit in Breviario et Missali Romano, Gregorium XV. qui decreto diei VIII. Maii An. MDCXXI. festum ipsum sub duplici praecepto in universo orbe recoli mandavit; Clementem X. qui die VI. Decembris An. MDCLXX. eidem festo ritum duplicis secundae classis concessit; Clementem XI. qui decreto diei IV. Februarii An. MDCCXIV. festum praedictum Missa ac Officio integre propriis condecoravit; ac tandem Benedictum XIII. qui nonem Sancti Patriarchae decreto edito die XIX. Decembris An. MDCCXXVI. Sanctorum litanis addi jussit. Ac nos ipsi, postquam investigabili Dei judicio ad supremam Petri Cathedram evecti fuimus, moti tum illustrium Praedecessorum Nostrorum exemplis, tum singulari devotione, qua usque ab adolescentia erga eundem sanctum Patriarcham affecti fuimus decreto diei X. Septembris An. MDCCCXLVII. magno animi Nostri gaudio ad universam Ecclesiam sub ritu duplicis secundae classis extendimus festum Patrocinii ejus, quod iam pluribus in locis speciali hujus Sanctae Sedis indulto celebrabatur. Verum postremis hisce temporibus, in quibus immane ac teterrimum

bellum contra Christi Ecclesiam fuit indictum fidelium devotio erga Sanctum Josephum adeo increvit et progressa est, ut omni ex parte ad Nos innumerae ac fervidissimae pervenerint postulationes, quae nuper dum Sacrum Oecumenicum Concilium Vaticanum haberetur, ab omni fidelium coetu et quod maxime interest a plurimis ex Venerabilibus Fratribus Nostriis S. R. Ecclesiae Cardinalibus et Episcopis renovatae fuere, quibus flagitabant, ut luctuosis hisce temporibus ad mala omnia propulsanda, quae Nos undique conturbant, efficacius Dei miserationem per merita et intercessionem Sancti Josephi exoraremus Illum Catholicae Ecclesiae Patronum declarantes. Nos itaque hisce postulationibus moti Divino lumine invocato tot ac tam piis votis annuendum censuimus, ac peculiari Decreto Nostrae Sacrorum Rituum Congregationis quod inter Missarum solemnias in Nostriis Patriarchalibus Basilicis Lateranensi, Vaticana ac Liberiana die VIII. Decembris elapsi anni MDCCCLXX. immacolatae Conceptioni Ipsius Sponsae sacro publicari iussimus, eundem Beatum Patriarcham Josephum Ecclesiae Catholicae Patronum solemniter declaravimus, Illiusque festum die decimanona Martii occurrens, deinceps sub ritu duplici primae classis, attamen sine octava ratione quadragesimae, in Orbe universo celebrari mandavimus. Et quoniam aequum reputamus, post Nostram declarationem Sancti Patriarchae in Catholicae Ecclesiae Patronum, Ipsi in publico ecclesiastico cultu omnes et singulas honoris praerogativas tribuendas esse, quae juxta generales Breviarii et Missalis Romani rubricas Sanctis Patronis praecipuis competunt, ideo Nos ex consultu Venerabilium Fratrum Nostrorum S. R. E. Cardinalium sacris tuendis ritibus praepositorum renovantes, confirmantes, atque etiam ampliantes praesentibus Nostriis Litteris praefatam dispositionem illius Decreti, mandamus insuper, ac injungimus, quae sequuntur. Volumus scilicet, quod tam in festo Natali Sancti Josephi, quam in alio Ipsius Patrocinii, etiamsi occurrant extra Dominicam diem addatur semper in Missa Symbolum seu 'Credo.' Volumus insuper quod in oratione 'A cunctis' quandocumque recitanda erit, adjiciatur semper post invocationem Beatae Mariae Virginis, et ante quoscumque alios sanctos Patronos, exceptis Angelis, et Sancto Joanne Baptista, commemoratio S. Josephi per haec verba '*cum Beato Joseph.*' Volumus denique ut hoc ipso ordine servato inter Suffragia Sanctorum, quandocumque illa a rubricis praescribuntur, apponatur sequens commemoratio in honorem ejusdem Sancti Josephi. (Ad Vesperas Antiphona) '*Ecce fidelis servus et prudens, quem constituit Dominus super familiam suam.* V. *Gloria et divitiae in domo ejus.*



R. *Et justitia ejus manet in saeculum saeculi.* (Ad Laudes Antiphona): *Ipse Jesus erat incipiens quasi annorum triginta ut putabatur filius Joseph.* V. *Os justi meditabitur sapientiam.* R. *Et lingua ejus loquetur judicium.* (Oratio) *Deus, qui ineffabili providentia Beatum Joseph Sanctissimae Genitricis tuae sponsum eligere dignatus es, praesta quaesumus, ut quem protectorem veneramus in terris, intercessorem habere mereamur in coelis.* Haec volumus mandamus decernentes has litteras Nostras firmas validas et efficaces existere et fore suosque plenarios et integros effectus sortiri et obtinere, non obstantibus Constitutionibus et Ordinationibus Apostolicis ceterisque contrariis quibuscumque. Volumus autem ut praesentium transumptis Litterarum, seu exemplis etiam impressis manu alicujus Notarii publici subscriptis, et sigillo personae in ecclesiastica dignitate constitutae munitis eadem prorsus fides adhibeatur, quae adhiberetur ipsis praesentibus si forent exhibitae vel ostensae. Datum Romae apud S. Petrum sub annulo Piscatoris die VII. Julii MDCCCLXXI. Pontificatus Nostri Anno Vicesimosexto.

“Loco \* Signi

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"Ut Christiani ita et Romani sitis."

"As you are children of Christ, so be you children of Rome."

*Ex Dictis S. Patricii, Book of Armagh, fol. 9.*

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NO. LXXIII. VOL. VII.—OCTOBER, 1870.

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*Imprimatur,*

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SERMON AT THE SOLEMN TRIDUUM,  
In the Pro-Cathedral, Marlborough-street, Dublin, 12th day of September, 1869.

W. B. KELLY, 8, Grafton-street, Dublin.

The Messenger of the Sacred Heart of Jesus.

*Organ of the Apostleship of Prayer.*

DECEMBER, 1870.

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Communities affiliated to the Apostleship of Prayer in Great Britain and Ireland

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LABORATORY OF THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY,  
CECILIA-STREET, DUBLIN,  
*December 21st, 1861.*

I have examined a sample of Malaga Wine sent to me for analysis by Mr. Wm. Thompson, of 85 Lower Gardiner-street, I can confidently recommend the wine, of which this was a sample, for altar uses. I will further add, that after having examined a great many samples of Spanish and Sicilian wines, intended for altar use I have found none which I could so strongly recommend for the purpose as the one sent to me by Mr. Thompson.

WILLIAM K. SULLIVAN,  
Professor of Chemistry, Catholic University of Ireland.

COPY OF SEALS



LABORATORY,  
SCHOOL OF MEDICINE OF THE  
CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY,  
*5th December, 1864.*

DEAR SIR,

I have examined a sample of Malaga, and a sample of Rhenish wine, sent to me for that purpose by you. The quality of a wine is a matter for the palate and stomach, and one with which the Chemist has very little to say. His business is to determine, so far as he can, whether a wine contains any substances not derivable from grape juice. I consider the two samples of wine which you sent to me, to be essentially grape wines, and that they may be confidently used for altar purposes.

I may, however, add that the present sample of Malaga contains much less sugar than that which I formerly examined for you, while the Rhenish wine contains still less, so that those whose digestion suffers from grape sugar will find those wines more suitable.

I remain, &c.,

WILLIAM K. SULLIVAN,  
Professor of Chemistry to the Catholic  
University of Ireland, and to the  
Museum of Irish Industry.

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